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RESEARCH
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OPINIONS ON THE 'INDIAN CULTURE'

Dr. W. Stede.—The new magazine is a very admirable undertaking, embodying the best product of intellect of our Indian colleagues and fellow students. I cannot but pay the highest tribute of admiration to this new publication.

Dr. F. O. Schrader.— . . . admirable . . . shows the high standard which is expected of a scientific journal and astonishes one by the richness of its contents.

Mons. Louis Finot.— . . . full of interesting matter and forebodes a bright future. My best congratulations for this success !

Dr. M. Winternitz.—I congratulate you and your collaborators on the publication of No. 3 of *Indian Culture* which is again full of interesting matter relating to various branches of Indology.

Dr. Louis de la Vallée Poussin.— . . . contains many good things. I am much interested by the remarks of Prof. Winternitz on the Śramaṇa-Literature. It is the most interesting and useful journal for philosophy and history.

Dr. A. B. Keith.—It is a most interesting number and if the standard of achievement is maintained you will have secured a very valuable addition to the number of scholarly periodicals issued in India.

Dr. F. W. Thomas, *C.I.E.*—May I take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation of your *Indian Culture* and my congratulations upon the completion of a whole volume, with Index and Table of Contents—a very important appendage? The volume contains a large number of articles of a scholarly and serious character and *is a credit to India.* Many of the authors of the articles are old friends of mine, and I would gladly plunge into the fray again, if I could only get free from my present entanglement in Central Asian studies. You have an army of capable contributors.

Dr. L. D. Barnett.—The *Indian Culture,* I am glad to see, still maintains the same high level of scholarly excellence.

Dr. J. Przyluski.— . . . Fine Journal . . . . .

Dr. Th. Stcherbatsky.—A splendid issue.

Mr. Charles E. C. W. Oldham.—May I take this opportunity of congratulating you on the standard being maintained by the *Indian Culture* and the success you have achieved with this Journal.

Mr. C. W. Gurner, *I.C.S.*— . . . a publication of a very high standard.

Director, Archaeological Department, Hyderabad-Deccan.—I congratulate you heartily on the excellence of the articles published in the first number and I hope the standard will be maintained under your able management.

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society (Vol. IX, Part I, July, 1934).—This very admirable periodical will be welcomed all over the country by all those who are devoted to the promotion of research into the ancient history of India and her great culture. The excellent character of this new Journal and the high standard of articles published in it, and the enterprise and devotion of the group of the Bengali scholars seem to make *Indian Culture* rightly and completely fill the great void created by the unfortunate discontinuance of the great epoch-making Journal, the *Indian Antiquary*. This new Journal, three numbers of which are before us, shows itself to be first class scientific periodical by the richness of its contents. Like the *Indian Antiquary*, it is hoped that this Journal also will be an impartial forum to all devoted and inspiring workers under the capable editorship of the distinguished and veteran savant Dr. Devadatta Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, who is assisted by willing and brilliant scholars like Dr. Barua and Dr. Bimala Churn Law. We heartily congratulate the management of the Journal on the high standard of excellence that is attained and hope that by means of unsparing devotion it will be maintained. There is no doubt that its appearance is a valuable addition to the number of scholarly journals published in India today. We wish it all success

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JAINA CANONICAL SŪTRAS (II)

By B. C. LAW

The doctrinal is not the only aspect of Jainism as represented in the canonical sūtras. It embraces also another aspect which may be called disciplinary or practical. In other words, Jainism as propounded and promulgated by Mahāvīra and his leading disciples sets forth not only the nature of the truth and the ideal but lays down the path to the realization of both. The disciplinary aspect comprehends the rules of life conducive to reaching the goal set before it. It was chiefly in and through the life of the monks or mendicants that the ideal of conduct was sought to be fulfilled. The sūtras mostly contain the rules, prescriptions or restrictive orders laid down for the guidance of the disciples aspiring to lead an ideal life. The *samyakcāritra* is held out as the ideal of conduct reached in the life of the conquerors and their chief disciples. This is the highest standard of perfection to be kept always in view. It is nowhere assumed that all of them who pass as the Jaina monks have followed the right path or that there are no black sheep in the fold. There are good monks as well as bad ones. The ways of both are sharply contrasted here and there. The Sūtras are concerned mainly with the monks who are eager to follow the progressive course of action.

The rules of conduct as laid down in the Ācārāṅga Sūtra contain also the rules of decorum and etiquette. No penal laws are added to them. The Jain rules are classified in this Sūtra under such general heads as begging, walking, modes of speech, entry into other's possessions, postures, place of study, and attending to the calls of nature. Here begging includes the begging of food and drink, begging for a bowl, the begging of clothes, and begging for a residence or a couch. Under these subheads are to be found the rules governing the modes of eating and drinking, dressing, and lying down. Walking includes travelling, crossing, swimming, and other forms of movement. The postures are those which are involved in religious exercises.

The reasons or arguments behind these rules are based on such general principles as the avoidance of situations in which the monk or nun may be guilty of hurting or killing all forms of life, or of inconveniencing others, or of wounding social, moral or religious scruples of others, the avoidance of situations in which the monk or nun may run the risk of endangering his or her own position, or of receiving bodily injuries, or of feeling discomfort, or of being found guilty of theft or trespass, or of moral degradation, or of mental perturbation, and the avoidance of all situations in which the monk or nun may be found acting under the slightest influence of greed, ill-will, evil intention, discontent, delusion, inconsideration, haughtiness, and the like.

The Sūtras enjoin that a monk on receiving an order (*āṇā-niddesa-kare*) from his superior goes to him watching his nods and motions. He is well behaved. He who desires his own welfare should adhere to good conduct. He who desires liberation (*niyogārthin, mokṣārthin*) will be received everywhere. He should acquire valuable knowledge and avoid what is worthless. He should always be meek and should not be talkative in the presence of the wise.[1] A monk should avoid untruth. He should not tell anything sinful or meaningless or hurtful. On the highway or in a barber's shop (*samare*) a single monk should not stand with a single woman nor should he talk to her. A monk should sally forth at the right time and return at the right time. He should not approach dining people sitting in a row; but should

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[1] *Uttarādh.*, I.

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collect alms that are freely given. He should eat a moderate portion at the right time. He should wait for his alms alone, not too far from other monks nor too near them.[1]

There are twenty-two troubles[2] which a monk must learn and know, bear and conquer in order not to be vanquished by them. They are as follows: hunger, thirst, cold, heat, gad-flies, and gnats (all biting or stinging insects as lice), nakedness, women, to be discontented with the objects of control, erratic life, place for study (*nisīhiyā*), lodging, abuse, corporal punishment, to ask for something (*gāyanā, yācanā*), to be refused, illness, the pricking of grass, dirt, kind and respectful treatment, understanding ignorance and righteousness. A monk, who is strong in self-control and does penance, should not cut or cause another to cut anything to be eaten nor cook it or cause another to cook it though his body is weakened by hunger. He should know the permitted measure of food and drink and wander about with a cheerful mind. Though troubled by thirst he should not drink cold water. He should try to get distilled water.[3] Wandering about on deserted ways being thirsty he should bear the trouble of thirst. If a restrained monk occasionally suffers from cold on his wanderings, he should not walk beyond the prescribed time, remembering the teachings of the Master. A monk should not entertain such a thought: 'I have no shelter, and nothing to cover my skin, therefore I shall kindle a fire to warm myself.' If a monk suffers from the heat of hot things or from the heat of his body or from summer heat he should not lament the loss of comfort. A monk should remain undisturbed suffering from insects. He should not scare away insects nor keep them off. He should not kill living beings. A monk should not entertain such thoughts: 'My clothes are torn, I shall go naked or I shall get a new suit.' A houseless and poor monk who wanders from village to village should bear the trouble of an ascetic life. He should wander about free from sins and perfectly passionless. A monk knows that worldly men have a natural liking for women. Knowing this he renounces women and easily performs his duties as a perfect monk. A monk should live on allowed food; he should wander about bearing all troubles in a village or a town or a market-place or a city. He should acquire no property. He should sit down alone in a burial place or in a deserted town or below a tree. Sitting there he should brave all dangers. A monk who does penances and is strong in self-control will not be affected beyond measure by good or bad lodgings. If a layman abuses a monk, he should not be angry with him. If a monk hears bad words he should silently overlook them and should not take them to heart. He should not be angry if beaten. He should not entertain sinful thoughts. He should meditate on the law.[4] He should beg food from a householder when his dinner is ready. A monk who thinks thus, 'I get nothing today, perhaps I shall get something tomorrow,' will not be grieved by his want of success. If a monk suffers pain or falls sick he should cheerfully make his mind steady and bear the evils that attack him. He will be a true monk if he continues to search for the welfare of his soul. If a naked ascetic lies on the grass, his body will be hurt. Though hurt by the grass he will not use clothes.[5] A wise monk should not lament his loss of comfort. He should bear all difficulties waiting for the destruction of *Karma*.[6] By practising a noble and excellent law he should carry the filth on his body till he expires. He should not evince predilection for a gentleman who salutes him or rises from his seat on his approach or invites him to accept alms in his house. He should not think thus: 'There is no life to come nor an exalted state to be acquired by penances.'

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[1] *Uttarādh.*, I, 33.

[2] *Ibid.*, II. (*Parisaha*—that which may cause trouble to an ascetic and which must be cheerfully borne.)

[3] It means water which by boiling or some other process has become so changed that it may be regarded as lifeless.

[4] *Uttarādh.*, II, 26.

[5] What is manufactured from threads—*Uttarādh.*, II, 35.

[6] *Nirjarā.*

A monk should know what alms may be accepted. He should beg food only for the sustenance of life. Those who explain the marks of the body and who know the foreboding changes in the body are not to be called novices.

As the fallow leaf of a tree falls to the ground, when its days are gone, so the life of men will come to its close.[1] As the life is so fleet and existence so precarious one should wipe off the sins ever committed. A rare chance is human birth for the living beings, hard are the consequences of actions. The soul which suffers for its carelessness is driven about in the *Saṃsāra* by its good and bad *karma*.[2] It is a rare chance to become an elect. If one believes in the law, he will surely practise it, when human body grows old and hair turns white, the power of human ears decreases, the power of eyes decreases, the power of touch decreases, in short, all human power decreases. One should cast aside all attachments and give up wealth. The enlightened and liberated monk should control himself and should preach to all the road of peace.[3]

If a monk is positive in his assertions, if he is malicious, egoistical, greedy and without self-discipline, if he is always unkind, if he does not share with others, then he is called ill-behaved. If he is always humble, steady, free from deceit, if he is not proud of his learning, if he listens to friendly advice, if he does not speak ill of his friend behind his back, if he is enlightened, polite, decent, and quiet, then he is called well-behaved.[4] Monks will go to the highest place after their *karma* has been annihilated.

He who adopts the law in the intention to live as a monk should live in company of other monks, upright and free from desires. Free from love he should live as a model of righteousness, abstaining from sins and versed in the sacred law. Ignorant of abuse and injury a steadfast monk should be a model of righteousness, always protecting his souls from sins; neither rash nor passionate, he should endure everything. He controls himself, keeps the vows, practises austerities and meditates on his soul. A true monk does not care for his life, abandons every delusion, avoids men and women, always practises austerities and does not betray any curiosity. He does not progress and live on divinations. He also abstains himself from spells, roots, every kind of medical treatment, purgatives, emetics, fumigation, anointing of the eye, etc. A Jaina monk is forbidden to take from the householders, bed, lodging, drink, food, dainties and spices. He who understands all religious disputations, who practises self-discipline, who meditates on his soul, who is wise, hardy, and observes everything, who is calm, and does not hurt anybody, is a true monk. He who is not living by any art, without house, without friend, subduing his senses, free from all bondages, sinless and eating little, lives single; leaving the house he is a true monk.[5]

There are ten conditions for the realization of celibacy. By hearing and knowing them the monks will reach a high degree of self-discipline, of contemplation, of stopping sins by means of the *samitis* and *guptis*, will be well protected, will guard their senses and chastity. The ten conditions are the following:—

(1) A monk may occupy various places for sleep or rest but he should not occupy such places frequented by women, cattle or eunuchs. If he occupies such places for sleep or rest frequented by women, cattle,

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[1] *Uttarādh.*, X. This sermon was preached by Mahāvīra to Gautama to help him to reach *Kevala-jñāna*. It contains much of Mahāvīra's doctrine. The effect of the sermon was such as to enable Gautama to cut off love and reach perfection. According to the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, the keeping of the *Gupti* is supposed to protect a *religieux* from all temptations.

[2] B. C. Law, Jain View of Karma in *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. VI, Nos. 7 & 8.

[3] This sermon was delivered by Mahāvīra to his disciple Indrabhūti who belonged to the Gotama-gotra.

[4] *Uttarādh.*, XI, 10–13.

[5] *Uttarādh.*, XV, 15, 16

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or eunuchs, there may arise a doubt as regards his chastity or he will acquire a dangerous illness of long duration or he will become a slave to passion.

(2) He should not talk about women.
(3) He should not sit together with women on the same seat.
(4) He should not look at or think of the charms and beauties of women.
(5) He should not listen behind a screen or wall to the singing or laughing or crying of women.
(6) He should not remember the pleasures and amusements which he enjoyed in the past together with women.
(7) He should not eat well-dressed food.
(8) He should not eat or drink excess.
(9) He should not wear ornaments.
(10) He should avoid sounds, colours, tastes, smells, and feelings of touch.

A bad monk is one who despises the learning and discipline which his preceptors and teachers have taught him. He is disrespectful to his teachers and preceptors. He does not control himself though he believes himself to be well controlled. He hurts living beings. He walks with great haste and without care. He is fierce and overbearing. He carelessly inspects things. It is the duty of a monk to examine everything which he uses very closely in order to avoid hurting living beings. He always slights his teachers. He is deceitful, talkative, arrogant, greedy and rough. He delights in quarrels and perverts truth. He is not careful in sitting down. He is careless about his bed. He does not practise austerities. He eats after sunset and when admonished he makes an angry reply. He leaves his own teacher and follows a heretical one. He is of a bad disposition and frequently changes his school (*gaṇa*). He lives by fortune-telling. He eats the food of his relations and does not like living by alms. A pious monk is one who always avoids sins, who is welcomed in this world and who is the conqueror of the world.

One should adopt the law of monks (*paryāya dharma*), the vows, the virtues and the endurance of the calamities, abandoning the great distress, and the great delusion. He should keep the five great vows, *e.g.* not to kill, to speak the truth, not to steal, to be chaste, to have no property at all. A wise man should follow the law taught by the Jinas. A monk should be of a forbearing nature, restrained and chaste. He should live with his senses under control. He should walk about in utter indifference and bear everything, pleasant or unpleasant. He should not approve of everything everywhere nor care for respectful treatment or blame. A monk who comes in contact with dangerous and dreadful calamities will not be afraid of them. He should bear calmly cold and heat, unpleasant feelings and diseases which attack human body. An ascetic will by means of his simplicity enter the path of *Nirvāṇa*. He is neither grieved nor pleased, he is intent on the benefit of his soul and he strives for the highest good. A merciful monk should use beds distant from others which are not got ready for his sake.

There are five *samitis* and three *guptis* which constitute eight articles of the Jain creed.[1] The Samitis are the following: (1) going by paths, trodden by men, beasts, carts, etc., and looking carefully so as not to cause the death of living beings; (2) gentle, sweet and righteous speech; (3) receiving alms in a manner to avoid forty-two faults; (4) receiving and keeping things necessary for religious exercises, and (5) performing the operation of nature in an unfrequented place. The three *guptis* are the following: (1) preventing mind from sensual pleasures by engaging it in contemplation, study, etc.; (2) preventing the tongue from saying bad things by a vow of silence; and (3) putting the body in an immovable posture. The walking of a well-disciplined monk should be pure in respect to the cause, time, road and effort. Knowledge, faith and right conduct are included in the cause; the time is daytime; the road excludes bad ways; the effort is four-fold as regards substance, place, time, and condition of mind. A well-disciplined monk should work carefully. He should avoid anger, pride, deceit, greed, laughter, fear, loquacity and slander. He should use blameless and concise speech at the right time. He should avoid while begging the faults in the search, in the receiving, and in the use of three kinds of objects, namely, food, lodging, and the articles of use. There are sixteen *Udgama doṣas* by which food becomes unfit for a Jain monk, *e.g.* the fault inherent in food which a layman has prepared for religious mendicants, the fault in a kind of food which a layman has prepared for a particular monk, the food which has been prepared for festivities, which has been reserved for a monk, when he has to open locks before he gets at the food, when a monk calls while the dinner is being cooked, and for his sake more food is put in the pot which is on the fire, etc. There are ten faults of receiving, *e.g.* when a monk accepts alms from a frightened layman (*Saṅkita*), when the food is soiled by animate or inanimate matter (*Mrakshita*), when a layman mixes up pure with impure food (*Unmisrita*), etc. A zealous monk should wipe the thing after having inspected it with his eyes, then he should take it up or put it down. Excrements, urine, saliva, mucus, and uncleanliness of the body should be disposed of in the way described. In a place neither frequented nor seen by others, which offers no obstacles to self-control, which is not covered with grass or leaves, which is spacious, in such a place he should leave his excrements, etc.[1] There are (1) truth, (2) untruth, (3) a mixture of truth and untruth, and (4) a mixture of what is not true and what is not untrue. A zealous monk should prevent his mind from desires for the misfortune of somebody else, from thoughts on acts which cause misery to living beings and from thoughts on acts which cause their destruction. In standing, sitting, lying down, jumping, going and in the use of his organs, a zealous monk should prevent his mind from intimating evil desires, etc. These are the *samitis* for the practice of the religious life and *guptis* for the prevention of everything sinful.

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[1] *Uttarādh.*, XXIV.

The correct behaviour of monks consists in ten posts: *āvaśyikā* is required when a monk leaves a room; *naishedhikī* on entering a place; *āpricchanā* or asking the superior's permission for what he is to do himself; *pratipricchanā*, for what somebody else is to do; *chandanā* or placing at the disposal of other monks the things one has got; *icchākāra* in the execution of one's intention by oneself or somebody else; *mithyākāra* in blaming oneself for sins committed; *tathākāra*, in assenting to make a promise; *abhyutthāna*, in serving those who deserve respect and *upasampad*, in placing oneself under another teacher.[2]

After sunrise during the first quarter of the first *paurushī* (the fourth part of a day or a night) a monk should inspect and clean his things and pay his respects to the superior. He should ask him with joined hands 'What shall I do now?' If he is ordered to do some work he should do it without tiring. A clever monk should divide a day into four equal parts, and fulfil his duties in all the four parts. In the first *paurushī* he should study, in the second he should meditate, in the third he should go on his begging-tour, and in the fourth he should study again. The *paurushī* increases or decreases a digit (equal to five minutes) every week, two digits every fortnight, and four digits every month. A clever monk should divide the night into four parts and fulfil his duties in all the four parts. In the first *paurushī* he should study, in the second he should meditate, in the third he should not sleep, and in the fourth he should study again. When a small part of the quarter is left in which the leading star stands, during that space of time, being considered intermediate days, a monk should watch. In the first quarter of the first *paurushī* he should inspect his things, pay his respect to his superior, then begin to study, not allowing himself to be affected by any pain. In the last quarter of the first *paurushī* after paying his respect to the *guru*, a monk should inspect his alms-bowl without

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[1] *Uttarādh.*, XXIV, 17, 18.

[2] *Ibid.*, XXVI.

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performing the expiation of sins concerning time. He should first inspect his mouth-cloth, then his broom, and taking the broom in his hand he should inspect his cloth. Standing upright he holds his cloth firmly and inspects it leisurely, then he spreads it and at last he wipes it. He should spread the cloth without shaking or crushing it in such a way as to make the folds disappear; he should fold it up six times in length and nine times in breadth and then he should remove beings with his hands. He must avoid want of attention in commencing his work, in taking up the corners of the cloth, in folding it up, in removing the dust, in putting it down on some other piece of cloth, and in sitting upon the hunches (*vedikā*). One must avoid to hold the cloth loosely or at one corner. If one who is engaged in inspecting a thing, talks with anybody, renounces something, receives his lessons from another, he neglects his inspection. One who is careful in the inspection, protects the six kinds of living beings, *e.g.* the earth bodies, water bodies, fire bodies, wind bodies, plants and animals. In the third *paurushī* he should beg food and drink for any of the following six reasons: (1) to prevent illness, (2) to serve the *guru*, (3) to comply with the rules about walking, (4) to comply with the rules of self-control, (5) to save one's life, and (6) to meditate on the law. A jealous Jaina should not beg food for the following reasons: (1) in case of illness, (2) in case of disaster, (3) to preserve one's chastity and the *guptis*, (4) out of compassion for living beings, (5) in the interest of penance, and (6) to make an end of one's life. In the fourth *paurushī* a monk should put away his alms-bowl and then he should begin to study. In the last quarter of the fourth *paurushī* he should pay his respect to the *guru* and after having performed *kālapratikramaṇa*[1] he should inspect his lodging. A jealous monk should find the place where to discharge his excrements and urine. He should reflect on all transgressions he has committed during the day with regard to knowledge, faith and conduct. Having finished *kāyotsarga* and paid his respect to the *guru*, he should confess his sins committed during the day. Then having recited the *Pratikramaṇa Sūtra* and having destroyed his sins he should pay his respect to the *guru*. Having finished *kāyotsarga* he should pronounce the customary praises. A monk should do the same thing in the first *paurushī* during the night, in the fourth *paurushī* and in the last quarter of the fourth *paurushī*. Then he should reflect on all sins committed during the night with regard to knowledge, faith and conduct. Then he should confess his sins committed during the night. Having finished *kāyotsarga* and paid his respect to the *guru* he should practise those austerities which he has undertaken, and praise the perfected saints.

Renouncing household life a sage should know and give up those attachments which take hold of men. A restrained monk should abstain from killing, stealing, lying, carnal intercourse and greed. In his thoughts, a monk should not long for a pleasant dwelling house. He should happily live in a burial place, in a deserted house, below a tree, in solitude, etc. A well-controlled monk should live in a pure place which is not too much crowded and where no women live. A monk should abstain from building a house. Out of compassion for living beings a monk should not cook nor cause another to cook. A monk should cause nobody to cook because beings, living in water, corn, wood, etc., are destroyed in food and drink. A monk should not light a fire. In his thoughts a monk should not long for gold and silver. A monk is not to engage in buying and selling. He who is to live on alms, should beg but not buy. He should collect his alms in small parts. He should contentedly go on his begging-tour whether he gets alms or not. A great sage should not eat for the sake of the pleasant taste of the food but for the sustenance of his life. He should meditate on true things only, committing no sins and having no property. He should walk about careless of his body till his end comes. He obtains absolute knowledge and reaches eternal beatitude, free from passions and sins without property and without egoism.

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[1] It consists in *Kāyotsarga*. It is nothing but expiation of sins concerning time.

A monk is holy through his innocence. He allows no troubles to influence his words, thoughts, and acts. He should take no notice of the seductive pleasures and endeavour to shake off delusion. Knowing the highest law, he should perform his religious duties. He should be free from attachment and earnest in the performance of austerities.

Begging is a hard task. It is painful never to take anything but what is freely given. Some weak men who are unable to preserve their chastity will become disheartened. Some fools take a pious monk for spy, bind him and insult him. Some low people who lead a life of iniquity being subject to love and hatred injure a monk.

There are some tender affections which monks cannot easily overcome. A monk should renounce attachment, for every attachment is a cause of sin. A holy monk may find many inducements and seductions in this world, but they should not break down like weak bullocks carrying a heavy burden uphill. A monk should slip off the ties that bind him to his house, he should wander about for the welfare of his soul. A wise and thoroughly restrained monk should bear all hardships and wander about till he reaches final liberation. The Buddhists hold that pleasant things are produced from pleasant things. Those who exert themselves at the proper time feel no remorse afterwards. The heroes who have got rid of their fetters do not long for their life. A monk should strive for the attainment of *nirvāṇa* which consists in peace.

A worthy monk should have no intercourse with women considering the consequences. He should avoid them. Those who have intercourse with women, have ceased to practise meditation. When a monk breaks the law, dotes on a woman and is absorbed by that passion, she afterwards scolds him, lifts her foot and tramples on his head. One should not mind the entreaties of women, but abstain from their friendship and company. The pleasures which are derived therefrom are causes of blamable actions. A monk should abstain from women and commit no unnatural crime. A wise and learned monk whose soul is in a pure condition (*leṣyā*) will abstain from doing work for others; he will bear all troubles in thoughts, words and actions.

A virtuous monk should never keep company with the wicked. He should not stay in the house of a householder except by constraint. He should obey and serve a wise and a pious teacher. If beaten he should not be angry. With a placid mind he should bear everything.

A true monk should not say that this is meritorious and this is not meritorious. He should guard his soul, bring his senses under his control and put a stop to the current of the *saṃsāra*. He should be free from sins. He is entitled to expound the pure, complete and unparalleled law. He should try to reach beatitude.

If a poor monk, subsisting on the meanest food, is attached to vanities and makes his monkhood a means of sustenance, he will suffer again and again. A monk who is eloquent, has bright ideas, possesses high intellect, has purified his soul. He should combat pride of genius, pride of sanctity, pride of birth, and pride of good living. A monk having conquered aversion to control and delight in sensual objects, should silently repeat to himself: a man must come and go according to his own *karma* alone. The pious are not given to blamable sinful practices. Avoiding all evils, monks should without embarrassment and passion preach the law.

Making manifest the conduct of the virtuous, an intelligent monk should not leave the company of his teacher. A monk who complies with the rules for the *yatis* as regards postures, lying down, sitting and exertion, who is thoroughly acquainted with the *samitis* and *guptis*, should explain each single point of conduct. He should not allow himself to be influenced by pleasant sounds. He should persevere in control. A novice who has not mastered the law does not know the law, but he will know it afterwards through the words of the Jinas. A well-conducted monk will explain the conduct of the virtuous. A monk by hearing the desired truth, gets bright ideas and becomes a clever teacher; desiring the highest good

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and practising austerity he will obtain final liberation. Those, who having investigated the law, are awakened and they put an end to mundane existence. They do not conceal the truth or falsify it. They do not cherish desire for fame. A monk should be honest and fearless. He should expound the *syādvāda*,[1] he should use permitted kind of speech and should be impartial and wise. He should utter pure speech which is in accordance with the creed of the Jinas. He should well learn the sacred text, endeavour to teach the creed and should not speak unduly long. He should deliver faithfully what he has learnt. He should not pervert or render obscure the truth.

A monk who does not act nor kill, who is free from anger, pride, deceit and greed, who is calm and happy will never entertain such wish that after his departure from the world he will become a god or a perfected saint. He does no actions arising from sinful causes, nor has them done by another person nor does he consent to another doing them. A monk should not take food or drink when he knows that a householder to satisfy him or for the sake of a co-religionist has brought it. One should eat when it is time for eating, seek cover when it is time for seeking cover and sleep when it is time for sleeping. When a monk preaches the law he should preach it not for the sake of food or drink, but he should preach it indefatigably for no other motive than the annihilation of *karma*. Such a monk searches the law, knows the law and endeavours to gain liberation. He knows and renounces action and worldly occupation, he is free from passions, possesses the *samitis*, being wise, virtuous, and liberated, living on low food, desiring to get to the shore of the *saṃsāra* fulfilling the general and particular virtues.

A monk abstains from the five cardinal sins, slaughter of living beings, etc. He does not clean his teeth with a tooth brush, he does not accept perfumes, emetics and collyrium. Such a monk does not act nor kill; he is free from anger, pride, deceit and greed; he is calm and happy. He is well controlled and restrained, avoids and renounces sins, is not active but careful and thoroughly wise.

The wrongly instructed *Śramaṇas* do not comprehend the soul's bondage through *karma* (*karmabandha*). A wise monk should improve his chances for final liberation. He should conform himself to the opinions taught by the Jinas and wander about till he reaches final liberation.

A monk, who has achieved his religious perfection through the instruction of the Awakened One and stands firm in it, who guards himself in the threefold way with regard to thoughts, words and acts, and who possesses the things requisite for crossing the immense ocean of existence, may preach the law.

If a mendicant thinks that on account of his illness he has become weak and is unable to wander from house to house, on his thus complaining the householder brings food and gives it to him. By practising monastic rules one becomes tranquil, averted from sin and guarded against the allurements of the senses. Entering a village or a town, a monk should beg for straw, after getting straw he should retire with it to a secluded spot. After having examined and cleaned the ground, he should spread the straw on it. A naked monk thinks thus: 'I can bear the pricking of grass, the influence of cold and heat, the stinging of flies and mosquitoes. I can sustain all those painful feelings but cannot leave off the covering of the privities.' Knowing the two obstacles relating to body and mind, a wise one who has thoroughly learnt the law can get rid of *karma*. Subduing the passions and living on little food he should endure hardships. If a mendicant becomes unattached internally and externally he should strive after absolute purity. If crawling animals feed on his flesh and blood he should neither kill them nor rub the wound; though these animals destroy the body he should not stir from his position. A well-controlled monk should give up all motives except his own in the thrice threefold way (of body, speech and mind). He should not lie on sprouts or grass, but inspecting the bare ground he should lie on it; without any comfort and food, he should bear pain. When a sage becomes weak he should strive after calmness, that is to say, he should not give way to melancholy thoughts. He should move to and fro on the ground, compact and stretch his limbs for the benefit of the whole body. He should walk about when tired of lying. When tired of standing he should sit down.

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[1] Vide B. C. Law, *Mahāvīra: His Life and Teachings*, pp. 72ff.

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept as alms whatever herbs they recognize. He or she should accept things which are pure and acceptable. He or she should not accept food which has been prepared for brahmins, guests, beggars, etc. He or she should not accept food which does not belong to the giver. He or she may accept food from noble families, distinguished families, and royal families. He or she should not attend any festive entertainment. He or she should not accept such food of which he or she has some doubts in his or her mind. A monk or a nun desirous of entering the abode of a householder should not do so when they see that the milch cows are being milched, or the food is being cooked, and that it is not yet distributed.

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept flattened grains, grains containing much chaff. He or she should not accept fossil salt or sea salt which is impure and unacceptable. He or she should not accept food which is prepared over the fire, for such food is impure and unacceptable. He or she should not accept food which has been placed on a post, or on a roof or on a platform or some such elevated place. He or she should not accept food which is kept in an earthenware. He or she should not accept food placed on the earth body, wind body or fire body, for such food is impure and unacceptable. He or she should not accept food which is placed on vegetable or animal matter.[1] He or she should not accept such water as has been taken from the bare ground. Its taste or nature has not been altered and it has not been strained.[2] He or she should not accept juice of mangoes, pomegranates, cocoanuts, tamarinds, etc. He or she should not accept raw things such as mustard seeds. He or she should not accept raw powered fruits, unripe wild rice, honey, liquor, etc. He or she should not accept some raw plants, vegetables, raw substances, etc. He or she should not accept any part of the sugarcane as it is impure and unacceptable, meat or fish containing many bones.[3] He or she may accept food which is offered on a plate or in a copper cup if the moisture on the hands of the giver is dried up. A monk or a nun should not use for religious postures a lodging place used by the householder, in which there are workmen, children, cattle, food and drink.

A mendicant should not stay in halting places, gardenhouses, family houses, monasteries which are much frequented by fellow ascetics. It is difficult to obtain pure and acceptable alms. A monk or a nun should not use for religious postures a lodging where the householder and his wife go about naked or hide themselves, or talk about sexual pleasures. He or she should not use for religious postures a lodging which is a much frequented play ground. He or she should not accept a couch if it is free from eggs and living beings, but is heavy.

A monk shall not beg pointing with a finger at the householder or moving him with a finger, threatening or scratching him with a finger, praising or cursing him.[4]

He or she should speak with precision,[5] employing language in moderation and restraint which is grammatically correct and understanding its true import.[6]

When a monk or a nun knows that in a village or a town there is no large place for religious practices or for study, he or she should not remain there during the cold season. He or she may circumspectly wander from village to village. He or she on the pilgrimage where road lies through a forest should not choose this road. A monk or a nun on a pilgrimage, if there is some water-course on the way which must be crossed in a boat, should not ascend such a boat which plies up

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[1] *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, II, 1, 7.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, 1, 7.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, 1, 4, 1.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, 1, 6, 3.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, 4, 1.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, 4, 1.

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or down or across the river. A monk or a nun in entering a boat should not choose the stern or the prow or the middle of the boat. If a monk or a nun see that water enters through a leak in the boat which becomes dirty all over, he or she should not approach the boatman and inform him of it. A monk or a nun swimming in the water should not touch another person's foot, hand or body with his or her own hand. He or she, swimming in the water, should not dive up and down, lest water should enter into his or her eyes, ears, nose or mouth. If a monk or a nun swimming in the water is overcome by weakness, he or she should throw off his or her clothes, either all or a part of them. A monk or a nun should not wipe or rub or brush or dry, or warm or heat his or her body. If a monk or a nun on a pilgrimage comes across a shallow water, they should first wipe their body from head to feet. They should wade through the shallow water on a straight line. A monk or a nun wading through shallow water should not plunge in deeper water for the sake of pleasures. If a monk or a nun perceive in their way waggons, cars, a friendly or hostile army, they should not walk on straight. A monk or a nun, wandering from village to village together with the master or a teacher, should not touch the hand of the master or teacher with his or her own. While sleeping a monk shall take care that his bed is kept at such a distance from that of the next person that he does not touch his neighbour's hand or body with his own.[1] A monk or a nun should not use speech, whether truth or untruth or truth mixed with untruth, if it be sinful, blamable, rough, coarse, and hard. A monk or a nun seeing any kind of disease should not talk thus: 'He has got boils or leprosy. His hand is cut, or his foot, nose, ear or lip is cut.'[2] A monk or a nun seeing a man or a cow should speak about them thus: 'His body is well grown, well compacted, his flesh and blood are abundant.' A monk or a nun wanting to get clothes may beg for cloth made of wool, silk, hemp, palm leaves, cotton, etc. He or she should not resolve to go farther than half a *yojana* to get clothes. He or she should not accept clothes which a layman has bought, washed, dyed, rubbed, cleaned or perfumed. A monk or a nun should not accept clothes made of fur, fine ones, beautiful ones, etc. He or she should not accept plaids of fur or other materials. He or she may ask for clothes which they have well inspected from a householder or his wife. He or she should not accept clothes which are full of eggs or living beings, for they are impure. He or she may accept clothes which are strong, lasting and are fit for a mendicant. He or she should not wash his or her clothes because they are not new.

If a single mendicant borrows for a short time a robe from another mendicant, the owner of it should not take such a robe for himself nor should he give it to somebody else. A monk or a nun should not make coloured clothes colourless or colour colourless clothes. If a monk sees thieves in his way, he should not leave the robe out of fear or to save his clothes. A monk or a nun should not accept a bowl bought by a layman. They should not accept expensive bowls or bowls containing precious materials. They may accept a bowl from a householder or his wife after having it thoroughly inspected. They may beg for a bowl used by a former owner or by many people. A monk or a nun entering into the abode of a householder for the sake of alms should circumspectly leave it after examining their alms-bowl and removing living beings from it if there be any. They should not wipe or rub a wet or moist alms-bowl. They might go to a sugar cane plantation or to a garlic-field. They may beg for a dwelling place, paved with clay or wood. They should not ease nature on an unfit ground, on a pillar or bench or scaffold or loft or tower or roof. They should not ease nature on the bare ground or on wet ground or on dusty ground or on a rock or clay containing life or a timber inhabited by worms. They should not ease nature in a place where the householders or their sons have sown or will sow rice, beans, pulse or barley. They should not ease nature in a place where there are heaps of refuse, mud, etc. They should not ease nature in fire places or in a place where suicide is committed, or in gardens, parks, woods, temples or wells. They should not ease nature in cross roads or in town gates or pathways or in the place where charcoal is produced or the dead are burnt. They should not ease nature at sacred places near rivers, marshes or ponds. They should not ease nature in fresh clay-pits, fresh pasture grounds for cattle or in a field of vegetables. A monk or a nun should take their own chamber-pot and ease nature in a secluded place where no people pass or see them and leave the excrements on a heap of ashes.[1]

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[1] *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, II, 2, 3, 26–28.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, 4, 2, 1-2.

From the above it is clear that the Jain rules of conduct and decorum, agreeing in their essential features with the Buddhist rules, were broadbased upon careful considerations and keen observations.

The *Kalpasūtra* ascribed to Bhadrabāhu shows the early stage of the development of Jinalogy when the tradition of four Jinas was cherished by the Jaina community. The Buddhalogy, too, had presumably such an early stage with the tradition of four Buddhas. The number gradually increased from four to seven, from seven to twenty-four, from that to twenty-nine including the future Buddha, and from that to innumerable Buddhas. Going by this analogy, one can say that the tradition of twenty-four *Tīrthaṅkaras* was of later growth. The four Jinas whose life-history is presented in the *Kalpasūtra* are Ṛṣabhadatta, Ariṣṭanemi, Pārśva and Mahāvīra. The symmetry of the outlines suggests their mechanical rather than historical character.

The Jain canonical sūtras furnish us with some interesting details about the life and activity of some kings and queens, princes and princesses and other persons, some of whom played an important part in the history of Jainism. Besides they contain some useful historical and geographical data as well as some miscellaneous matters which need careful consideration.

We read about Ṛṣabha that he was a Kosalan Kṣatriya of the Kāśyapa gotra. He bore the five epithets representing him as Ṛṣabha, the First king, the First mendicant, the First Jina, and the First Tīrthaṅkara, in short, as the great pioneer in the history of human greatness.

Ṛṣabha

Ṛṣabha was born of Marudevī, wife of the patriarch[2] Nābhi. When Marudevī conceived, she dreamt 14 dreams,[3] the first of which was a bull coming forward with his face, unlike mothers of Tīrthaṅkaras who see elephant in their first dream. The dreams were interpreted by the patriarch Nābhi in the absence of professional interpreters.

Riding in his palanquin and followed on his way by a train of gods, men and asuras, Ṛṣabha came right through the town of Vinitā to the park called Siddhārthavana and stopped under the excellent Aśoka tree and with his own hands plucked out his hair in four handfuls. After fasting for two days and a half Ṛṣabha put on a divine robe which he discarded after a time and became naked.[4] He tore out his hair and entered the state of homelessness in the company of 4,000 high nobles, royal persons, and Kṣatriyas. Neglecting his body, he meditated upon himself for one thousand years. Outside the town of Purimatāla, in the park called Sakatamukha, under the excellent tree Nyagrodha, he, after fasting for three days and a half, being engaged in deep meditation, attained the highest knowledge and intuition called *Kevala*. He had 84 *gaṇas* and 84 *gaṇadharas*. He had an excellent community of 84,000 *śramaṇas* with Ṛṣabhasena at their head; 300,000 nuns with Brahmasundarī at their head[1]; 305,000 lay votaries with Śreyāṃśa at their head[2]; 554,000 female lay votaries with Subhadrā at their head[3]; 4,750 sages who knew the fourteen Pūrvas; 9,000 sages possessed of the Avadhi knowledge; 20,000 kevalins; 20,600 sages who could transform themselves; 12,650 sages of vast intellect; 12,650 professors; 20,000 male and 4,000 female disciples who had reached perfection.

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[1] *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, II, 4, 2, 1-2.

[2] *Kulakara*: these *Kulakaras* were the first kings and founders of families at the time when the rest of mankind were *Yugalins*. The first *Kulakara* was Vimalavāhana, the seventh and last of the line Nābhi (Vide, *S.B.E.*, *Jaina Sūtras*, Pt. I, p. 281 fn.). According to the Digāmbara belief there were fourteen *Kulakaras*, beginning with Pratiśruti Nābhi.

[3] The Digāmbaras name 16 dreams.

[4] The Digāmbaras make him a naked saint at the very outset.

He instituted two epochs in his capacity of a Maker of an end; the epoch relating to generations and that relating to psychical condition. The former ended after numberless generations and the latter from the next Muharta after his *Kevalaship*. He after fasting for six days and half died on the summit of mount Aṣṭāpada in the Samparyaṅka position, while in the company of ten thousand monks.

Ṛṣabha had an excellent community of 84,000 *śramaṇas* with Ṛṣabhasena at their head, 300,000 nuns with Brahmasundarī at their head, 305,000 lay votaries with Śryāṃsa at their head and 554,000 female lay votaries with Subhadrā at their head.

Ariṣṭanemi

Ariṣṭanemi or Neminātha was born of Queen Śivā, wife of King Samudravijaya in the town of Sauripura (Soriyapura). He was named Ariṣṭanemi as his mother saw in a dream a *nemi*, the outer rim of a wheel, which consisted of riṣṭa stones flying up to the sky. Riding in a palanquin Ariṣṭanemi went right through the town of Dvārāvatī to the park called Revatika and stopped under the Aśoka tree. There after fasting two days and a half, he put on a divine robe and in the company of a thousand persons he tore out his hair and entered the state of homelessness.[4] He did not take care of his body for 54 days. On the 55th day he acquired the highest knowledge and intuition called *Kevala* after fasting three days and a half without taking water, under a tree on the summit of mount Girnar. He had 18 *gaṇas* and 18 *gaṇadharas*.[5] He had an excellent community of 18,000 *śramaṇas* with Varadatta at their head, 40,000 nuns with Ārya Yakṣinī at their head; 1,69,000 lay votaries with Nanda at their head; 336,000 female lay votaries with Mahāsuvratā at their head[6]; four hundred sages who knew the fourteen Pūrvas; 1,500 sages who were possessed of the Avadhi knowledge; 1,500 Kevalins; 1,500 sages who could transform themselves; 1,000 sages of vast intellect; 800 professors; 1,600 sages in their last birth; 1,500 male and 300 female disciples who had reached perfection. Ariṣṭanemi instituted two epochs in his capacity as a Maker of an end; the epoch relating to generations and the epoch relating to psychical condition, the former ended in the eighth generation and the latter in the twelfth year of his *Kevalaship*. He lived three centuries as a prince, 54 days in a state inferior to perfection, something less than seven centuries as a *Kevalin*, full seven centuries as a *śramaṇa*, a thousand years on the whole. He liberated himself in a squatting position on the summit of mount Girnar after fasting a month and in the company of 536 monks.

Ariṣṭanemi had an excellent community of 18,000 *śramaṇas* with Varadatta at their head, 40,000 nuns with Ārya Yakkhinī at their head, 169,000 lay votaries with Nanda at their head and 336,000 female lay votaries with Mahāsuvratā at their head.

Pārśva

The Arhat Pārśva[7] was born of Queen Vāmā, wife of Aśvasena, King of Benares. Before the venerable ascetic Pārśva had adopted the life of a householder, he possessed supreme knowledge and intuition. When he understood, by virtue of this knowledge, that the time for his renunciation had come, he left all, and riding in a palanquin followed on his way by a train of gods, men and asuras, he went right through the town of Benares to the park called Āśramapada and proceeded to the excellent tree Aśoka. There he got down from his palanquin, took off his ornaments and with his own hands plucked out his hair in five handfuls. When the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Viśākhā, he tore out his hair and entered the state of homelessness after fasting for two days and a half. For 83 days he did not take care of his body. He meditated on himself for 83 days practising strict morality and surmounting all obstacles. On the 85th day, Pārśva under a Dhataki tree, after fasting two days and a half, being engaged in deep meditation, reached the infinite, highest knowledge and intuition called *Kevala*.

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[1] The Digāmbaras give the number of nuns as 350,000.

[2] Lay votaries according to the Digāmbaras were 300,000 with Draḍaratha at their head.

[3] 500,000 were the female lay votaries according to the Digāmbaras, among whom Suvratā was the chief one.

[4] The Digāmbaras disagree here with the Śvetāmbaras, as they believe that Ariṣṭanemi became a naked saint like all other *Tīrthaṅkaras*.

[5] The Digāmbara books mention eleven *gaṇas* and 11 *gaṇadharas* with Varadatta at their head.

[6] The Digāmbaras name one lac and 3 lacs male and female lay votaries respectively.

[7] *Kalpasūtra*, 150; an ascetic who lived some 250 years before Mahāvīra.

The venerable ascetic Pārśva had eight *gaṇas* and eight *gaṇadharas* (Subha and Āryaghosa, Vaśiṣṭha and Brahmacārin, Saumya and Śrīdhara, Vīrabhadra and Yaśas). He had an excellent community of 16,000 *śramaṇas* with Āryadatta at their head; 38,000 nuns with Puṣpacūlā at their head; 164,000 lay votaries with Suvrata at their head; 327,000 female lay votaries with Sunandā at their head[1]; 350 sages who knew the 14 Pūrvas; 1,400 sages who were possessed of the Avadhi knowledge; 1,000 Kevalins; 1,100 sages who could transform themselves; 600 sages of correct knowledge; 1,000 male and 2,000 female disciples who had reached perfection; 750 sages of vast intellect; 600 professors; and 1,200 sages in their last birth. He instituted two epochs in his capacity of a Maker of an end, the epoch relating to generations, and the epoch relating to psychical condition; the former ended in the fourth generation, the latter in the third year of his *Kevalaship*. He lived 30 years as a householder, 83 days in a state inferior to perfection, something less than 70 years as a *Kevalin*, full seventy years as a *śramaṇa* and a hundred years on the whole. He attained to *Nirvāṇa* in the first month of the rainy season, after fasting a month on the summit of mount Sameta, in the company of 83 persons.[2]

Pārśva had an excellent community of 16,000 *śramaṇas* with Āryadatta at their head, 38,000 nuns with Puṣpacūlā at their head, 164,000 lay votaries with Suvrata at their head and 327,000 female lay votaries with Sunandā as their chief.

Pārśva was worshipped by the people as a prophet of the Law. He had a disciple named Keśī who completely mastered the sciences and right conduct. He had *Śruta* (knowledge derived from the sacred books) and Avadhi knowledge (limited and conditioned knowledge). He came to the town of Śrāvastī and lived in a park called Tiṇḍuka. At that time there lived a Jina named Vardhamāna who had a famous disciple named Gautama. Gautama knew twelve *Aṅgas* and was enlightened. He also came to Śrāvastī and lived in a park named Koṣṭhaka. Keśī and Gautama lived protecting themselves by the *guptis*. The disciples of both of them reflected thus: 'Is the Law of Pārśva the right one or the Law of Mahāvīra? Does the Law as taught by the great sage Pārśva recognize four vows? Does the Law forbid clothes for a monk or does it allow the use of under and upper garments? Knowing the thoughts of their pupils, Keśī and Gautama met each other. Asked by Keśī Gautama replied, 'Wisdom recognizes the truth of the Law and the ascertainment of true things. The Tīrthaṅkaras have fixed what is necessary for carrying out the Law.' Their opinion is that knowledge, faith and right conduct are the true causes of final liberation. Self is the one invincible foe together with four cardinal passions (namely, anger, pride, deceit and greed) and the five senses. Love, hatred, etc., are heavy fetters; attachment is a dangerous one; having regularly destroyed them, one should live according to the rules of conduct. Love of existence is the dreadful plant which brings forth dreadful fruit. Passions are the fire; knowledge, a virtuous life, and penances are the water. Passion should be subdued. Mind is an unruly, dreadful and bad horse. One should govern it by the discipline of the Law. The heterodox and the heretics have all chosen a wrong path, the right path is that which is taught by the Jinas. The right path is the most excellent one. The flood is old age and death which carry away living beings. Law is the refuge and the most excellent shelter. The body is the boat, life is the sailor and the circle of births is the ocean which is crossed by the great sages. The omniscient Jina has risen after putting an end to the circle of births. He is the luminary who brings light into the whole world of living beings. *Nirvāṇa* is the safe, happy, and quiet place which the great sages reach. It is freedom from pain. It is difficult of approach. Those sages who reach it are free from sorrows and they have put an end to the stream of existence. Thus Gautama removed the doubts of Keśī who bowed his head to him. Keśī sincerely adopted the Law of the five vows proclaimed by the first Tīrthaṅkara. Thus we find that in the meeting of Keśī and Gautama subjects of greatest importance were settled and knowledge and virtuous conduct were brought to eminence.

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[1] The Digāmbara books name ten *gaṇas* and an equal number of the *gaṇadharas*, among whom Svayambhū was the chief apostle. They also differ in giving the number of nuns, laymen and female lay-votaries, which according to them is 26,000, one lac and three lacs respectively.

[2] The Digāmbaras minimize this number to 36 only.

Mahāvīra

Mahāvīra, the last Tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas, is described as a great Brāhmaṇa, a great guardian, a great guide, a great preacher, a great pilot and a great recluse.[1] He belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra. He was a son of Kṣatriya Siddhārtha, also known as Śreyāṃśa and Yaśaṃśa and of Kṣatriyāṇī Triśalā, also known as Videhadattā. His mother was a sister to Ceṭaka, one of the kings of Vaiśālī. He was born in the town of Kuṇḍapura, a suburb of Vaiśālī, and therefore he was called Vesālāi or a citizen of Vaiśālī.[2] He married Yaśodā, a Kṣatriya lady.[3] A daughter was born to them, named Anojjā or Priyadarśanā. It is interesting to note that Mahāvīra wore clothes for about the first thirteen months.[4] The *Kalpasūtra* informs us that Mahāvīra was a mere teacher during the first 12 years of his monkhood and that in the second year he became a naked monk. According to the *Bhagavatīsūtra* he received Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta as a disciple at Nālandā. They lived in concord for six years after which they separated on account of a doctrinal difference. Gosāla pre-deceased Mahāvīra by sixteen years. Mahāvīra spent six years in Paṇiyabhumi. At the age of 42 he became a *Jina*, a *Kevalin* (omniscient). He knew and saw all conditions of the world of gods, men and demons: whence they come, whither they go, where they are born as men or animals, gods or infernal beings according to their deeds.[5] During the thirty years of his career as a teacher he spent four rainy seasons in Vaiśālī and Vāṇijagrāma, fourteen in Rājagṛha and Nālandā, six at Mithilā,[6] two in Bhadrikā, one in Āḷavikā, one in Praṇitabhūmi, one in Śrāvastī and one in the town of Pāvā. He died in the town of Pāvā cutting asunder the ties of birth, decay and death.[7] From the *Kalpasūtra* it is clear that since Mahāvīra renounced the life of a householder, he spent 42 rainy seasons in different places. When he died at Pāvā, the eighteen confederate kings of Kāśī and Kosala, the nine Mallakis and nine Licchavis instituted an illumination.[8] These nine Licchavis were the tributaries to Ceṭaka, King of Vaiśālī, who was the maternal uncle of Mahāvīra. The Jaina *Kalpasūtra* refers to these nine branches of the Mallas. It is not yet possible to collect the names of all these branches. The *Kalpasūtra* definitely records that he lived 30 years as a householder, more than 12 years in a state inferior to perfection, less than 30 years as a *Kevalin*, 42 years as a recluse, and 72 years on the whole. In the *Aupapātika Śūtra* (sec. XVI) he is praised as the over-lord of the kingdom of righteousness. Mahāvīra, with the permission of his elder brother, fulfilled his promise of going out to establish the religion of the Law which benefits all beings in the whole world.[1]

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[1] *Uvāsagadasāo*, Lecture, 7.

[2] *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, 1.2.3.22.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1.4.

[4] *Kalpasūtra* 117—*Subodhikāṭīkā*.

[5] *Jaina Sūtras*. I, pp. 260–64.

[6] *Kalpasūtra*, XXII, p. 264.

[7] *Jaina Sūtras*, I, p. 264.

[8] *Kalpasūtra*, p. 128.

Mahāvīra had an excellent community of 14,000 monks headed by Indrabhūti, 36,000 nuns headed by Candanā, 159,000 lay votaries headed by Saṅkhasataka and 318,000 female lay votaries headed by Sulasā and Revatī.

The *Kalpasūtra* refers to Indrabhūti, a disciple of Mahāvīra who also bears the name of Gotamasvāmī or Gotama.[2] The same *sūtra* points out[3] that Ṛṣabha is believed to have lived for 8400,000 *pūrva* years while Pārśva and Mahāvīra lived for 100 and 72 years respectively. The *Kalpasūtra*[4] further points out that Nemi attained the age of 1,000 years. There was a dispute between Kālāsavesiyaputta, a follower of Pārśva, and a disciple of Mahāvīra.[5]

Mahāvīra had nine *gaṇas* and eleven *gaṇadharas*. Some of the well-known Jain monks were Indrabhūti, Agñibhūti, and Vāyubhūti, each of whom instructed 500 *śramaṇas*. Some of the famous *sthaviras* were Āryavyakta of the Bhāradvāja gotra, Ārya Sudharman of Agñivesyāyana gotra, Maṇḍikaputra of the Vaśiṣṭha gotra and Mauryaputra of the Kāśyapa gotra besides Akampita, Acalabhrātri, Metārya and Prabhāsa.

There lived at Campā a merchant named Pālita who was a disciple of Mahāvīra. As a lay disciple he was well-versed in the doctrines of the Jinas. Once he went to the town of Pihuṇḍa on business. He was given a daughter by a merchant while he was there. When she became pregnant Pālita took her with him on his returning home. She was delivered of a child at sea. As the boy was born at sea, he was named Samudrapāla. He studied seventy-two arts and acquired knowledge of the world. His father got a beautiful wife for him named Rūpiṇī with whom he amused himself in his palace. Once he saw from the window of his palace a man sentenced to death on his way to the place of execution. Seeing this he became agitated and said thus: 'This is the bad result of wicked actions.' He became enlightened at once. He took leave of his parents and entered the state of homelessness.

The great sage Samudrapāla understanding the sacred lore and completely practising the best law shone forth being possessed of the highest knowledge and glory. Having annihilated his *karma* he obtained exemption from transmigration being steadfast and free from all fetters.

There was a learned sage named Garga who was an elder and a leader of the group (*gaṇa*).[6] He thought thus: 'He who rides in the car of religious exercise, crosses the *saṃsāra* but he who puts bad bullocks before his car, will be tired by beating them, he will feel vexation and his goad will be broken at last. A bad bullock will bite its mate in the tail, it will break the pin of the yoke or it will leave the road. It will fall down on its side or sit down or lie down or it will jump up. It will furiously advance with its head lowered for an attack. It will stand still as if dead or run at full speed. Just as bad bullocks are put before a car, so are bad pupils when yoked to the car of the Law. They break down through want of zeal. Some attach great importance to their success, some to their comfort, some are averse to begging, and some are afraid of insults. A bad pupil makes objections and points out imagined difficulties, he frequently acts in opposition to the words of the superiors. If bad pupils are sent on an errand, they do not do what they are bidden but stroll about wherever they like. After they have been instructed, admitted into the Order, and nourished with food and drink, they disperse in all directions like geese whose wings have grown.' Garga further thought, 'what have I to do with bad pupils? I am disheartened. As are bad pupils so are bad bullocks. I shall leave them and practise severe austerities.' The learned sage who was full of kindness, grave and always meditating, wandered about on earth leading a virtuous life.

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[1] *Kalpasūtra*, secs. 110-111.

[2] Ed. Jacobi, p. 1.

[3] Cf. *Sūtras*, 2, 27, 147, 168.

[4] *Sūtra*, 182.

[5] *Cf. Bhagavatīsūtra*, śataka I, sūtra 76.

[6] *Uttarādhyayana*, XXVII.

Hermits

The Jaina *Aupapātika Sūtra* (sec. 74) speaks of the *tāpasas* (hermits) who adopted the Vānaprastha mode of life on the banks of the sacred rivers typified by the Ganges. They were either fire-worshippers, family men or those who slept on the bare ground. They were either sacrificers or performers of funeral rites or owners of property. The water jugs and cooking pots were among their belongings. They followed different modes of bathing in the holy waters. Some of them used to blow conchshells or winnow-beaters (*kuladhamakas*). Some of them killed deer for venison and skin, and some killed elephants to make food provision, minimizing the slaughter of life. Some went about holding the stick erect. They used the bark of a tree as their garment and lived either on the sea-shore or near water at the foot of a tree. They rendered their body cooked, as it were, by the heat of the five kinds of fire and stiffened by the sprinkling of water. The same *sūtra* (sec. 75) mentions a class of recluses who were addicted to sensual pleasures, vulgar ways and vaunting and were fond of singing and dancing. The same text (secs. 76–81) distinguishes between the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya *parivrājakas* and describes them as those *religieux* who either followed the Kāpila school of Sāṃkhya or the Bhārgava school of Yoga or represented the four grades of Indian ascetics. Some of them were *Kṛṣṇaparivrājakas*. The *Ājīvikas* are placed in a different category (sec. 120). According to the *Aupapātika Sūtra* (secs. 70, 71, 74, 81, 120) the destiny of worldly men is *vānamantra*, that of the *vānaprastha tāpasas* is the world of the *jotiṣī* gods, that of the *parivrājakas* is *Brahmaloka*, and that of the *Ājīvikas* is *acyūtapada*.

The Jains join hands with the Buddhists in grouping Pūraṇa Kassapa's doctrine under a Kiriyāvāda (*Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 1, 1-13). Makkhali Gosāla is the propounder of the theory of evolution of individual things by natural transformation. What Ajita really contemplated was not to identify body with soul or matter without spirit but to point out that the particular object of experience must be somehow viewed as an indivisible whole (*Sūtra K.* 2, 1, 15–17). The logical postulate of Kavandin Kātyāyana's philosophy is no other than the Permenedian doctrine of Being. Nothing comes out of nothing (*noya uppajjae asaṃ*). What is does not perish; from nothing comes nothing (*sato naccī vīnāso, asato naccī saṃbhavo*). According to Hoernle Gosāla became a far-famed teacher some two years before Mahāvīra who survived him by 16 years (*Uvāsagadasāo*, tr., pp. 110-111).

Kings, Queens, etc.

King Nami [1] remembering his former birth became an exalted Buddha and he retired from the world after placing his son on the throne. After having enjoyed pleasures he became enlightened and gave up his pleasures. After having given up the town and country of Mithilā,[2] his army, women and his retinue, he retired from the world and went to a lonely place. In the opinion of Nami men frequently apply punishment wrongly, the innocent are put in prison and the perpetrators of the crime are set at liberty. One will be the greatest conqueror if he can conquer himself. He who conquers himself obtains happiness. It will be better if he can control himself, no matter whether he gives alms or not. It is difficult to satisfy a greedy man for his avidity is boundless like space. One should practise austerities. Pleasures are the thorn that rankles, pleasures are poison, pleasures are like a venomous snake. He who is desirous of pleasures will not get them and will come to a bad end at last. He will sink with anger, he will go down through pride, delusion will block up his path, he will incur dangers through greed. A saint is praised for his simplicity, humility, perfect patience, and perfect liberation.

Sañjaya was the king of Kāmpilya.[3] He chased a deer on horseback in the Keshara park in Kāmpilya and he killed the frightened deer there. In the park there was an ascetic intent on sacred study and meditating on the Law. The king killed the deer that fled to him. He quickly came there, saw the killed deer and the monk. Having dismissed his horse the king respectfully bowed down before the monk saying, 'Forgive me, Revered Sir.' The monk made no reply to the king. The king said, 'I am Sañjaya, Revered Sir. A monk might by the fire of his wrath reduce millions of men to ashes.' The monk replied, 'Oh king, be without fear but grant safety to others. In this transient world of living beings why are you addicted to cruelty? One day you must part with everything in this transient world. Why do you cling to the kingly power? Life and beauty which you love so much are transient like a stroke of lightning. Wives, children, friends, and relations, all are dependent on a man during his life, but they will not follow him in death. Sons in great sorrow will remove the dead body of the father to the cemetery. So parents will do with their sons and relations. Oh king! do penances. Whatever actions a man has done good or bad, with his *karma* he will depart to the next life.' The king was taught the Law by this monk. Sañjaya gave up his kingly power and adopted the faith of the Jinas in the presence of the venerable monk Gardabhāli.[1]

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[1] *Cf.* Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Evzählungen in Mahārāshtri*, Leipzig, 1886, pp. 41 foll. *Uttarā*, IX.

[2] Capital of Videha which is identical with ancient Tirabhukti (modern Tirhut).

[3] Capital of southern Pañchāla identical with modern Kampil in the Farokhabad District, U.P.

Bharata, who was the eldest son of Ṛṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara, became the first universal monarch and resided in Ayodhyā.[2] He gave up his kingdom and pleasures and entered the Order. Sagara, the king of Ayodhyā, also gave up the kingdom and reached perfection through his compassion. Maghavan, son of king Samudravijaya of Śrāvastī, entered the Order. Sanatkumāra, son of king Aśvasena of Hastināpura, placed his son on the throne and then practised austerities. Śānti, a universal monarch of great power, gave up his kingdom and reached perfection. King Kunthu and king Ara also reached perfection. Mahāpadma of Hastināpura gave up his kingdom and practised austerities. Harisena, son of king Mahāhari of Kāmpilya, reached perfection and Gaya, the son of king Samudravijaya of Rājagṛha, renounced the world and practised self-restraint. Daśamabhadra, who was the contemporary of Mahāvīra, after giving up his flourishing kingdom of Daśārṇa became a monk. Karakaṇḍu of Kaliṅga, Dvimukha of Pāñchāla, Nami of Videha and Naggati (Nagnajit) of Gāndhāra were the four individual Buddhas (Pratyekabuddhas). Udayana, the famous king of Sauvīra, who was a contemporary of Mahāvīra, renounced the world, Nandana, the son of king Agniśikha of Benares, abandoned all pleasures and exerted himself for the best truth. King Vijaya left his excellent kingdom and became a monk. Mahābala, son of king Bala of Hastināpura, practised severe penances with an undistracted mind and took upon himself the glory of self-control.[3]

In the town of Sugrīva there was a king named Balabhadra and his chief queen was Mṛigā. They had a son named Balaśrī, also known as Mṛigāputra. Mṛigāputra saw a restrained *śramaṇa* and his mind became pure. He being devoted to self-control went to his parents and spoke thus: 'I have learnt the five great vows. I know the sufferings that await the sinners in hell. I have ceased to take delight in the great ocean of *saṃsāra*. Allow me, therefore, to enter the Order. Oh parents, I have enjoyed pleasures which are like poison, their consequences are painful as they entail continuous suffering. This body is impermanent. It is impure. It is a miserable vessel of suffering. It is an impermanent residence of the soul. Human life, an abode of illness and disease, which is swallowed up by old age and death, does not please me even for a moment. Birth is misery, old age is misery, and so are diseases and death, and nothing but misery is the *saṃsāra* in which men suffer distress. Leaving behind my house, gold, sons, wife, relatives, and my body I must depart one day. A person without having followed the Law if he starts for the next world will come to grief on his way, suffering from illness and disease.'

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[1] *Uttarādh.*, XVIII.

[2] The earliest capital of Kośala on the river Sarayū in U.P.

[3] *Uttarādh.*, XVIII.

The parents replied, 'It is difficult to perform the duties of a *śramaṇa.* A monk must possess innumerable virtues. It is a difficult duty to be impartial towards all beings of the world and to abstain from injury to living beings, to be always careful to speak wholesome truth, to accept alms free from faults and to abstain from taking what is not given, to keep the severe vow of chastity, to give up all claims on wealth, corn and servants and to abstain from all undertakings. It is very difficult not to eat at night any food of the four kinds, i.e. food, drink, dainties, and spices. My son, you are accustomed to comfort. You will not be able to live as a *śramaṇa.* It is difficult to get over the ocean of duties. Self-control is untasteful like a mouthful of sand. To practise penance is as difficult as to walk on the edge of a sword. Enjoy the human pleasures of five senses.' The son replied, 'Parents, in this world nothing is difficult to perform being free from desire. In the *saṃsāra* which is a mine of dangers and a wilderness of old age and death, I have undergone dreadful births and deaths. I have suffered agonies in this world. Many times I have been crushed like sugarcane in presses. In every kind of existence I have undergone suffering.' Parents said to him, 'A man is free to enter the Order but it causes misery to a *śramaṇa* that he may not remedy any ailings.' The son replied, 'Oh parents, I shall practise the Law by controlling myself and doing penance. A pious monk goes to many places but afterwards he goes to the upper regions. A monk on his begging tour should not hate or blame the food he gets.' With his parents' permission he gave up all his properties, his power and wealth, sons, wife and relations. He observed the five great vows, practised the five *samitis* and was protected by the three *guptis*. He exerted himself to do mental as well as bodily penance. He was without property, without egoism, without attachment, without conceit, and impartial to all beings. He was indifferent to success or failure in begging, happiness and misery, life and death, blame and praise, honour and insult. He was free from sins and fetters. He was indifferent to pleasant things. He had no interest in the world and in the next. He obtained praiseworthy self-purification and sacred knowledge by meditating upon himself. He thoroughly purified himself by knowledge, right conduct, faith, penance, and pure meditations. After having lived many years as a *śramaṇa* he reached perfection.[1]

King Śreṇika Bimbisāra of Magadha once made a pleasure excursion to the Maṇḍikukshi Caitya. It was a park full of trees, creepers, flowers, and birds. There the king saw a restrained and concentrated ascetic sitting below a tree. When the king saw his figure he was very much astonished and said to him with clasped hands, 'Though young you have entered the Order. In an age fit for pleasure you exert yourself as a monk.' The ascetic replied, 'I am without a protector, Oh king, there is nobody to protect me, I know no friend nor anyone to have sympathy with me.' Then the king laughed and said, 'How should there be nobody to protect one so accomplished as you are? I am the protector of religious men, Oh monk! Enjoy pleasures with your friends and relations for it is a rare chance to be born as a human being.' The ascetic said, 'You yourself are without a protector, Oh king! As you are without a protector, how can you protect anybody else?' The king said, 'I have horses, elephants, and subjects, a town and a seraglio, power and command. In possession of so great means which permit the owner to enjoy all pleasures how could he be without protection? Revered Sir, you speak untruth.' The ascetic said, 'Oh king, you do not know the meaning and origin of the word, without protection. Hear with an undistracted mind in what way a man can be said to be without protection. In the town of Kauśāmbī my rich father lived. In my childhood I caught a very bad eye-disease and a severe burning fever in all my limbs, I suffered dreadfully. The best physicians came to my help but in vain. They could not rid me of my pains. Hence I say that I am without protection. My father, my mother, my brothers, my sisters and my loving and faithful wife could not rid me of my pains. At last I succeeded in getting rid of my pains by becoming a homeless monk. My own self is the doer and undoer of misery and happiness. Oh king, many men after having adopted the Law of the Jainas go astray. If an ordained monk through carelessness does not strictly keep the vows but desires pleasures, his fetters will not be completely cut off. One who is careless with regard to the vows and neglects penance and self-control will not be a winner in the battle of life. One who has the character of a sinner and who does not control himself will come to grief, for a long time. He who practises divination from bodily marks, who is well versed in augury, superstitions and rites, who gains a sinful living by practising magic tricks, will have no refuge at the time of retribution. A sinner goes from darkness to darkness to utter misery. An unholy man who breaks the monastic rules rushes to hell. He who accepts forbidden alms will go to hell. In vain he adopts nakedness, who errs about matters of paramount interest, neither this world nor the next will be his. Thus a self-willed sinner who is desirous of pleasures will grieve. He who possesses virtuous conduct and life, who has practised the best self-control, who is free from sins and who has destroyed his *karma* will obtain *mukti* or salvation.' Thus the ascetic preached at length this great sermon. The king fully realized that he was without protection and spoke thus: 'Oh great sage, you have made the best use of human birth. You have made a true gain, you are a protector of mankind for you have entered the path of the best of Jinas, you are the protector of all unprotected beings. Forgive me, Oh ascetic, I have disturbed your meditation, by asking you to enjoy pleasures.' Thus the king together with his wives, servants, and relations became a staunch believer in the Law with a pure mind. The ascetic who was rich in virtues, protected by the three *guptis*, walked about on the earth, free from delusion and abstaining himself from doing injury to living beings.[1]

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[1] *Uttarādh.*, XIX.

In the town of Sauryapura[2] there was a powerful king named Vāsudeva, who possessed the characteristic marks of a king. He had two wives named Rohiṇī and Devakī. Each of them had a beloved son, Rāma and Keśava. In the same town there was another powerful king named Samudravijaya who was endowed with the characteristic marks of a king. He had a wife named Śivā whose famous son was Ariṣṭanemi who was the lord of ascetics. Ariṣṭanemi had a strong body, who was gifted with an excellent voice and possessed many lucky marks of the body. Vāsudeva's son Keśava was married to Rājimatī and the marriage ceremony was performed with great pomp and festivities. Many animals were killed for the sake of their flesh to be eaten afterwards; Rājimatī thought that it would be better for her to become a nun. Firm and decided she cut off her tresses. Vāsudeva said to her, 'Lady, cross the dreadful ocean of the *saṃsāra* without difficulty.' When she entered the Order she induced many people, her relations and servants to enter the Order. She took off her clothes and was naked. She was thus seen by Rathanemi who was her husband's elder brother. On seeing her naked Rathanemi's peace of mind was disturbed. Rājimatī was frightened when she discovered herself alone with the monk. Rathanemi spoke to her, 'Oh dear, beautiful lady, do accept me for your lover. You shall have no cause to complain. Come, let us enjoy pleasures.' When Rājimatī perceived that Rathanemi's strength of will was broken, and temptation had overpowered him, she did not lose her presence of mind and defended her. She maintained the honour of her family and her virtue and said to him thus, 'Shame upon you, Oh famous knight, it would be better for you to die. I am the daughter of a Bhoja king and you are an Andhakavriṣṇī. Being born in a noble family let us practise self-control. If you fall in love with every woman you see, you will be without any hold.' Having heard these well-spoken words of the virtuous lady he returned to the Law. Protected in thought, words, and acts, subduing his senses and keeping the vows he practised true Śramaṇahood throughout his life. After practising severe austerities, Ariṣṭanemi and Rājimatī reached the highest perfection after having completely destroyed their *karma*.[1]

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[1] *Uttarādh.*, XX.

[2] This town was named after Kriṣṇa (Sauri, an epithet of Kriṣṇa).

Geographical data

Bārāṇasī, Kampillapura, Polāsapura and Āḷavi were all important towns visited by Mahāvīra within the kingdom of king Jiyasattu who is no other than king Pasenadi of Kośala.[2] In the neighbourhood of Śrāvastī there was the settlement called Saravana which was the birth place of Makkhali Gosāla. Śrāvastī was indeed the chief seat of the Ājīvikas who found their shelter in the potter's shop of Hālāhalā, a lay disciple. Polāsapura was another important centre of the Ājīvikas. In Śrāvastī was the sacred site of the Koṭṭhakacetiya which became an early seat of Jainism founded by Mahāvīra. The other notable centres of Jainism are the Koṭṭhakacetiya in the town of Benares, the Saṅkhavana in the town of Āḷavi, the Sahassambavana in the town of Kampillapura, and the Sahassambavana in the town of Polāsapura.[3] Śrāvastī claimed Nandinipriya, a wealthy householder who was the owner of a treasure of four crore measures of gold and who became a lay supporter of Jainism. It was at this city that Kapila, son of Kāśyapa, was sent to study under Indradatta, a friend of his father, who was willing to instruct the boy and procure for him free board and lodging in a rich man's house. Śrāvastī was ruled by such monarch as Maghavan, a son of king Samudravijaya. This city was also visited by Keśī, formerly a follower of Pārśva, and subsequently a follower of Mahāvīra.

Mithilā, the capital of the Videha country, was ruled by Jiyasattu.[4] In the *Uvāsagadasāo* (Lecture I) we find that Vāṇiyagāma or Vesālī was also ruled by him. Vesālī and Videha were ruled by Ceḍaga, the maternal uncle of Mahāvīra.

The Jain *Uvāsagadasāo* refers to the site of an ancient shrine called Gunasila in the neighbourhood of Rājagṛha (VIII, 231). The Kālasilā was perhaps no other than what is called the site of Gunaśilacaitya in the Jaina *Uvāsagadasāo*. According to the Jain *Nirayāvaliya Sutta* Videha claimed Ceṭaka as its king.[5] The Jaina texts describe Rājagṛha as a rich, happy, and thriving city.[6] The settlement of Kollāga and the village of Bālaka at some distance from Nālandā were places that became scenes of early actions of Gosāla, the leader of the Ājīvikas who met Mahāvīra first in Rājagṛha.[7]

At Nālandā Lepa who was a rich householder had a bathing hall which was beautiful and contained many hundreds of pillars.[8]

In sec. xxi of the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* there is a mention of Pithuṇḍa as a sea-coast town reminding us at once of Khāravela's Pithuda-Pithuṇḍaga and Ptolemy's Pitundrai. Levi locates Pitundra in the interior of Maisolia between the mouths of the two rivers, Maisolos and Manadas, i.e. between the delta of the Godāvarī and the Mahānadī nearly at an equal distance from both. It would therefore be convenient to search for its location in the interior of Chikakole and Kaliṅgapatam towards the course of the river Nāgāvatī which also bears the name of Lāṅguliya. The *Bhagavatī Sūtra* (Saya XV, Uddessa I) refers to the following sixteen great countries: (1) Aṅga, (2) Vaṅga, (3) Magadha, (4) Malaya, (5) Mālavaka, (6) Accha, (7) Vatsa, (8) Kaccha, (9) Pāṇḍya, (10) Rāḍha, (11) Vajji, (12) Molī, (13) Kāsī, (14) Kośala, (15) Avāha, and (16) Saṁbhuttara.

According to the *Antagaḍadasāo* and the *Anuttaro-vavaiyadasāo* (introduction) Kuṇḍagrāma was a large town of which Siddhārtha was a poweful monarch. There was a Jaina temple outside the settlement at Kollāga which bore the name of Duïpalāsa.[1] A fine Jain temple was built in the centre of Pāṭaliputra.[2]

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[1] *Uttarādh.*, XXII.

[2] *Uvāsagadasāo*, pp. 84-5, 90, 95, 105, 160 and 163.

[3] *Ibid.*, Hoernle, App. I, p. 1; App. I, p. 4; pp. 105, 160 and Chaps. 4–7.

[4] See *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, p. 244.

[5] *Jaina Sūtras*, I, S.B.E., p. xiii.

[6] *Ibid.*, Pt. II, p. 419.

[7] *Uvāsagadasāo*, Hoernle, App. pp. 1-2.

[8] *Jaina Sūtras*, Pt. II, pp. 419ff.

The phrases used in the *Āyārāṅga Sūtra* like *Uttara-Khattiya-Kuṇḍapura-sannivesa* or *dahiṇamāhaṇa-kuṇḍapura-sannivesa* do not mean the northern Kṣatriya part of the place Kuṇḍapura but the northern Kṣatriya suburb of Kuṇḍapura, i.e. the *sannivesa* (suburb) of the city of Kuṇḍapura which lay towards the north and was inhabited by the Kṣatriyas of the Nāya clan; it was distinguished from the southern suburb of the same city inhabited by the Brahmins. The town of Vāṇiyagāma mentioned in secs. 77-78 of the *Uvāsagadasāo* curiously agrees with the description of Vesālī given in the Tibetan Dulva.[3] Goyama, a senior disciple of Mahāvīra, addressed him thus—'I desire, revered sir, with your permission, as the turn for the indulgence for my sixth meal has arrived to go round the city of Vāṇiyagāma, to the upper, lower and middle classes, on a begging tour of house to house collection.'[4]

The *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti* speaks of seven *varṣas* or countries constituting the seven main divisions of Jambudvīpa. The same Jain work (i, 9) locates Harivarṣa to the north of Bhāratavarṣa and the Himalayan mountain, divides the Himalayan range into two: the greater and the lesser. The former extends eastwards up to the eastern sea, that is, the Bay of Bengal, and the latter westwards and then southwards up to the sea below the Varṣadhara mountain, i.e. the Arabian Sea. The Vaitāḍhya (Vindhya) mountain range divides India into northern half called Āryāvarta and the southern half called Dākṣiṇātya.[5] The Bhāratavarṣa appears from the north like a bedstead and from the south like a bow. By the two great rivers Gaṅgā and Sindhu and the Vaitāḍhya mountain range it is divided into six portions.[6] The *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti* connects the origin of the Ganges with a flow through the eastern outlet of a great lake in the Lesser Himalayan range and that of Sindhu with a flow through its western outlet. It speaks of a similar lake in the Greater Himalayan range. The Jaina Padmahrada or a lotus lake has four outlets on its four sides from each of which flows a river. The four rivers that flow from the four outlets of the lotus lake are Gaṅgā, Rohitā, Sindhu, and Harikāntā.[7] Many rivers fall into the Ganges through which they enter the eastern sea not directly.[8] In the *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti* we have mention of eight peaks of the Greater Himalayan range, of eleven of the Lesser range and of nine of the Vaitāḍhya range which divides India into two halves. The eight peaks of the Greater Himalayan range are Haimavatapati, Rohitanadisurī, Harivarṣapati, Siddhāyatana, Vaidūrya, etc. (IV, 80). The eleven peaks of the Lesser range comprise Kumāradeva, Siddhāyatana, etc. (IV, 35). The list of nine peaks associated with the Vaitāḍhya range begins with Siddhāyatana and ends in Tamiśraguhā.[9] The Bhāratavarṣa is described as a peninsula with seas on its three sides, east, south and west.[10] In the kingdom of the Kurus there was a wealthy, famous and beautiful town named Ishukāra after its ruler.[11] Polāsapura was the capital of one of the five territories which comprised Kośala as an empire.[12] Kuśāvatī, the capital of Dakshiṇakośala, may have been precisely the city which under the name of Ayodhyā is associated with the Vaitāḍhya range along which there were sixty Vidyādhara towns.[13] The Jaina *Bhagavatī Sūtra* speaks of a village by the name of Siddhatthagāma. Magadha is called Magahatitthakhetta in the Jambudīva-paṇṇatti.

The Jaina *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* (1.8.3) speaks of the inhabitants of the Rāḍha country as rude and generally hostile to the ascetics. Sahassambavana outside the city of Polāsapura was a Jain residence.[14]

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[1] Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo*, I, p. 2.

[2] *Āvassaka Sūtra*, p. 689.

[3] Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, p. 6.

[4] *Upāsakadasāo-sūtram*, I, p. 36.

[5] *J.P.*, I, 12.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, 9.

[7] *Ibid.*, IV, 34, 35.

[8] *Ibid.*, IV, 34.

[9] *Ibid.*, I, 12.

[10] *Ibid.*, I, 10, 12.

[11] *Uttarādh.*, XIV, i.

[12] *Uvāsagadasāo.*

[13] *J.P.*, I, 12.

[14] *Uvāsagadasāo*, Chs. IV–VII.

There lived at Benares a prosperous householder named Sūrādeva. He possessed a very rich treasure of gold and herds. He took upon himself the Law of the householder and lived in conformity with the teachings of the Law which he had received from Mahāvīra.[1] A Jain monk Bala stayed in a grove near Benares. The presiding deity of the grove became his follower. Bhadrā, daughter of king Kauśalika, came to that grove, seeing the dirty monk, she could not conceal her aversion. The presiding deity of the grove, to punish her for her disrespect for the Jain monk, possessed her. As no physician could cure her madness, the deity said that she would recover only if she were offered as bride to Bala. The king agreed. Bhadrā became sound and went to choose Bala as her husband. Bala refused to marry her.[2]

Rājagṛha was rich, happy and thriving.[3] There lived a friar versed in magic art in Rājagṛha. He carried off every woman he saw. The king, being informed of it, determined to find out the friar and punish him. The friar was killed by the king who released all the women, one of them refused to return to her husband being desperately smitten with love for her seducer. On the advice of some wise men, she was made to drink the milk mixed up with the friar's bones. This took the spell off her and cured her of her strange passion.[4]

Historical references

In a passage of the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, the Ugras, the Bhojas, the Aikṣvākas and the Kauravas are associated with the Jñātris and the Licchavis as subjects of the same ruler and members of the same assembly.[5]

Hemacandra in his *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* (canto 8, v. 339) says that 155 years after the liberation of Mahāvīra, Candragupta became the king of the Mauryas. The *Bhagavatī Sūtra*[6] says that the great war was fought between Kūṇiya (Ajātaśatru) and Ceḍaga of Vaiśālī for the possession of an extraordinary elephant. The *Āvassaka Sūtra* (p. 676) refers to the Licchavi princesses named Prabhāvatī, Padmāvatī, Mṛgāvatī, Śivā, Jyeṣṭhā, Sujyeṣṭhā and Cellanā. Padmāvatī was married to king Dadhivāhana of Campā which was once a great centre of Jainism.[7] Candanā or Candrabālā was the first female who embraced Jainism shortly after Mahāvīra had attained the *Kevalaship*. It was she who headed all the female lay and other worshippers of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra (*Kalpasūtra, Subodhikā-ṭīkā, sūtra* 133, p. 123). During the war between Candanā's father and king Śatānika, she was caught hold of by an army of the enemy and sold in Kauśāmbī to a banker named Dhanāvaha who named her Candanā in spite of her already bearing the family name of Vasumatī. The banker's wife Mūlā was jealous of her and having cut her hair put her into custody. She afterwards became a nun (*Āvassaka Sūtra*, pp. 223–25; *Kalpasūtra, Subodhikā-ṭīkā, sūtra* 118, pp. 106-7). Mṛgāvatī who was married to king Śatānika of Kauśāmbī was also known as a princess of Videha (cf. *Āvassaka Sūtra*, p. 223). Śatānika's sister Jayantī was a staunch follower of Mahāvīra (*Bhagavatī Sūtra, sūtra* 443, p. 558). Śivā was married to Candapradyota of Ujjayinī (cf. *Āvassaka Sūtra*, p. 677). Vatsa king Udāyana was married to Vāsavadattā (*Āvassaka Sūtra*, p. 674; cf. *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā*, parva X, pp. 142–45). Vāsuladattā, the daughter of Pradyota of Avanti, became the wife or one of the three wives of king Udena of Kosambī (*Āvassaka Sūtra*, p. 674). Jyeṣṭhā was married to Nandivardhana, brother of Lord Mahāvīra and ruler of Kuṇḍagrāma (*Āvassaka Sūtra*, p. 677). Sujyeṣṭhā joined the Order of Mahāvīra's disciples (*Āvassaka Sūtra*, p. 685). Mahāvīra during his wanderings as a monk visited Kāśī (*Āvassaka Sūtra*, p. 221; *Kalpasūtra, Subodhikā-ṭīkā*, p. 106). Aṅga was governed as a separate province under Kūṇika the Magadhan prince as its king with Campā as its capital (*Bhagavatī Sūtra*, p. 316; *Aupapātika Sūtra, sūtra* 6). Ajātaśatru of Magadha not only humbled Kośala and permanently annexed Kāśī but also absorbed the State of Vaiśālī (*Bhagavatī Sūtra*, p. 315; *Āvassaka Sūtra*, p. 684). Magadha and Avanti were brought face to face with each other (*Āvassaka Sūtra*, p. 690; *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, canto 6, v. 191). Udāyin was a devout Jain. Nanda, the son of a courtesan by a barber, was a king of Magadha. He ascended the throne 60 years after the *Nirvaṇa* of Mahāvīra (*Āvassaka Sūtra*, p. 690). The Nanda dynasty had a line of Jain ministers beginning with Kalpaka who was made to accept the ministership (*Āvassaka Sūtra*, pp. 691-92). With the help of this minister, Nanda uprooted all the reigning Kṣatriya dynasties (*Āvassaka Sūtra*, p. 693). The minister of the ninth Nanda was Sakaṭāla who had two sons. After the death of Sakaṭāla, Nanda offered the ministership to his elder son Sthūlabhadra, but he refused this office. He then joined the Order of the Jainas under Sambhūtavijaya (*Kalpasūtra*, *Subodhikā-ṭīkā*, p. 162). According to the Jain tradition Candragupta was the son of a daughter of the chief of the village of feeders of the king's peacocks (*mayūrapoṣaka*) (cf. *Āvassaka Sūtra*, pp. 433-34). After the defeat of the Nanda king, his treasures were divided by Candragupta and Parvata between themselves (*Āvassaka Sūtra*, p. 435). According to the *Āvassaka Sūtra* (p. 433) Cāṇakya was a native of Caṇaka, a village of the Golla district. Bindusāra, the son and successor of Candragupta, was also guided by his father's minister Cāṇakya.[1] Aśoka's grandson, Samprati, was converted to the Jain faith by Suhastin.[2] The ten half-brothers of Kūṇika were killed in the campaign against Ceḍaga, the great Licchavi king.[3]

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[1] *Uvāsagadasāo*, p. 100.

[2] *Jaina Sūtras*, II, p. 50.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, 419.

[4] *Sūtrakṛtāṅga, Jaina Sūtras*, II, 383.

[5] Cf. Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, p. 139, f.n. 304.

[6] *Āgamodayasamiti*, p. 316; cf. Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā*, parva X, vv. 205-6.

[7] *Āvassaka Sūtra*, pp. 676-77.

The Jaina sacred books speak of the Bhojas as Kṣatriyas and descendents from those whom Ṛṣabha acknowledged as persons deserving of honour.[4] A Bhoja princess showed extraordinary religious zeal and strength of mind in overcoming all temptations. This princess named Rājimatī was the daughter of a Bhoja king. She was overwhelmed with affliction when she heard of the ordination of the Jina. She subdued her senses and entered the Order. She was tempted by Rathanemi, her husband's elder brother, but she was successful in overcoming all temptations and maintaining her virtues unsullied.[5]

In the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* we meet with the name Lecchaī and the same form occurs in the *Kalpasūtra* attributed to Bhadrabāhu who is considered to have been a contemporary of Candragupta, the great Maurya emperor. The Jain commentators equate the Pkt. Lecchaī with the Skt. Lecchaki and according to the laws of phonetic transformation, the Sanskrit Lecchavi and Lecchaki would both lead to Lecchaī in Prākrit.[6]

Hierarchy in early Jainism

The hierarchy as conceived in early Jainism seems to place the Vemānikadevas as the highest in the scale, then the Jyotiṣis, the Vānamantras and the Bhabanavāsīs. Below them are the earth-lives, water-lives, fire-lives and wind-lives. Above all of them stands the incomparable Jina.[7] With the Jainas the eight *maṅgalas* were the auspicious symbols or emblems, e.g. nadiyāvatta, bhaddāsana, kalasa, maccha, dappaṇa, etc. Other enumerations of *maṅgalas* are also met with in the Jaina texts.[8] Early Jain texts go to prove that the Jainas utilized the Lakkhaṇapāṭhakas in establishing that the founder of their own Order was the greatest of men.[9]

Different subjects of study

The *Aupapātika Sūtra* (sec. 77) gives an interesting list of Vedic branches of learning or subjects of study: *Ṛgveda*, *Yajuraveda*, *Sāmaveda*, *Atharvaṇaveda*, *Vedāṅga*, *Upāṅga*, *Nighaṇṭu*, *Itihāsa*, *Saṣṭhitantra*, etc. The six Vedāṅgas are said to have been represented by the auxiliary works on *Saṅkhāna* (arithmetic), *Sikkhā* (phonetics), *Kappa* (ritual), *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar), *Chanda* (metre), *Nirukti* (exegesis) and *Jyotiṣa*

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[1] *Āvassaka Sūtra*, p. 184.

[2] *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, p. 69.

[3] *Nirayāvali Sūtra*, pp. 3–19.

[4] *Jaina Sūtras*, II, p. 71.

[5] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 115 foll.

[6] *Siri-kalpasūtram*, Bhav. ed., p. 192; *Jaina Sūtras*, S.B.E., Vol. XXII, p. 266, n. 1.

[7] *Aupapātika Sūtra*, Secs. 32–37.

[8] *Ibid.*, Secs. 49, 53, 55.

[9] *Ibid.*, Sec. 16.

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(astronomy-astrology). The Upāṅgas are nothing but further elaborations of the subjects dealt with in the Vedāṅgas. The Saṣṭhitantra was the authoritative treatise of the Sāṁkhya school as distinguished from the school of Kāpila. In the *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra* (sec. 41) we have mention of *Buddhasāsana*, the Vaiśeṣika system, Purāṇas, Vyākaraṇas, Nāṭakas, Arthaśāstra, Kāmasūtra and the like. The same sūtra (sec. 41) refers to the four Vedas with Aṅgas and Upāṅgas and seventy-two Kalās. The elements of Botany, Zoology, Geology, Anatomy, Physiology, and Embryology were further developed by the Jainas. In the *Aupapātika Sūtra* (sec. 107) carpentry, wood-carvings, stone-masonry, etc., were all connected with the art of building.

Modern researches have tended to hold that an older form of Ardhamāgadhī gained ground till the time of Aśoka and that it was from such a basis that Pāli or *tantibhāsā* developed afterwards as a highly standardized form of Prakrit which is earlier in age than the Ardhamāgadhī of the Jain Canon.[1]

Hells

It is interesting to note that sufferings in hell as described in the Buddhist and Jain books are almost identical. Neither in the Buddhist nor in the Brahmanical system, and in fact in no Indian religious system, is there any conception of eternal, never-ending suffering in hell, like the Christian, or rather, the Hebrew eschatological conception of *Gehenna*, the abode of the wicked where they suffer endless torments by fire. Some of the Christian fathers no doubt hold that ultimately there would be an end to the punishment of the most wicked as well as of the devils; but this is not the idea of either the early or the mediaeval Church, and even Protestant Divines stick to the idea of the never-ending punishment of the damned. This, however, is quite foreign to the Indian conception, according to which, every act either good or bad, produces happiness or suffering only for a limited period, though the period may be considerably long according to the nature of the deed.

According to the Jains, in hell there is suffering from heat and cold.[2] The sinners are cut, pierced and hacked to pieces with swords and daggers, with darts and javelins. They undergo sharp horrible and acute pain. The imprudent sinners who injure many beings without relenting will go to hell and cross the river Vaitaraṇī, the waves of which cut like sharp razors. They are pierced with long pikes and tridents. They roll about and are roasted in the Kadamba-Vālukā river. They come to the great impassable hell called Asūrya,[3] i.e. where the sun does not shine. Here also they are roasted. The sinners are hewn with axes like pieces of timber. They are stewed in iron caldrons filled with their own blood. They are not reduced to ashes. They undergo this kind of punishment for their misdeeds. In hells sinners suffer in consequence of their sinful deeds done by them while on earth. The noses, ears and lips of sinners are cut off with razors and their tongues are pulled out with sharp pikes. They are thrown into large caldrons and boiled there. They are compelled to drink molten lead and copper when they are thirsty.[4] In the hell there is a terrible towering mountain called the Vaitālika where evil doers are long tortured. Thus the sinners are tortured day and night. They cry at the top of their voices in a dreadful hell which contains various implements of torture.

Hells are round inside, square outside, on their floor razor-like arrows are thick-set. They are filled with perpetual darkness. Their floor is slippery with a coat of marrow fat, flesh, blood and matter and besmeared with grease. These hells are very rugged, difficult to pass and horried. Those who are condemned to live in these hells do not sleep nor slumber, nor do they get any consolation, or comfort or recreation, but the denizens of hell suffer intolerable agonies.[5]

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[1] *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* (PTS), Introduction.

[2] *Uttarādh.*, XIX, 47, 48.

[3] *Sūtra-kṛ.*, I, 11.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, 25.

[5] *Ibid.*, 2, 67.

HISTORY OF THE ART OF GRAFTING PLANTS

(Between *c.* 500 B.C. and A.D. 1800)

By P. K. GODE

In the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1929, Vol. 10, pp. 598–600) there is an article on *Grafting in Animals* which begins with the following remarks:—

'Every gardener is well acquainted with grafting in plants. But it is less well known that pieces of animals too may be joined in permanent union. Grafting in animals is practised mainly for scientific purposes or for the restoration of weakened or lost parts, etc.'

In the article on *Horticulture* (*Enc. Brit.*, Vol. 11, pp. 774ff.) we are told that the term *Horticulture* is derived from the Latin *hortus*—a garden and *Culture*—cultivation. *Horticulture* originally meant the cultivation of a garden in contrast to agriculture or the cultivation of fields. In the remarks on *Plant Raising* in this article we are informed that '*some plants give their best when grown on roots which are not their own* . . . . This is a very convenient method of increasing plants, for the stocks may be grown and got ready to receive the particular variety, which is joined on by *grafting* or budding. *Grafting* is a spring operation, etc.' In the above article I don't find any reference to the history of *grafting*.

In the article on *Chimaera* (*Ency. Brit.*, Vol. 5, p. 502) we are informed that this term is used in botany to apply to certain types of plants formerly known as '*graft-hybrids*'. These *Chimaeras* have been known in gardens for some time but their nature was understood in 1907 by H. Winkler, who produced many *Chimaeras* by *cleft-grafting* of main shoots.

In this article also I don't find any history of the art of grafting practised by nations of antiquity.

In his Marathi book[1] on horticulture Prof. H. P. Paranjpe, retired Govt. Horticulturist, makes some remarks on the *history of grafting* (कलमांचा इतिहास) which are pertinent to the present inquiry. I note below some points from these remarks:—

(1) It seems that the art of grafting may not have been current in ancient India.

(2) There is no doubt that the Portuguese first introduced this art in India.

(3) Under the rule of the Marathas and that of the Bijapur kings much attention was paid to *mango* cultivation and several varieties of *mango* were cultivated but there is no evidence to prove that *grafting* was practised in this connection.

(4) Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya in his work महाभारताचा उपसंहार (p. 349) quotes the following line from the *Droṇaparva* of the *Mahābhārata*:—

> "चूतारामो यथा भग्नः पंचवर्षः फलोपगः ।"

This line refers to the destruction of a mango garden, in which the trees, five years old, are bearing fruit. According to R. B. Vaidya this simile brings to our mind the idea of gardens of small grafted mango trees bearing fruit, now current. Prof. Paranjpe states that it would be too bold a presumption to conclude from the above reference that the art of grafting was current in *Mahābhārata* times.

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[1] *Phaḷjhāḍāñcā Bāg*, Poona, 1930, pp. 42-43.

(5) Ordinary seed-grown mango trees, if properly cultivated, are capable of bearing fruit within five or six years. It is a matter for surprise how the art of grafting disappeared from India, a preponderantly agricultural country, if it was once known. It is also surprising why this art, if it existed, did not spread and further why we should not find Deśī or *Sanskrit* words for the terms कलम and खुंट now in vogue.

The mango fruit and tree have been very popular in India and any art which can make this tree bear fruit early would be welcome to all. If such an art was once known it seems impossible that anything could have made it extinct.

(6) There is a tradition at Ratnagiri that Mount Stuart Elphinstone (A.D. 1779–1859) planted a grafted mango tree at this place at the close of the Peshwa period. This tree is still pointed out by the local people. Though it is a very old tree we cannot say how far this tradition is true to history.

It is clear from the above remarks that the art of grafting was unknown in India before the Portuguese advent in India (A.D. 1498) according to Prof. Paranjpe.

Maharaja Daulatrao Scindia of Gwalior (*A.D. 1780–1827*) was a great lover of gardens and gardening. He laid out the famous *Phool Bag* of Gwalior. Śiva Kavi, a court-poet of this Maharaja, composed a Hindi work called *Bāg Vilās* [1] in which he refers to the four types of *roses* and many other fruit and flower trees worth planting in a model garden. In the following lines he refers to the कलम of roses (गुलाब):—

"जल दे आश्विनमासमे; पुनि सुन लेइ जवाब।
पूस मास मे कलम कर सींचो सरस गुलाब॥
आवे कली गुलाब मे, तबको सुनो विधान।
कृष्णपच्छ भरि माघ मे, नीर न दीजै जान॥"

The reference to the कलम of roses in the month of *Pūsa* or *Pauṣa* (January-February) is worth noting. I leave it to our horticulturists to say if the term कलम [2] here refers to the *grafting* of roses or merely ordinary *cutting* taken for transplantation.

In the *Shorter Oxford Dictionary* we get the following information about the term GRAFT and its derivations:—

GRAFT=*1843* (a modification of *Graff*)—the nature of—*t* is uncertain—
= a shoot inserted in a slit made in another stock
= (*1626*)—to insert a graft or grafts
= (*1624*)—to produce (fruits) by grafting.

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[1] My friend Subhedar B. R. Bhabrao of Gwalior has published an article on *Bāg Vilās*. I am quoting from an offprint of this article kindly supplied by him. (See also my article on *Manufacture of Rose-water*, etc., in *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, pp. 180–183.)

[2] In the Marathi *Śabdakośa* by Date-karve, Vol. II (1933), pp. 621-622, the term कलम and its several meanings are recorded. Among these meanings we find कलम explained as the art of *grafting*. Six kinds of grafting recorded here are:—

(1) जिभलीचें कलम, (2) पाचरीचं कलम, (3) दाबाचें कलम, (4) खुंटीचें कलम, (5) गुटीचें कलम, (6) भेटकलम—No usages of the term कलम have been recorded in this dictionary. Hence it is difficult to say when the term कलम came to be applied to the art of *grafting*.

GRAFTER = (1616) one who grafts trees
= (1884) a kind of hand-saw used in grafting.

Graff—arch. ME (OF. *grafe, greffe* (mod. *greffe*), late L. *graphium, etc.*).

The usages of the term *Graft* recorded above begin from *A.D. 1483*, i.e. 15 years earlier than the Portuguese advent in India (*A.D. 1498*). We must record the usages of the term कलम in the sense of 'grafting' in Hindi literature, if any, between, say, A.D. 1500 and 1800.

In the article on *Mango* in the *Hobson-Jobson* (Yule and Burnwell, London, 1903, pp. 553–555) we find a record of references to *Mango* by foreigners from *c. A.D. 1328 to 1883.* In these references *Goa mangoes* are praised as follows:—

A.D. 1663—Burnier in his Travels states that the best mangoes 'come from *Bengale*, Golkunda and *Goa* and these are indeed excellent'.

A.D. 1673—Fryer refers to *Goa mangoes* as follows:—

> 'When ripe the apples of the Hesperides are but Fables to them; for taste the Nectarine, Peach and Apricot fall short.'

A.D. 1727—A. Hamilton praises *Goa mangoes*:

> 'The *Goa mango* is reckoned the largest and most delicious to the taste of any in the world and I may add, the wholesomest and best tasted of any fruit in the world.'

Evidently the above references to *Goa mangoes* are to the *grafted* varieties, which were produced by the care and skill of the Jesuits (see *Annes Maritimos*, ii, 270). We must collect and record references to *Goa mangoes* in Indian sources between A.D. 1550 and, say, 1800. I propose to record in a special paper the history of grafted mangoes in India. In the present paper I am concerned with the history of the art of grafting, which has revolutionized horticulture in all countries of the world.

Though the Jesuits of Goa practised the art of grafting on Indian mango trees and produced its best varieties they were not the inventors of this art. In his chapter on the 'Spread of the Mohammedan Power' Davies[1] speaks of the contribution of the Mohammedans to science and culture. In this connection he quotes an extract from *Europe in the Middle Age* (Thatcher and Schwill) published by Murray. In this extract, a reference is made to the art of *grafting* practised by the Mohammedans as follows:—

> 'They (Mohammedans) practised farming in a scientific way. They had good systems of irrigation. They knew the value of fertilizers. They fitted their crops to the quality of the ground. *They excelled in horticulture. They knew how to graft and were able to produce some new varieties of fruits and flowers.* They introduced into the West many trees and plants from the East.'

If the above remarks are correct the history of the art of *grafting* goes back to the period of Arabic or Mohammedan civilization, say, between A.D. 650 and 1150 and as this civilization was indebted to Greece, Persia and perhaps India as well, we have to trace references to *grafting* in all these sources. For this purpose I note below the following information about *grafting* gathered by me from *A Short History of Plant Sciences* by Howard S. Reed, Waltham, Mass., U.S.A., 1942:—

Page 35—Theophrastus of Eresus was the founder of the botanical science. He was born *c. 371 B.C.* He was a disciple of Aristotle who had the highest esteem for this disciple. Aristotle in his Will gave Theophrastus his garden and library. Theophrastus took Aristotle's son under his care after his father's death. Theo. wrote 200 treatises of which two botanical works—(1) *The History of Plants* and (2) *The Causes of Plants*—have survived. His knowledge of plants included many plants brought from Asia by Alexander's followers.

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[1] Vide p. 286 of *An Outline of the History of the World* by H. A. Davies, Oxford University Press, London, 1937. The Mohammedan or Arabic civilization during the five centuries following the death of Mohammed evolved a civilization much superior to anything that existed in Europe at the time. This civilization was greatly indebted to the civilization of *Greece, Persia* and perhaps *India* as well; but it added something of its own to what it received from these sources . . . . . . The conquests of the *Turks* were fatal to this civilization . . . . . . Spain was beyond the orbit of Turkish influence and the Moorish civilization in Spain maintained its vigour and power for centuries longer.

Prof. Reed quotes Green's *Landmarks of Botanical History* (Part I—prior to 1562 A.D.), Smithsonian Institution, 1909:—

> 'He (Theo.) wrote from the midst of an advanced civilization . . . ., a time when many cultivated varieties of all sorts of things had been derived through cultivation and when it was perfectly well known that such improved varieties cannot be depended on to come true to seed, but may be preserved, and the stock of each increased by division of roots, by cuttings, and by *grafting*.'

P. 38—*De Causis Plantarum* (The Causes of Plants) of Theophrastus contains less of scientific interest than the *Historia* (The History of Plants). . . . . The subjects discussed are:

(1) propagation of plants by *seeds*, *grafting* and *budding*,
(2) the effects of weather and soil,
(3) the arts of cultivation,
(4) growth and periodicity in plants,
(5) heat and cold in plants.

P. 39—Theo. studied under Plato and Aristotle and witnessed the careers of Philip and Alexander of Macedon and knew the latter personally. He *died* about *285 B.C.* having remarked '*We die just when we are beginning to live.*'

P. 91—*Edme Mariotte* (*c. 1620–1684*) developed research in France . . . . He made some very pertinent observations stating that the sap of the original trunk acquires different qualities in each *graft* as shown by the character of the fruits.

P. 116—Picture of *graftage* from *P. Crescentus*, Basil, *1548*.

It appears from the references to *grafting* in the works of *Theophrastus* (B.C. 371–285) that the art of *grafting* was an established feature in Greek horticulture in the fourth century B.C. We may, therefore, safely take the antiquity of grafting up to about 500 B.C.

Pliny the Elder (*A.D. 23–79*) was one of the most meritorious of the Roman writers. He had extraordinary capacity for work and described the way in which he continuously studied, read, or dictated to his secretaries. His *Natural History* in 37 books is a very elaborate encyclopaedia, containing a wealth of information not to be found elsewhere. He said it was compiled from some 2,000 volumes, most of which have since been lost. His principal authorities were Greek. *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus* were frequently mentioned.

In view of the above information about Pliny recorded by Prof. Reed (*Plant Sciences*, pp. 41–43) I have begun to study Pliny's *Natural History* in its English Translation[1] by H. Rackham (Loeb Classical Library, William Heinemann, London, MCMXLV). In Book XV Pliny makes the following remarks about *grafting*:—

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[1] Vol. IV (Books XII–XVI deal with *vines* and trees). Book XIII deals with *foreign trees* and their use in supplying scent, fruit, *paper* and wood. Pliny mentions *attar of roses*, *oil of saffron*, almond-oil, cardamom, cinnamon, fenugreek (मथी), oil of sesame, olive oil, costus (कुष्ठ), grape, palm trees, dates, plums, pistachio, figs. Egyptian gum, papyrus (discovery of paper due to the victory of Alexander, before which people wrote on palm leaves and other barks), parchment invented at pergamum, *citrus oil used for preserving books against moths*, cotton, peacock's tail, poppy, lotus tree of Africa, pomegranate (5 kinds), *glass*, etc.

Book XII mentions ivory, citron, earthenware pots (with holes) in which plants were imported, *Indian trees* (ebony, banyan tree, banana, flax tree, pepper tree, ginger), cane-sugar

Page 327—Grafting.

> 'XVII. *This department of life has long ago arrived at its highest point,* mankind having explored every possibility inasmuch as *Virgil* (Georg. II, 69) speaks of *grafting* nuts on an arbutus, apples on a plane and cherries on an elm. And nothing further can be devised—at all events it is now a long time since any new kind of fruit has been discovered. Moreover religious scruples do not permit us to cross all varieties by *grafting*; for instance, we must not *graft* upon a thorn, inasmuch as it is not easy to expiate thunderbolts when they have struck them, and it is declared that the same number of bolts will strike it in a single flash as the kinds of trees that have been grafted on it.'

Page 359—'XXX. Before the victory of Lucius in the war against Mithridates, that is down to *74 B.C.* there were no *cherry* trees in Italy. Lucullus first imported them from Pontus and in 120 years they have crossed the ocean and got as far as Britain . . . . It is less than five years ago that what is called *laurel-cherry* was introduced, which has a not disagreeable bitter flavour and is produced by *grafting* a cherry on a bay-tree.'

The above extracts of the *first century A.D.* clearly prove that the art of *grafting* had reached its highest point in Rome in this century. We have seen above that Pliny quotes *Virgil*, the first of all the Roman epic poets (*B.C. 70–A.D. 19*) on *grafting*. When Pliny wrote, there was a revival of intellectual energy in every field. Geographical horizons were enlarged, London was established as a Roman Settlement, Agricola sailed for the first time around Britain and an *ocean route to India* was opened up through the Red Sea. We have already noted above the Indian plants noted by Pliny, viz. the *banyan, banana, flax, pepper, ginger,* etc. In view of this Roman contact with India as also the earlier Graeco-Indian contact and the Greek occupation of the Panjab (between 190 B.C. and 40 A.D.) we are tempted to inquire if the fame of the art of *grafting* current in Greece and Rome between, say, 500 B.C. and 100 A.D. had reached India prior or posterior to the composition of the earliest medical treatises of *Caraka, Suśruta* and others, which show a deep knowledge of plants[1] of medical and nutritive value. The question now arises: Did the Indians develop the art of *grafting* at any stage of their botanical history?

The only evidence about the *Indian knowledge of grafting* so far pointed out by scholars belongs to the *sixth century A.D.* It is as follows:—

Dr. G. P. Majumdar in his chapter on *Plant Physiology*[2] (pp. 39-40 of *Vanaspati* Calcutta, 1927) records the following evidence of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira (*c. A.D. 500*):—

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from India, more esteemed, linen of India, costus of India, Indian nard, frankincense, cinnamon, etc.

For those who care to study the history of Indian Materia Medica a close knowledge of Pliny's *Natural History* is essential. We must know the history of each drug in its world-perspective.

[1] Vide pp. 152-153 of Dr. R. N. Saletore's *Life in the Gupta Age*, Bombay, 1943. Here *Trees* mentioned in Gupta inscriptions are recorded as follows: *A.D. 423-424*—[कूलताल, बन्धूक, बाण]; *A.D. 473-474*—[रोध्र, प्रियङ्गु, लवली, नगणा, अशोक, सिंदुवार, कंतक, अतिमुक्तक]; *A.D. 482* [वृक, अम्रात]; *Kālidāsa* mentions the following plants: कोविदार, पुन्नाग, सप्तपर्ण, ताम्बूली, पूग, अक्षोट, सहकार, ताली, प्लक्ष, सप्तच्छद, पारिजात, शमी, अशोक, श्याम, तमाल, सरल, कटक, लोध्र, देवदारु, शल्लकी, नीप, साल, कृष्णागुरु, खर्जूर, हरिचन्दन, अतिमुक्त,—*trees; creepers* like प्रियङ्गु, लवली, माधवी, निचुल, etc.; *flowers* such as—लोध्र, सन्तानक, केतकी, मालती, बकुल, यूथिका, शिरीष, नमेरु, कदम्ब, कन्दल, अशोक, लवङ्ग, मधूक, पङ्कज. बन्धुजीव.

[2] On p. 62 of *Vanaspati* Dr. Majumdar refers to the various methods of propagation of plants, viz. (1) बीजरुह by fruits and seeds, (2) मूलज by roots, (3) स्कन्धज by cuttings, (4) स्कन्धे

'Methods of plantations by *cuttings* and *graftings*: In addition to the ordinary method of *propagation by seeds* the methods of propagation by *cuttings* and *graftings were known from time immemorial*, so much so, that the plants to which these methods can be applied are definitely named.'

The following verses from the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* [1] distinctly name the plants and these methods:—

'*Kānthāl* (Jack fruit tree), *Aśoka*, *Kadalī* (plantain), *Jambu*, *Lakoocha*, *Dādima*, *Drākshyā*, *Pālibala*, *Vījapura* (Mātulanga) *Atimuktaka*—these are the plants to be propagated by means of *cuttings* besmeared with cowdung (एते द्रुमाः काण्डा रोप्याः गोमयेन प्रलेपिताः).'

'Better than this method is the method of propagation by *grafting*. This can be done in two ways—the cutting of one plant is either inserted on the *root* of another plant, or on the *stem* of another plant (मूलोच्छेदेऽथवा स्कन्धे रोपणीयाः परं ततः).' [2]

'*Grafts* should be smeared with cowdung. For transplanting (अन्यदेशे नीत्वारोपयेदित्यर्थः) the plants should be smeared from root to the top (आमूलस्कन्धलिप्तानां) with ghee (clarified butter), sesame oil, the honey of the Khudra variety of the bee of the Ushira (Andropogon Laniger or Andropogon citrarum), the *Viḍaṅga* (Embelica ribes) milk and cowdung.' [3]

The above reference to *grafting* recorded by Dr. Majumdar has been reproduced by Prof. R. Gangopadhyāya in his book on *Agriculture and Agriculturists in Ancient India*, Serampore, 1932, on page 69. In referring to this evidence Prof. Gangopadhyāya observes:

Cutting and grafting:—

'The method of propagation by *cuttings* and *graftings* was also *known to India from very early times*. The following lines from the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (chapter 55) will be illustrative.'

We must try to record more evidence in support of the evidence of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* regarding *grafting* [4] as practised in India about A.D. 500.

रोपणीयाः by graftings, (5) अग्रबीज by apical portions, (6) पर्णयोनि by leaves, (7) सौनरुधज (?) Here also Dr. Majumdar refers to only the बृहत्संहिता passage regarding *grafting* (chapter 54 of बृहत्संहिता, stanza 6).

[1] Vide p. 303 of *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (Calcutta, 1865):—

"पनसाशोककदलीजम्बुलकुचदाडिमाः ।
द्राक्षापालीवताश्चैव बीजपूरातिमुक्तकाः ॥ ४ ॥
एते द्रुमाः काण्डारोप्या गोमयेन प्रलेपिताः ।"

[2] *Ibid.*—"मूलच्छेदेऽथवा स्कन्धे रोपणीयाः प्रयत्नतः ॥ ५ ॥"

(*Variants.*—D.N.—मूले ; E—मूलच्छेदेषु without अथवा; C—in the text चिरं ततः; E—परंतपः for प्रयत्नतः, it seems after the expl. that Cr. परं तत.)

[3] *Ibid.*—"अजातशाखाञ्छिशिरे जातशाखान् हिमागमे ।
वर्षागमे च सुस्कन्धान्यथादिक् प्रतिरोपयेत् ॥ ६ ॥
घृतोशीरतिलक्षौद्रविडङ्गक्षीरगोमयैः ।
आमूलस्कन्धलिप्तानां सङ्क्रामणविरोपणम् ॥ ७ ॥"

[4] Compare the following remarks about *plastic surgery* of Indians on p. 178 of *Aryan Medical Science* by the Thakore-Saheb of Gondal, London, 1896:—

'They (Indians) were experts in forming new ears and noses. This operation has been practised for ages in India, where cutting of the nose and ears was a common punishment, and

The reference to *grafting* in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* is made 450 years later than Pliny's passage on grafting quoted by me and so far as I know it is the only reference advanced to prove the Indian knowledge of *grafting* prior to the use of the grafting method on Indian mango trees by the Jesuits of Goa about A.D. 1550. Are we to suppose that the art of grafting was known to Indians, say, up to A.D. 600 but later fell into disuse and consequently no references to it were made in the numerous literary works, medical or otherwise?

Any popular practice like *grafting* having a direct bearing on agriculture is not likely to remain silent if it was widely practised in all the provinces of India through centuries. The Indians developed large gardens [1] and practised horticulture for pleasure and profit as proved by the evidence of Jain, Brahmanical and Buddhist texts. We must, therefore, make a thorough search in these and allied texts and see if there is any additional evidence about *grafting* to corroborate the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* reference noted above.

As the art of *grafting* is connected with horticulture we have to trace its history in the history of the Plant lore of Assyria and Egypt,[2] which is earlier than the Plant lore of the Greeks and Romans. The *Assyrians* cultivated fruits in the alluvial plain deposited by the Tigris and Euphrates [3] rivers. Agriculture developed early in Assyria and was successfully prosecuted for many centuries. When and where the Assyrians got their crop plants is not known. Some were indigenous while others came from the Iranian plateau. In addition to cereals the Assyrians cultivated *fruits*, including *apricots*, *figs*, *olives*, *pomegranates*, *quinces*, and *grapes*. The *Egyptians* began the cultivation of food-plants 'possibly ten thousand years ago'. The records of the botanical achievements of the Egyptian are scanty. What we know has been obtained indirectly from the pictures on the walls of tombs and the funeral wreaths and fragments of plants preserved in these tombs. *Herodotus*, the Greek historian, travelled in Egypt about *465 B.C.* and recorded an account of the cultivation of crops and fruits as he observed it personally. In addition to cereals the Egyptians cultivated plants such as *beans*, *lentils*, *radishes*, *melons*, *onions* and *garlic*. Herodotus mentioned several of them as articles given to labourers who constructed the Great Pyramid. Many ideas of the Materia Medica of the Egyptians appear to have been borrowed later by the Greeks. The oldest Egyptian medical papyrus was written about *1900 B.C.* This record implies a long development of Egyptian botany and medicine probably from *3000 B.C.* The Egyptians domesticated plants or introduced them from *Chaldaea*.

The foregoing points about the Egyptian and Assyrian plant lore noted by me from Prof. Reed's book on the *History of Plant Sciences* lead us to inquire: Was the

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"our modern Surgeons have been able to borrow from them (Hindoos) the operation of *rhinoplasty*" (*Weber*). On this subject *Dr. Hirschburg* of Berlin says: "The whole *plastic surgery* in Europe had taken its new flight, when these cunning devices of Indian workmen became known to us. The transplanting of sensible skinflaps is also an entirely Indian method."'

[1] See p. 54 of *Arthaśāstra* (Eng. Trans. by Shama Sastry, Mysore, 1929), chap. on 'Buildings within the Fort'.

'Families of workmen may in any other way be provided with sites befitting their occupation and field work. Besides working in *flower gardens*, *fruit gardens*, *vegetable gardens* and *paddy fields* allotted to them, they (families) shall collect grains and merchandise in abundance as authorized.'

Prof. Reed in his *Plant Sciences* (pp. 113ff.) deals with the history of (1) *Roman Gardens*, (2) *North European Gardens* (from the time of Charlemagne onwards), (3) *Post-Renaissance Developments in European Gardens*, and (4) *Plant Introductions*.

[2] Vide pp. 8–15 of *Plant Sciences* by H. S. Reed.

[3] Vide the *Description of Mesopotamia and Baghdad written about 900 A.D.* by Ibn Serapion in Arabic (article in *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, by Guy le Strange).

The Arabs inherited from the Persians the system of canalization, which joined the lower courses of the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris* making the *sawād* or alluvial plain one of the richest countries of the East.—Yākūt (*A.D. 1225*) says that *Nāṣibin* (Roman *Nisibis*) was celebrated for its *white roses* and its 40,000 gardens. *Dates, oranges, lemons* were grown at *Jabāl Bārimmā*.

art of *grafting* practised by the Greeks and Romans inherited by them from the Assyrians and Egyptians? My cursory perusal of Reed's book has not been successful in locating an exact answer to this query in his most scholarly account of the history of the Plant lore of the ancients, though it is possible to suppose that the Greeks, who borrowed some ideas from the Egyptian Materia Medica, may have borrowed the art of *grafting* from them or from the Assyrians, who were pioneers in horticulture many centuries prior to the blossoming of Greek culture and civilization.

We in Western India have been cultivating the grafted mango trees for more than 100 years and eating their fruits every season but the history of the *art of grafting* plants, which has revolutionized horticulture during the last 2,500 years, is absolutely unknown to us. I have, therefore, recorded in this paper some facts about this history and am sure they will be supplemented by other scholars with references to *grafting* in Indian and foreign sources. I would specially welcome the evidence of *Pehlvi*, *Persian* and *Arabic* texts on the art of *grafting* from scholars who have made a close study of these texts, both published and unpublished. The following table will show at a glance the chronology of references to *grafting* recorded in this paper:—

Chronology.	Source.	Reference G = grafting.
B.C. 37–285	Theophrastus (Greek), father of botanical science	Refers to G in his '*The Causes of Plants*'. Theophrastus was a pupil of Plato and Aristotle.
B.C. 70–A.D. 19	Virgil (Roman poet)	Refers to G of nuts, apples and cherries (*Georg*. II, 69) according to Pliny.
A.D. 23–79	Pliny the Elder (Roman)	Refers to G 'at its highest point' in his *Natural History* (Book XV). He also refers to many Indian plants like *banyan*, *banana*, *flax*, *pepper*, *ginger*, etc.
c. A.D. 500	Varāhamihira (*Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, chap. 54, verse 6)	Refers to G in his remarks on plant propagation.
Between A.D. 600 and *c*. 1100	*History of the World* by Davies	Refers to G practised by Mohammedans (during the 500 years following the death of Mohammed). They introduced many plants into the West from the East. They were indebted in this respect to *Greece*, *Persia* and perhaps *India*.
A.D. 1483	*Shorter Oxford Dictionary*	Usages of the term '*graft*' dated *1483*, *1626*, *1624*, *1616* (grafter), and 1884 (grafter = a hand saw used in grafting).
A.D. 1498	Portuguese contact with India	
A.D. 1548	P. Crescentus (Basil, 1548)	Picture of *graftage* in a printed work.
Between A.D. 1550 and 1575		Jesuits of *Goa* practise G on Indian mango plants and produce some new varieties of mangoes.
A.D. 1624–1684	Edme Mariotte (of France)	He observed that the sap of the original trunk acquires different qualities in each *graft*.
A.D. 1663	Bernier's *Travels*	Bernier's praise of *Goa mangoes*.
A.D. 1673	Fryer	Praises *Goa mangoes*.
A.D. 1727	A. Hamilton	Describes *Goa mangoes* as *largest and most delicious to the taste*.
A.D. 1794	Edward Moor (*Narrative of the operations, etc.*, London, 1794, p. 506)	Refers to *Goa mangoes*: '*Mangoe*—An exquisitely delicious fruit of which the finest species grows in Bombay, called the *Mazgaon mangoe*. *Goa* produces several *fine species of this super-excellent fruit*, which in that article is the only superiority India can boast over England.'

Chronology.	Source.	Reference G = grafting.
A.D. 1795–1801	Muhammad Karim (*Sawāniḥāt-i-Mumtaz*, Eng. Trans. by S. M. H. Nainar, Part I, 1940, Madras University, Islamic Series, No. 5, page 151)	Nawab Wālājāh II of Carnatic visits the garden of Lord Edward Clive, Governor of Madras, the son of the celebrated Lord Clive. Edward Clive became Governor of Madras in 1798. His garden is described as 'full of *mango* trees and *grafted* varieties of the best quality.[1]

P.S.—Since this paper was drafted I have received the following information regarding *grafting* from two learned friends of mine:—

(1) Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar writes on 3-4-1946 from Delhi:—

'As regards *grafting*, the Tamil name for it is *oṭṭu*, i.e. gumming up or dovetailing, which is descriptive. The mango known to Tamil literature is the ordinary ungrafted one. I believe the Musalmans introduced it in South India. The process of rejuvenation and acceleration of growth that grafting causes could not have been missed by our poets, when they wanted figures of speech, if it was known to them. Till recently the only grafted plant was the mango . . . . Most grafted mangoes now bear Arabic names.'

(2) Mr. M. S. Randhwa, I.C.S., Secretary, Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, New Delhi has kindly sent to me on 16-4-1946 some extracts about mango cultivation and grafting. I quote below the following extracts gathered by Mr. Randhwa about the antiquity of the art of grafting:—

'The art of grafting is an old one. Readers of the Bible may recollect St. Paul's sustained simile of the *grafting* of wild olive tree on to the good olive tree, *Romans*, XI-17—24'.

(Firminger's *Manual of gardening*, p. 86.)

'*Grafting* is of ancient origin as a horticultural practice. In his *Natural History* (Vol. 2), Pliny about 2000 years ago wrote about it as common practice.'

(Kains and Mc Questen—*Propagation of Plants*, p. 264.)

'PLINY, writing before the birth of Christ, recognized *graftage* as horticultural practice and it is known that it was practised before his time. *Columella*,[2] who died shortly after the birth of Christ, mentioned certain kinds of graftage, particularly the *bark graft, cleft graft* and *patch bud*, which he said had been practised by the ancients.' (Adriance and Brison—*Propagation of Horticultural Plants*, p. 149.)

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[1] I shall deal with the reference in detail in my proposed paper on the history of grafted mangoes in India.

[2] *Columella*, L. Junius Moderatus was a native of Gades in Spain and a contemporary of Seneca. He lived in Rome and wrote a work on agriculture (*De Re Rustica*) in 12 books which is still extant. (Vide p. 162 of *Smaller Classical Dictionary* by Smith, Every Man's Library, London, 1913.)

In the *Bible* (New Testament, *Romans*, XI, 17–24) the word *graff* is used for *grafting* as will be seen from the following extract :—

'24. For if thou wert cut out of the olive tree which is wild by nature and wert *graffed* contrary to nature into a good olive tree : how much more shall these, which be the natural *branches*, be *graffed* into their own olive tree ? '

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I am extremely thankful to Rao Bahadur Aiyangar and also to Mr. Randhwa for their interest in the subject of this paper. It is really a matter for pride that Mr. Randhwa should answer my queries regarding grafting with wonderful alacrity and promptness in spite of his administrative preoccupations.

PURĀṆIC BASIS OF THE VRATAS MENTIONED IN BENGAL SMṚTI

By S. C. BANERJEE

Of the various topics dealt with in the Smṛti digests of Bengal Vrata figures very prominently and engages the attention of two of the foremost Smṛti writers of this province. Śūlapāṇi and his renowned successor Raghunandana wrote separate treatises dealing with Vratas, viz. the *Vrata-kāla-viveka,* and the *Vrata-tattva* respectively. The earlier writer Jīmūtavāhana in his *Kāla-viveka,* which concerns itself with the determination of proper time for various religious acts, incidentally refers to Vratas. Before going into the details of these Smṛti Vratas, we shall consider those described in the Purāṇas and shall see how the latter formed the basis of the former.

The term Vrata is as old as the Vedas, but it passed through various shades of meaning till at last it attained the modern sense in the Purāṇas. Leaving aside the conflicting etymologies of the word Vrata suggested by different scholars, we may arrive at the meaning of the term in its various stages by observing the rites and customs associated with Vratas in the Vedic and post-Vedic literatures. 'Vrata' in the earlier part of the *Ṛg-veda* usually means law in general or ordinances of Ṛta, that is, the regular order guiding the physical world. In the ninth, and therefore, very late, book of the *Ṛg-veda* the sense of the term develops into the rule of life or, in other words, occupation. Thus we hear of the Vrata of the carpenter, doctor, etc., in the sense of the particular avocations followed by them. In the later Vedic period the term Vrata came to be specialized and denoted 'a course of observances specially undertaken by an individual for some special purpose.' In the *Atharva Veda* and the Brāhmaṇas the sense of the term degenerated into 'milk' used by one undertaking a vow or penance.[1]

In the Purāṇas and in the classical literature 'Vrata' has the sense of rules of conduct to be observed by one with an object in view, fasting being the essential element of these rules. The lexicon *Amarakoṣa* [2] aptly defines Vrata as.........
नियमो व्रतम्........तच्चोपवासादिपुण्यकम्.

The Purāṇas contain a rich store-house of numerous Vratas a detailed description of each of which is beyond the scope of this paper. It is our object here to present, in a nutshell, the broad rites and customs connected with Vratas spreading over a vast portion of the Purāṇas and also to make out a picture of the social background of these Vratas.

The Vratas as found in the Purāṇas admit of two broad classifications:

(i) Purificatory or expiatory, and
(ii) Devotional.

The first variety of Vratas is resorted to by people in order to atone for sins committed by them. As instances of such Vratas may be cited the Cāndrāyana Vrata, Prājāpatya, etc. The devotional Vratas are observed by people for attaining a definite object, e.g. the birth of a son, acquisition of wealth, etc. The physical elements of Vratas are fasting, living on things obtained without asking, etc. The subjective elements are non-violence, truth, continence, etc. From the objective standpoint Vratas can again be divided into (i) Active and (ii) Passive. In the former one has to take particular kinds of food and worship certain deities. In the passive

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[1] Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index* (London, 1912), vol. ii, p. 341.
[2] Ed. Gurunātha Vidyānidhi, Calcutta, 1334 B.S. (4th ed.).

Vratas, if they can be so called, one has merely to practise abstinence by resorting to fast etc. There can yet be a third classification of Vratas into (i) Nitya, (ii) Naimittika, and (iii) Kāmya.

Of these the non-observance of the first class makes a man sinful, e.g. Ekādaśī Vrata. The second class is practised only on special occasions, e.g. the Cāndrāyana Vrata is observed for removing sins; it is, therefore, purificatory. The Kāmya, as the very name suggests, is the outcome of some Kāma or desire. In other words, Kāmya Vratas are those which are observed in particular Tithis with a definite object in view, e.g. the Sāvitrī Vrata, performed for the husband's welfare.

The general rules to be observed by one practising a Vrata are as follows. On the previous day one has to practise abstinence and self-restraint both in one's food and personal habits. On the day of Vrata the person has to fast till the Vrata is over, and then to eat, on the following day, a very simple diet strictly avoiding wine, meat, salt, oil, etc. Some Vratas require a person to take sacred cowdung and cow's urine for internal purification. In observing certain Vratas one has to live upon food obtained without asking (Ayācitāśin). The rule of fasting is relaxed in the case of the following women:—

(i) a young maiden,
(ii) a pregnant woman,
(iii) a woman just delivered of a child,
(iv) a diseased woman.

They can eat meals by night. Of the rules of conduct to be observed by one undertaking a Vrata the most important, besides fasting, is honouring and feeding the Brāhmaṇas and liberally making gifts to them. Abstinence from sexual intercourse on the Vrata day is binding. Silence is generally recommended on the Vrata day; talking to a heretic or non-believer (Pāṣaṇḍa) is particularly prohibited. Listening to the recital of Purāṇas and also to the story of the origin and efficacy of the Vratas (Vrata-kathā) and keeping awake at night by means of vocal and instrumental music are some of the rules to be observed on the Vrata day.

Gifts to Brāhmaṇas on the day of Vrata occupy a very prominent position and an extensive space in the Purāṇic literature. No Vrata can be regarded as complete without such gifts. Of the Brāhamaṇas worthy of receiving gifts one's preceptor is the most competent person. The qualifications of other Brāhmaṇas to whom gifts can be made in Vratas are as follows:—

(i) Having a fairly large family to maintain (Kuṭumbin).
(ii) Versed in the Vedas and other kinds of learning.
(iii) Having the wife alive.
(iv) Devoted to Śiva or Viṣṇu (in particular Vratas only).
(v) Self-restrained.
(vi) Full-limbed.

Among the things to be given away to Brāhmaṇas gold ranks highest. Besides golden images of certain deities in particular Vratas one has to offer gifts of flowers, chariots, fish, horse, lion and trees, etc., made of gold. Next to gold is the cow. In most of the Vratas the gift of cows or of bulls forms an essential part of the ceremony. Metals such as silver, copper, etc., may also be given in certain cases, especially when the donor is rather poor. Besides these specific gifts, all the articles of worship in a Vrata are to be made over to Brāhmaṇas. It is noteworthy that in addition to the above things, daily necessaries like salt, paddy, sugar, cloths, blankets, beds, fan, umbrella, footwear, etc., are also to be given to them. That the Brāhmaṇas made the Vratas an instrument for earning their livelihood seems evident from such injunctions as make the comparatively rich people give away land or sometimes even a whole village to Brāhmaṇas in order to ensure the full benefit of Vratas. The gift of a well-furnished house (*sarvopakaraṇa-yukta-gṛha*) on such festive occasions is supposed to confer great merits on the donor. In making gifts one is strongly and repeatedly warned against what is very frequently called Vitta-śāṭhya. The term may be translated as deceitful economy, that is to say, spending less money than what is allowed by one's income. One resorting to Vitta-śāṭhya with regard to gifts is doomed to hell. The gifts are so important that they should be carried to the house of the recepient at the cost of the donor.

Viṣṇu, in his various incarnations, and Śiva figure as the most prominent deities to be worshipped in Vratas. Cupid, with his consort, is also frequently worshipped mostly for attaining physical beauty, etc. It is not infrequent to notice among the deities the dual gods Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī, or Śiva and Umā receiving worship simultaneously. Śiva as Rudra is also sometimes propitiated. In certain Vratas the images of the sun-god, the moon-god, the stars and of earth are worshipped. Among all the deities associated with Vratas in the Purāṇas, it is only natural that the sectarian deities Śiva and Viṣṇu should occupy the foremost position. The remaining god of the Trinity, viz. Brahmā, is also not overlooked. His cosmic egg (Brahmāṇḍa) or the Universe is found to be worshipped in certain cases.

In great many of the Purāṇas a number of anecdotes, often lengthy, have been fabricated to illustrate the astounding benefits of Vratas. Sometimes, however, the merits are plainly stated. Unlike most other religious acts, which bestow benefits on the performer in the next world, the majority of the Purāṇic Vratas are supposed to produce tangible results. Endowed with a beautiful form, the man or woman observing particular Vratas gets immense fortune, subdues the enemy, is rendered free from all earthly maladies including incurable diseases. The sonless gets a son, the widow becomes happy, the poor becomes master of immense treasure, the wife can ensure the welfare of her husband, and one, separated from one's near and dear relations, can be re-united with them. In short, all conceivable temporal bliss can be attained by performing Vratas. As regards the advantages enjoyed by a performer of the Vratas in the world hereafter, the Purāṇas hold that he or she, being free from all sins, is saved from re-births. Bhukti or earthly enjoyment and Mukti or final emancipation are commonly associated with the performance of various Vratas. It is interesting to note that the names of certain Vratas themselves are designed to indicate the results obtained by them. As instances we may cite a few of these names. They are (i) Aśūnya-śayana, (ii) Kalyāṇa-saptamī, (iii) Pati-saubhāgya-vardhana, (iv) Viśoka-saptamī, (v) Vibhūti-dvādaśī, (vi) Śubha-saptamī, and so on.

Both men and women are entitled to perform Vratas, though those for men are comparatively limited in number. In cases of women who are impure or are otherwise disabled, a substitute is allowed. The vicarious performance of religious acts is indeed a noteworthy feature of the Hindu religious ritual. While in the Vedic sacrifices the Yajamāna has to play a part along with his wife, in the Purāṇic Vratas a man or woman can independently take part, though some Vratas are to be performed by a couple. Though in the post-Vedic period women are debarred from religious performances in general, the Vratas seem to be primarily meant for them. They can perform Vratas in all stages of life, whether they are unmarried, married, or widowed. The usual disqualifications of an unmarried or widowed woman have been removed in the case of Vratas.

The above description of the Purāṇic Vratas presupposes a society in which the Brāhmaṇas were in dire need of the means of subsistence and busily engaged themselves in consolidating their supremacy by appealing to the religious sentiment of the general public, mostly of women. The composition of most of the noteworthy Purāṇas is supposed to spread over a period falling approximately within the first and the tenth century of the Christian era.[1] This is a chequered period of Indian history which saw the rise of rival dynasties and foreign invasions. The history of the Brāhmaṇical religion during this time is one of continual struggle for existence against rival and alien religious movements trying to stamp it out. Though suffering many reverses from the onslaught of the non-Vedic and sometimes anti-Vedic religions like Buddhism, Jainism and Tāntricism, the essential Hindu religion never died out but was considerably stifled. There was no doubt a Brāhmaṇical revival in the reign of the Gupta kings, but they revealed a spirit of toleration towards the rival religions of Buddhism and Jainism, for which fact the Brāhmaṇical religion could not gain a very firm footing. The Hindu religion got a severe blow soon after the decline of the Guptas and with the rise of the Hūnas. These facts along with the impact of foreign invasions presumably led the Brāhmaṇas to devise means for attaining supremacy, the Vrata rules having been probably one of these means. The Brāhmaṇas were, on the one hand, lowered in public estimation and, on the other, became destitute. Their economic condition seems to have been more deplorable than the social. From time immemorial it had been the rule for the Brāhmaṇas to study the Vedas and to perform religious acts both on behalf of themselves and of the public. Thus they depended on whatever income they could earn by these means. The state patronage was also not a minor factor in ameliorating the financial distress of the Brāhmaṇas. But in the period under review the minds of the people at large were distracted by the counter movements; and support obtained from a State tolerant towards other religions was bound to be insufficient.

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[1] See R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, Dacca University, 1940.

We may now examine how far these Vrata rules served as a bulwark for the Brāhmaṇas against the rival faiths and contributed to the social and economic uplift of the Brāhmaṇas, especially of the sacerdotal class among them. The first thing that strikes us is the rule of gifts. That the gifts, so essential in attaining the best results of a Vrata, should be made exclusively to the Brāhmaṇas shows that they are to be regarded as the best persons in society worthy of receiving donation. Among the Brāhmaṇas again are to be preferred those who have a large family to maintain (Kuṭumbin) and are, therefore, particularly helpless. A Brāhmaṇa, devoted to Vedic studies, is also a fit object of religious charity. This is, of course, an attempt to establish the superiority of the Vedas, the basis of the Brāhmaṇical religion. The articles of gift such as salt, sugar, etc., distinctly betray the worldly condition of the priestly class for whom it was difficult or almost impossible even to earn the barest means of subsistence. The gift of gold and other precious metals or of land and house means nothing but a contribution to the material welfare of the Brāhmaṇas.

It is significant that of the persons entitled to observe Vratas women are given the most prominent position. Not only this. The usual disabilities of a woman, viz. impurity, pregnancy, etc., do not stand in the way of her performing Vratas. It is particularly noticeable that these are the special privileges enjoyed by women only in Vratas, whereas the very fact of their being women is an obstacle to their participation in religious observances in general. The object of allowing these privileges to them seems to have been manifold from the social point of view. In the first place, the Brāhmaṇas had to guard against the conversion of women to asceticism by Buddhists and Jains, which was steadily causing a disintegration of society and creating, among the people, a sense of aversion to the second stage of life, viz. Gārhasthya. For this reason it was necessary to devise means of attracting women to family life. It may be observed that the objects and results of many of the Vratas are agreeable to the feminine sentiment. The mind of the average woman will naturally be attracted to such religious duties as would render her husband or son free from all maladies, make them happy and long-lived and will enable her to remain ever by her husband's side. Thus, in a way the Vratas seem to have been a means of keeping women within the fold of family life by holding out assurances of a happy existence here and hereafter. Hence the Brāhmaṇas seem to have tried to make their propaganda of Brāhmaṇical upheaval largely through women. It is the mothers that are, to a great extent, responsible for shaping our religious life. From the mothers do their children imbibe religious ideas for the first time. Women are, so to say, the custodians of our religious faith. So it seems to have been in the fitness of things, and not a mere accident, that those who framed the rules of Vratas made a direct appeal to the religious sentiment of women whom they chose as the medium for the propagation of the Brāhmaṇical religion. It was perhaps to popularize the Brāhmaṇical religion that the rigours of Vedic sacrifices, taxing, as they do, much of the time and patience of the people, were withdrawn in the case of the Vratas. When an external factor induces one to perform religious acts, it cannot be expected that one would take the same amount of pain as is undertaken when they are practised purely from an internal desire of acquiring religious merit. It is, therefore, that the Purāṇic religion is reduced to simplicity and made attractive, as well as rendered free from the elaboration of the Vedic rituals.

It deserves notice that in their zeal of popularizing the Vratas the Brāhmaṇas withdrew their ban even on the prostitutes who had, strictly speaking, no caste and were branded as 'fallen', and were generally regarded to have no future. In the Purāṇas we find that prostitutes are allowed to participate in Vratas, and even the Veda-knowing Brāhmaṇas have not the slighest hesitation in accepting any kind of gifts from their hands, As, on the one hand, this shows a tendency of bringing all within the Hindufold, it proves, on the other, that the Brāhmaṇas were at this time too poor to forego income even from the meanest source.

That the Brāhmaṇas of the Purāṇic times were actively carrying on a struggle against the Buddhists and Jains is also proved by the repeated condemnation of talking to a Pāṣaṇḍa (heretic or non-believer) on the Vrata day. The term 'Pāṣaṇḍa' was generally used to designate the Buddhists and Jains, who had no implicit faith in the Vedic religion and who had their own rationalistic views. The rule of keeping silent on the Vrata day might have originated in this way.

The injunction of fasting, abstinence and continence and of strictly avoiding intoxicating drinks was perhaps primarily meant for protecting society against the wanton acts of certain decadent systems of Tāntricism, which had become insidious and a potent factor in introducing immorality into society.

Thus, the facts that women were given, for the first time in the Purāṇas, the greatest liberty in observing Vratas, that the gifts to Brāhmaṇas are nowhere so numerous and varied as in the Purāṇas, and that the rites and customs of Vratas are rather peculiar, may be taken together to show that the rules of Vratas were framed more for improving the social and economic status of the Brāhmaṇas, and for tightening their grip on the society, than for any purely religious motive. Even though the rules of abstinence and continence encouraged morality and good behaviour, the system of Vrata tended towards mendacious religiosity rather than true religion. These rules, unlike those of the earlier Vedic religion, were never the spontaneous outcome of human feelings but the artificial working of a class to consolidate its supremacy.

We shall now consider the Vratas mentioned in the Smṛti Nibandhas of Bengal, and see how far they have been influenced by the Purāṇic Vratas. The Smṛti digests of Bengal have preserved only a few of the numerous Purāṇic Vratas though many of them exist in modified forms in the popular Vratas observed throughout the province, and for which no hard and fast rules are found in the Smṛti texts. As already stated, all the three exponents of Bengal Smṛti, viz. Jīmūtavāhana, Śūlapāṇi, and Raghunandana have dealt with Vratas. The *Kāla-viveka* of Jīmūtavāhana deals with the proper times of various religious ceremonies including Vratas. The *Vrata-kāla-viveka* and the *Vrata-tattva* of Śūlapāṇi and Raghunandana respectively contain general rules of Vratas, the distinguishing features of these two works being that while the former deals with the time (*Kāla*) of Vratas the latter concerns itself more with the actual procedure (Prayoga) of the Vratas. The *Prāyaścitta-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi and the *Prāyaścitta-tattva* of Raghunandana contain means of atoning for the non-observance or irregular observance of the Vratas once undertaken, and deal with the purificatory Vratas at length.

Of the above writers, only Śūlapāṇi attempts a precise definition of the term 'Vrata'. Though by 'Vrata' we generally mean 'vow', yet the conception remains vague, and the expression 'vow' fails to convey all that is implied by 'Vrata'. According to Śūlapāṇi's definition, the vow is not the only thing about the Vrata, though it constitutes the essential element, the accessories being the observance of certain attendant duties. Another striking feature in Śūlapāṇi's definition is the description *dīrgha-kālānupālanīya*, which may be interpreted in two ways:

(i) For a long period at a stretch;
(ii) For a long time, i.e. repeatedly every year at a particular time, and thus for many years.

The first interpretation does not seem to be the intended sense in the definition, because in that case Vratas of short duration such as Ekādaśī would not have been included in the list. In support of 'vow' being the essential element of Vratas Śūlapāṇi quotes Manu, ii, 3, according to which besides Vratas, sacrifices and other religious acts also arise from a particular vow of the person practising them.

Jīmūtavāhana, on the authority of the Purāṇas, hold the following ten to be the common obligation or duty (Dharma) involved in Vratas in general:—

(i) Forbearance,
(ii) Truth,
(iii) Kindness,
(iv) Charity,
(v) Purity,
(vi) Restraint of the senses,
(vii) Worship of deities,
(viii) Pouring oblations into fire,
(ix) Contentment,
(x) Honesty.

Śūlapāṇi, quoting Gotama, imposes the following duties on the person observing a Vrata:—

(i) Kindness to all creatures,
(ii) Forbearance,
(iii) Absence of spite,
(iv) Purity,
(v) Rest,
(vi) Practice of beneficial acts,
(vii) Avoidance of miserliness,
(viii) Absence of greed.

Raghunandana, on Devala's authority, enumerates the following duties, the observance of which is calculated to ensure the best results to one undertaking a Vrata:—

(i) Habitual performance of the Vratas (Vrata-caryaṃ),
(ii) Purity,
(iii) Abstinence from fish and meat.

Regarding the beginning, conclusion and abandonment of Vratas almost identical passages from Astronomy have been quoted by all the writers except Jīmūtavāhana.

Anybody performing a Vrata has to go through certain formalities in order to prepare himself for the task. The most imperative of these injunctions is to fast overnight, or, in other words, to take only one meal instead of two on the previous day.

With regard to the procedure of Vratas, the rules are rather complicated, and in some cases conflicting. The time suited for Vratas is the morning, afternoon and midday being known as Pitryakāla or time suitable for presenting offerings to the Pitṛs. Among the preliminaries of the ceremony the first thing is the invocation of the deities enumerated in the following verse:—

सूर्यः सोमो यमः कालः सन्ध्ये भूतान्यह्क्षपाः ।
पवनो दिक्पतिर्भूमिराकाशं खचरामराः ।
ब्राह्मं शासनमास्थाय कल्पध्वमिह सन्निधिम् ॥

Before the actual commencement of the ceremony the meditation and salutation of God Nārāyaṇa are enjoined.

Next comes the formal declaration of one's determination (Saṃkalpa) to perform the Vrata. After Saṃkalpa the worship is ordained of deities headed by Āditya (sun-god) as mentioned in the following verse from the *Padma-purāṇa*:—

आदित्यं गणनाथं च देवीं रुद्रं यथाक्रमम् ।
नारायणं विशुद्धाख्यमन्ते च कुलदेवताः ॥

There are some who, on the authority of the *Matsya-purāṇa* and other texts, would enjoin, at the beginning, the worship of Gaṇeśa or of the nine planets (Nava-graha), but these views are dismissed by Śūlapāṇi, who seems to be inclined to regard the *Padma-purāṇa* as the highest authority in the matter of the succession (Krama) of various acts in Vrata. From the attitude of Raghunandana, who also cites the conflicting authorities as to the priority of worshipping different deities, it seems as though he recommends the worship of all these deities but he places the sun-god at the top of the list. Here he ventures an independent view with his characteristic boldness.

The above constitute, in a succinct form, the rules applicable to all Vratas in general. We shall now discuss the special rules to be followed under certain exceptional circumstances.

One taking a vow, but abandoning it before the proper time through folly or ignorance, is relegated to the position of a cāṇḍāla while alive, and becomes a beast in future life. The atonement prescribed for such a sinner is that, besides shaving the head, he is to undergo three fasts (? Upavāsa-traya). After all this he is again to perform the Vrata which was abandoned by him. The Śāstras, however, excuse a sinner whose abandonment of the vow is due to circumstances beyond his control, e.g. order from the preceptor, disease, etc. But repeated abandonments of the vow even on the above grounds plunges a man into sin which requires to be duly expiated. The passages prescribing atonements for non-continuance of Vratas, once undertaken, are taken mostly from the Purāṇas.

Though impurity, consequent upon the birth and death of one's relatives, constitutes an obstacle to the performance of all religious rites, yet it does not become a bar if the ceremonies of Vrata, Yajña (Sacrifice), Vivāha (marriage) have already been commenced. The question naturally arises in this connexion as to when a Vrata is said to begin. In anticipation of such an enquiry it is said that the rite, technically known as Saṃkalpa, as described above, marks the beginning of a Vrata.

The humane feelings of the authors of the Śāstras are evident from the statement that one dying before the completion of a Vrata, already begun, attains the very object for which it was undertaken, No other person than Manu himself is associated with the formulation of this rule.

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Though fasting is imperative for one undertaking a Vrata, yet the rule is relaxed in the case of those who cannot stand the strain. Such a person can take the following things without incurring any sin:—

(i) Water, (ii) Roots, (iii) Fruits, (iv) Ghee, (v) Milk, (vi) Any food with the permission of one's preceptor, (vii) Medicine.

It is also said that one who is unable to fast does not commit any sin by eating at night.

There is the rule of vicarious performance of Vratas in case of certain persons, e.g. a woman in the family way, etc. Even when one gets one's Vrata performed by others, he or she has to undergo personally the physical acts of fasting, etc. Among the things and practices to be strictly avoided on the day of Vrata are the following:—

(i) Speaking with the apostate, the heretic, and the atheist,
(ii) Untruth,
(iii) Utterance of indecent things,
(iv) Talk, touch and sight of low-born people residing outside the village, of a woman just delivered of a child, of a degraded woman, and also of a woman in her monthly impurity.
(v) Rubbing oil over the body or on the head,
(vi) Taking Betel leaves,
(vii) Using Unguent,
(viii) Cleansing the teeth,
(ix) Sleeping by day,
(x) Playing at dice,
(xi) Sexual intercourse.

On the authority of Manu[1] it has been held that a married woman has no right to the performance of sacrifices and Vratas, except with the permission of her husband, and that in her case the service of the husband is the greatest meritorious act which may lead her to heaven.

The account of Vratas, given in the Smṛti Nibandhas of Bengal, shows how the conception of Vratas is, to a large extent, Purāṇic, and also how they are substantially derived from the Purāṇas with slight modifications which might have been necessitated by the changing circumstances of the progressive society. The principal features of the Purāṇic Vratas are retained in essence in the Smṛti works. Women still figure prominently in connection with Vratas, most of the rules applying to them alone. The verse, quoted from Manu, laying down that women have no religious rites to perform—not even Vratas—excepting the service of the husband, is an injunction presumably of the pre-purāṇic age when women were, as a rule, kept in the background so far as religious observances were concerned. In order to fit this rule with the Purāṇic conception of Vratas, Śūlapāṇi makes this injunction imply that women can observe Vratas only with the permission of their husbands. No such difficulty arises during the time of the Purāṇas which had to ignore totally all texts restraining the rights of women to participate in religious acts. To combat heterodox religious cults and movements successfully it was perhaps necessary to allow such freedom to women, to whom even greater freedom was allowed by the Buddhists. The Nibandhas, as descendants and derivatives of the Dharmaśāstras, could neither shake off the above injunction of Manu, nor do away with the Purāṇic Vratas, which had taken deep root in the Indian mind. It is perhaps for these reasons that these later works had to make a compromise between the rules of Dharmaśāstras and of the Purāṇas.

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[1] नास्ति स्त्रीणां पृथग्यज्ञो न व्रतं नाप्युपोषणम् ।
पतिं शुश्रूषते येन तेन स्वर्गे महीयते ॥ (Manu, V, 155.)

As regards gifts in connection with Vratas, the Nibandhas of Bengal mention them in a general way. The numerous and varied gifts of the Purāṇas are absent in the Smṛti digests—a fact which demonstrates that during this time Brāhmaṇical supremacy was already firmly established, and that the Brāhmaṇas were held in high esteem. The frantic cravings of the Purāṇic Brāhmaṇas for popular support are naturally not found in these late works. The absence of the elaborate rules of gifts in the later Smṛti digests may also be explained by the fact that these were technical works, while the Purāṇas were more popular in character.

It may be noted that *the Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, which is intended for the guidance of Vaiṣṇavas, contains a few chapters on Vratas. This work extensively quotes Purāṇic texts in connection with Vratas the rules of which are almost similar to those found in the Purāṇas with only very minor changes to suit the followers of the Vaiṣṇava cult.

It may be of some interest to give here a list of the principal Vratas mentioned in the works of Bengal Smṛti. They are as follows:—

1. Mentioned both by Jīmūtavāhana and Śūlapāṇi—
   Nakta-vrata, Janmāṣṭamī (also called Kṛṣṇa-janmāṣṭamī), Buddhāṣṭamī Manasā, Ekādaśī, Ananta-caturdaśī.

2. Mentioned by Jīmūtavāhana alone—
   Cāturmāsya, Manoratha-dvitīyā.
   (*a*) Vratas to be performed in Tṛtīyā only—
   Akṣaya-tṛtīyā, Māgha-tṛtīyā, Caitra-tṛtīyā.
   (*b*) Vratas to be performed in Pañcamī—
   Nāga-pañcamī.
   (*c*) Vratas to be performed in Saptamī only—
   Vijayā°, Jayā°, Jayantī°, Aparājitā°, Mahā-jayā°, Nandā°, Bhadra°, Mahā-puṇyā°, Ratha°, Anodanā°.
   (*d*) Vratas to be performed in Aṣṭamī only—
   Mahā-rudra°, Jayantī°.
   (*e*) Vratas to be performed in Ekādaśī only—
   Vijayā°, Pāpa-nāśinī°.
   (*f*) Vratas to be performed in Dvādaśī only—
   Śravaṇā°, Vijayā°, Tila°, Govinda°.
   (*g*) Vratas to be performed in Caturdaśī only—
   Damana-bhañjī°, Pāṣāṇa°, Durgā°.

3. Mentioned by Śūlapāṇi alone—
   Rambhā-tṛtīyā, Ārogya-saptamī, Vidhāna-saptamī, Lalitā-saptamī, Dūrvāṣṭamī, Rāma-navamī, Pipītakī-dvādaśī, Sāvitrī-caturdaśī, Śivarātri, Kārtikeya-vrata.

Raghunandana does not specifically mention any Vrata in his *Vrata-tattva.*

The Hari-bhakti-vilāsa mentions the following Vratas[1]:—

Nakta, Kātyāyanī, Vāsantī pañcamī, Bhīma-ekādaśī, Bhīṣma-aṣṭamī, Vārāhī-dvādaśī, Śiva-rātri, Govinda-dvādaśī, Rāma-navamī, Akṣaya-tṛtīyā, Keśava-vrata, Nṛsiṃha-caturdaśī, Nirjalā-ekādaśī, Śayana-ekādaśī, Kṛṣṇa-janmāṣṭamī, Pārśva-parivartana Ekādaśī, Śravaṇā-dvādaśī, Kṛṣṇāṣ-ṭamī, Cāturmāsya, Dhātrī-vrata, Akṣaya-navamī, etc.

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[1] See S. K. De, *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1942, Index, p. 535.

A NEW WORK OF AKBARĪYA-KĀLIDĀSA

By J. B. Chaudhuri

Introduction

At the very outset it ought to be stated that the present editor is responsible for the name of the work as well as for attributing the verses in it to Govinda Bhaṭṭa *alias* Akbarīya-Kālidāsa, the most favourite Sanskrit poet of Emperor Akbar. MM. Haraprasad Shastri in the Kavya volume of his catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. at the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, MS. No. 8283 (Cat. No. 5648) did not say anything about the authorship of the work and the very short description he gave is also defective. Of course it is true that when the *Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī*, *Padya-veṇi* and *Sūkti-sundara* were unpublished, the discovery of the name of the author was rather a difficult task. I must, therefore, state here the reasons that led me to attributing the present work to Akbarīya-Kālidāsa.

The verses at the beginning and the end of the MS. quoted in the above-mentioned catalogue were familiar to me as they are found in the following four Sanskrit anthologies edited by me, namely—*Padyaveṇī*, *Rasika-jīvana*, *Sūkti-sundara*, and *Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī*. I was convinced, after going through the MS., that the remaining verses also must have been composed by the same author. They bear the distinct stamp of unique Akbar-Kalidasian composition. The connective link of the verses appears to have been loosened here and there, and practically cut off towards the end. But this can be accounted for as will be shown below. There remains no doubt about the authorship of these verses when quite a number of them appear to have been quoted in several Sanskrit anthologies of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D., i.e. ever since the time of the composition of the verses, under the name of Akbarīya Kālidāsa (see footnotes in the Text).

The name Stuti-mālikā is purposely chosen by me as the verses are devoted to the praise of gods and goddesses, particularly, of goddess Jvālapā or Jvālāmukhī at Jvālāmukhī in the Kohistan of the Jalandhara Doab in the Dehra subdivision of the Kangra district. Thus Śiva is described in vv. 1–11, 14 and 16; Pārvatī in vv. 12-13 and 15; Raghupati in v. 17 and Śrīkṛṣṇa in vv. 18–20; and vv. 21–77 are devoted to the description of the physical graces and the umbrella, the footwear, etc., of goddess Jvālāmukhī. In several verses Kālī, Durgā and Hiṅgulā are praised; but the poet himself says in v. 74 that these are nothing but synonyms of the same goddess Jvālāmukhī. The five verses (not six, as MM. Haraprasad stated on the evidence of the scribe) at the end of the MS. in praise of Emepror Akbar were collected and placed at the end of this MS., probably because all the verses as they appear here were intended to be recited to the Emperor for his pleasure. There is no doubt that they do not fit in well with the rest of the work. One Gaṅgādhara who appears to be proud of copying this MS. in course of a day[1] hints that these verses were intended to serve as decorations to the great Emperor Akbar; and undoubtedly they drew the favourable attention of the Emperor.

As the present edition is prepared from a single MS. (the existence of any other MS. being unknown), it has not been possible to remove a few difficulties. These are, however, pointed out *in loco* with interrogation marks.

It may emphatically be stated that Akbarīya-Kālidāsa is one of the best Sanskrit poets of Muslim India. Detailed accounts about this poet will be found in pp. xliii—

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[1] इत्यकबरी-कबरीविलासकुसुमीभवत्पद्यान् गंगाधरोऽलिखदिसाग्रास्तागस्तौः(?)। एकस्मिन्नेव दिने इति शेषः॥

lvi of my edition of the *Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī* as well as pp. 33–45 of my *Muslim Patronage to Sanskritic Learning*. At the time I was preparing these books, I was not aware of the existence of the MS. under discussion, but owing to the exigencies of the war, the two MSS. of the *Rāmacandra-yaśaḥ-prabandha* of Akbarīya-Kālidāsa, one belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and the other to Bikaner State Library could not also be utilized. In the mean time, I prepared a critical edition of this work from the RASB. MS. only as the other could not be availed of. This was published in the January–April issue of the *Prācyavāṇī*, 1946. As was only expected when I was editing the *Padyaveṇī*, *Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī*, etc., several verses quoted therein are now traceable to this original source.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MS.

Substance: country-made paper. Appearance: rather old. Size: 10×4 inches. Folios 12 with 7 lines to a page. Character: Nagara of the eighteenth century.

Of the five verses quoted at the end, the first two could not have been edited if they were not traced in Sanskrit anthologies (see footnotes *in loco*).

The MS. is full of mistakes; only a few are noted below for showing the nature of the same:

Verse	Line	MS. reading	Corrected reading
15	1	हस्तार्धनावं	हस्तार्द्रभावं
17	1	हिमरुविषरुषः	हिमरुचि सरुषः
21	3	च्छिन्नसुद्राच्छत	च्छिन्नशुद्राच्छत
36	2	सरद्दरस्पर्शरावावरस्यैः	सरसरज्झर्झरारावरम्यैः
40	4	श्रीजयन्तीगित्यरे०	श्रीजयन्तीगिरि०
41	2	मुभ्रज्वाला०	शुष्यज्ज्वाला०
64	2	केशश्रेण्यामतिषु	केशश्रेण्याम[तन्वी गतिषु]
,,	,,	दृक्चरं मे	दृक्तरङ्गे

The following two verses and the two additional lines are written at the end of the MS. in a different hand:—

धर्मः प्रागेव चिन्त्यः सचिवगतिमतिर्भावनीया सदैव
ज्ञेयो लोकानुरागो वरचरनयनैर्मण्डलं वीक्षणीयम् ।
प्राच्छाद्यौ रागरोषौ मृदुपरुषरसौ योजनीयौ च काले
स्वात्मा यत्नेन रक्ष्यो रणशिरसि पुनः सोऽपि नापेक्षणीयः[1] ॥ १ ॥
रुद्रा एकादशैका तुहिनगिरिसुता तामिमामाददानाः
प्राणानुत्सृज्य तेऽमी कलहमहरहः कुर्वते दुर्विनीताः ।
श्रद्धा शुद्धान्तरात्मन्नतिविमलयशःपूरकर्पूरपूरै-
र्गाजी जल्लालदीन त्वमथ दश दिशो देव गौरीः क[रोषि][2] ॥ २ ॥
पं रघुनाथ-मालवीयस्येदम् ।
अकवरी कबरी-विलासः ॥

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[1] In MS. No. 5449 of the RASB., प्रस्ताव-रत्नाकर, fol. 2*a* (v. 9), this verse is attributed to Śaṅku. Also quoted in the सुभाषितरत्नभाण्डागार, 153. 122 and the सुभाषितसुधारत्नभाण्डागार, p. 113, v. 4.

[2] Cp. सुभाषित-रत्नभाण्डागार, 113. 4, गाजी जल्लालुद्दीन, etc.

अकबरीय-कालिदासोपाख्य-

गोविन्दभट्ट-कृता

स्तुतिमालिका

पञ्चश्लोकात्मकाकबर-विलास-समन्विता

डक्टर श्रीयतीन्द्रविमल-चतुर्धुरीणेन संस्कृता

भृंगिप्रस्तुतगीतिमञ्जिममिलत्तज्झल्लरी-झङ्कृति-
स्फुर्जद्दुंदुभमञ्जुनन्दिमुरजन्यस्तैकहस्तोत्पलम् ।
व्यङ्गत्रस्यदपर्णमाद्यनटनच्छिन्नैकपादोत्पल-
प्रोद्यद्घुर्घुरिकाझणत्कृतिदलद्ब्रह्माण्डमीशं भजे ॥ १ ॥ [1]

कालिन्दी-वीचि-पुञ्जैः कुवलय-विपिनैरिन्द्रनीलच्छटाभिः
शैवालैः कज्जलौघैरलि-तिमिर-भरैर्बाल-जीमूत-जालैः ।
कस्तूरी-कोकिलानां ततिभिरिव महाचाकचिक्य-प्रपञ्चै-
स्त्रैलोक्यं पूरयन्ती शमयतु विपदं शाम्भवी कण्ठ-नाला ॥ २ ॥ [2]

गौरीदोर्वल्लिविद्युज्जलदघनघटा मौलिगङ्गाजयोद्यत्-
कालिन्दीकेशचामीकरकषणशिला शक्रनीलालवालम् ।
भालज्वालालतायास्तिलकशशिकलाकुञ्चितध्वान्तजाला
कल्याणायास्तु कण्ठस्थलरुचिलहरी कालकूटाशनस्य ॥ ३ ॥

गौरीदोर्वल्लिकेयूरकरचितमहानीलनीलेन्द्रनील-
च्छायारिङ्खोलिगुच्छद्विगुणितसुषमासारकासारवीची ।
सद्यःसंभूतनीलीरसविसरसरःस्नातजीमूतचार्वी-
शार्वी नः कण्ठनाला शमयतु विपदः शैवलश्यामलश्रीः ॥ ४ ॥

हेरम्बस्कन्धपुष्पंधयनिचयपरीरम्भसम्भावितार्चि-
गीर्वाणश्रेणिचञ्चुर्मधुकरविकचेन्दीवरारण्यकुञ्जः ।
शर्वाणीदोर्मृणालीविहरणयमुनाकुण्डगम्भीरकोणा
श्रैकण्ठी कण्ठनाला कवलयतु कलिक्लेशकोलाहलं वः ॥ ५ ॥

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[1] *Padyaveṇī*, ed. by J. B. Chaudhuri, v. 14.
[2] *Op. cit.*, v. 25.

किं बालादत्तकालागरुचयरचना किं घनाश्लेषलोलो
    दोःस्तम्भः कैटभारेः किमलिकुलमिदं सौरभासारकृष्टम् ।
किं वासौ कृष्णासारो धवलिमलहरी पर्वपीयूषधाम्नो
    धीरैरित्युह्यमाना धवलयतु मनो धौर्जटी कण्ठनाला ॥ ६ ॥

मैनाकीदोर्मृणालीमृगमदलहरीमर्दनोद्दामरोचिः
    स्कन्धन्यस्तेभकृत्तिप्रतिफलनवशादुन्मिषत्कालिमश्रीः ।
रुद्राणीदृक्कुरङ्गीविहरणकुतुकस्वच्छतापिच्छवाटी
    पायात् पाटीरपङ्कच्छुरितघनतटी धौर्जटी कण्ठनाला ॥ ७ ॥

लक्ष्मीलक्ष्मीशहस्तोत्पलरचितमहोदारमन्दारमाला-
    निर्मज्जच्चञ्चरीकीचयनिविडतरच्छन्नगाढान्धकारा ।
काश्मीरस्नातगौरीकरकमलपुटीकेलिसञ्चारसुस्था
    चित्रस्था दुर्व्यवस्थामपनयतु तव स्थाणवी कण्ठनाला ॥ ८ ॥

कस्तूरीकुङ्कुमाम्भोमलयजमकरीपत्रनिर्माणकाले
    संवीक्ष्य स्वीयबिम्बं परकमलमुखीशङ्कया संभ्रमेण ।
खेलच्छैलेन्द्रकन्याकरकमलपुटीबद्धचाम्पेयचारु-
    क्षौमा कौमारताती तुहिनयतु मनो मोहिनीकण्ठनाला ॥ ९ ॥

चन्द्रार्धापीडचञ्चन्मणिमुकुटतटीजाटवाटीकुटीर-
    क्रोडक्रीडद्दिवौकःसरिदुरुलहरीचित्रफ्टङ्कारलीलः ।
गौरीदृक्चञ्चरीकीचुलकितरुचिरश्रीमदास्यारविन्दः
    कण्ठच्छायाकदम्बभ्रमरितभुवनः शम्भुरस्तु श्रिये नः ॥ १० ॥

प्राण(?)स्निग्धेन्द्रनीलोपलशकलशतश्रीलसत्कण्ठनालः
    सद्योदाहावतीर्णस्फुरदुरुकमलस्तं मगं(?)भालबाज्ञः ।
गङ्गाकल्लोलधौतस्फटिकगिरितटीपुष्कलोरः कङ्कालः(?)
    कृत्तिं बिभ्रत्कपर्दी शशिमुकुटमणिः शम्भुरस्तु श्रिये नः ॥ ११ ॥

कोपात्कुङ्कुमकान्तयः ककणिका(?)किर्मीरवत्कज्जलाः
    कस्तूरीकृतकल्पनाः किमु कियत्काश्मीरकीर्णाः किमु ।
क्रीडत्कान्तकरक्रियाकलुषिताः कष्टेन कल्माषिताः
    कल्याणं कलयन्तु केलिकलहे कालीकपोलक्रमाः ॥ १२ ॥

अङ्गे भस्माङ्गरागा इव कुसुमशरद्वेषिणः क्षोणिपृष्ठे
    क्षीराम्भोधेस्तरङ्गा इव गगनतले कान्तिधारा इवेन्दोः ।
कार्पूराः पांसुपूरा इव सकलसखीविग्रहेषु स्फुरन्त्यः
    पार्वत्याः पान्तु चञ्चन्नखमणिकिरणश्रेणिविस्फूर्तयो वः ॥ १३ ॥

कस्तूरीयन्ति भाले नयनकमलयोः कज्जलीयन्ति कर्ण-
प्रान्ते नीलोत्पलीयन्त्युरसि मरकतालङ्कृतीयन्ति देव्याः ।
रोमालीयन्ति नाभेरुपरि हरिमणीमेखलीयन्ति मध्ये
ये ते शर्म क्रियासुस्त्रिजगति पुरजित्कण्ठभासां विलासाः ॥ १४ ॥ [1]

दत्त्वा लाक्षां नखाग्रे तदनु सुरधुनीधौतहस्तार्द्रभावं
भंक्त्वा भालस्थलाग्नौ तदनु नयनयोः कज्जलं संनिवेश्य ।
कण्ठे संप्रोच्छ्य नीलं तदनु च विजयादत्तमादर्शमङ्के
शम्भोर्भस्मानुलिप्ते पुलकिनि स्पृशती पार्वती वः पुनातु ॥ १५ ॥

मौलौ किं नु महेश मानिनि जलं किं वक्त्रम् अम्भोरुहं
किं नीलालकवेणिका मधुकरी किं भ्रूलता वीचिका ।
किं नेत्रे शफरौ किमु स्तन-युगं प्रेङ्खद्-रथाङ्ग-द्वयं
साशङ्कामिति सान्त्वयन्[2] गिरिसुतां गङ्गाधरः पातु नः ॥ १६ ॥

सानन्दाः पावमानौ हिमरुचि सरुषः सागरे सावलेपाः
सुग्रीवे सानुरागा रजनिचरचमूचूर्णने पूर्णकोपाः ।
सप्रेमाणः सुमित्रातनुजनुषि निजे कार्मुके सादरास्ते
श्रेयो वः कल्पयन्तामलघु रघुपतेर्भूरिलक्षाः कटाक्षाः ॥ १७ ॥

कालिन्दीचारुवीचीनिचय इति मुदा गाहिता नैचिकीभि-
र्बाला कादम्बिनीति प्रमुदितहृदयं वीक्षिता नीलकण्ठैः ।
उत्तंसार्थं तमालस्तवक इति हृता मुग्धगोपाङ्गनाभिः
श्रेयो नः कल्पयन्तां मधुमथन-तनु-स्वच्छ-कान्ति-प्रवाहाः ॥ १८ ॥ [3]

धम्मिल्लश्रीः किमास्ये किमु वदनरुचिः कण्ठसीमासु कण्ठ-
च्छाया वक्षोजयुग्मे किमु कुचकलशीकान्तयो मध्यनाले[4] ।
द्रागित्यादि-क्रमेणोल्लसित-जलनिधेरिन्दिरायाः स्वरूपैः
पान्तु प्रेम-प्रणालीविलुलितगतयः कैटभारेः कटाक्षाः ॥ १९ ॥

कालिन्दीचञ्चदिन्दीवरतनुरनिशं दीनसन्दीपितश्री-
र्वन्दीभूतेन्द्रनन्दीश्वरकमलमुखीकीर्त्तिमन्दीकृतार्त्तिः ।
सन्ध्याकान्तिप्रशंसी सुरमुकुटमणिः केकिपिच्छावतंसी
कंसध्वंसी रिरंसी तव भवतु मुदे कोऽपि वंशीकिशोरः ॥ २० ॥

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[1] *SRB.*, *i.e.* *Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra*, 10.146; *SSRB.*, *i.e.* *Subhāṣita-sudhāratna-bhāṇḍāgāra*, 16.4.

[2] *Padyaveṇī*, 16, शोचयन् । *SRB.*, 6.66; *SSRB.*, 10.58.

[3] *Padyaveṇī*, v. 33.

[4] *Padyaveṇī*, 34, v.r. मध्यदेशे ।

देवि ब्रह्मेन्द्रलक्ष्मीपतिमुकुटतटीप्रोच्छलच्छक्रनील-
च्छायारिञ्छोलिभूरिभ्रमदलिनिवहा भूधरेन्द्रावतंसाः ।
पूजासु क्षिप्तशुद्धाक्षतकुसुमभरा निर्भरामोदिनस्ते
ज्वालासन्तानवल्लीसरसकिसलयाः काङ्क्षितं नः कृषीरन् ॥ २१ ॥

नमदमरकदम्बा रम्यवक्त्रेन्दुबिम्बा
विलसदधरबिम्बा भक्तभव्यावलम्बा ।
अतिविपुलनितम्बा विश्वकोषावलम्बा
दिनमनु जगदंबा जालपा नः सहायः ॥ २२ ॥

धौते काश्मीर-नीरैः स्फुरदरुणरुचा पट्टकूलेभ्नमृष्टे(?)
धूपैः कालागुरूत्थैरपि च कवचिते पूजिते पारिजातैः ।
कस्तूरीस्थासकेन स्तवकितसुषमे मन्त्रिते मन्त्रिवर्यैः
श्रीमज्ज्वालप्य युष्मत्पदकमलमणीपादुके नः सहायः ॥ २३ ॥

उदञ्चत्क्वणद्धुंकृतिक्वाण-चञ्च-
न्मणी-मेखला-दाम-दृप्यन्नितम्बा ।
कृपापाङ्ग-माङ्गल्य-पट्टाभिषेकै-
र्जगन्मङ्गलं ज्वालपा नः सहायः ॥ २४ ॥[1]

ग्रावद्विन्द्रा(?)लबालास्तुहिनगिरितपस्तंवदत्तावलम्बाः
संसिक्ताः सिद्धपूजाकृतसुरभिघृतासारधाराधुनीभिः ।
संफुल्लाः शम्भुचूडामणिशशिकिरणैर्मङ्गलाम्ब त्वदीय-
ज्वालावल्लीमतल्ल्यास्सरसकिसलयाः काङ्क्षितं नः कृषीरन् ॥ २५ ॥

उद्यद्बालार्कबिम्बप्रतिभटरुचयः कुङ्कुमाताम्रभासः
सिन्दूरासारशोणाः प्रविकसितजपागुच्छरिञ्छोलिरम्याः ।
रक्ताशोकप्रवालप्रतिनिधिमहसो मङ्गलाम्ब त्वदीय-
ज्वालामाला रसालाः कवलितविपदो मङ्गलं नः फलन्तु ॥ २६ ॥

ब्रह्माण्डागारदीपास्तुहिनगिरितपःकल्पवल्लिप्रवालाः
प्रत्यक्षब्रह्मरूपाः प्रणतजनमनःप्रार्थनासानुरागाः ।
चञ्चल्लावण्यवीचीविहसितविलसद्रत्नमालास्त्वदीया
ज्वालारिञ्छोलयो नस्तुहिनगिरिसुते मङ्गलं कल्पयन्तु ॥ २७ ॥

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[1] *Padyaveṇī*, v. 36.

दिव्यब्रह्माण्डपेटीविहितवसतयः प्रह्ववित्ताभिलाष-
श्रेणीपङ्केरुहाणामभिनवरवयः सुप्रवेशाभिरामाः ।
संजातस्निग्धगुम्फाः स्फुरदमलपरब्रह्मसूत्रप्रतानै-
र्ज्वालाचिन्तामणीनां तव सरविसराः सम्पदं नः फलन्तु ॥ २८ ॥

विद्युल्लेखाविशेषाः सदनमणिमहारङ्गवल्लीतरङ्ग-
श्रेणीभृङ्गारशोभाः स्फुटघुसृणरसस्यन्दसन्दोहसान्द्राः ।
पुञ्जीभूतार्कबालारुणकिरणघटामण्डलस्वस्तिकाभा
ज्वालानां पङ्क्तयस्ते परशिवरसिके मङ्गलं नः फलन्तु ॥ २९ ॥

भूयः साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीसुललितकुररीकेलिसंवासकुञ्जा-
स्संचल्लौहित्यवीचीविहसितविकसद्दंग्रवलाताम्रकंजाः ।
द्वारप्रान्तप्रभूतप्रकटितविबुधप्रौढवादित्रगुञ्जाः
पुष्णन्तु श्रीभरं नः परशिवरसिके तावकज्वालपुञ्जाः ॥ ३० ॥

अम्भोलोभानतेन्द्रद्विरदवरकरस्तम्भसंजृम्भमाण-
स्फूर्ज्जत्यश्वास्यभीतिभ्रमदमरवधूमुक्तकोलाहलानि ।
मुक्ताचूर्णैः सुरीभिर्विरचितविलसद्रङ्गवल्लीनि विश्वं
पान्तु ज्वालामुखि त्वद्धरणिधरधुनीधन्यकूलस्थलानि ॥ ३१ ॥

क्रीडद्गन्धर्वकान्ताकुचकलशतटीकुङ्कुमक्षोदशोणाः
संगीतश्रान्तरम्भाचिकुरभरगलच्चित्रमन्दारमालाः ।
उत्तुंगोच्छृंगरिङ्गन्मृगमदहरिणीभारभूयःसुगन्धाः
पान्तु ज्वालामुखि त्वद्धरणिधरशिलाचत्वरश्रेणयो नः ॥ ३२ ॥

सिञ्जत्काञ्चीकलापं विकसितकलिकाकल्पितोत्तंसरम्यं
कण्ठे कह्लारवन्तं कुसुमशरधनुःपाशरत्नाङ्कुशाढ्यम् ।
श्रीज्वालख्याभिधानं कुचकलशतटीलिप्तकाश्मीरपङ्कं
तं कश्चित् कान्तिपूरं पुरहरमहिलावेषमन्वेषयामः ॥ ३३ ॥

प्रातःसंफुल्लपङ्केरुहकुहरनिभो बालमार्त्तण्डशोण-
स्वच्छद्बन्धूकगुच्छच्छविरतिविकसद्दाडिमीपुष्पदीप्तिः ।
आताम्रः पुष्परागोपलशकलशतादुन्मिषत्कुङ्कुमश्रीः
पातु ज्वालामुखीति प्रकटितमहिमा कश्चन ब्रह्मराशिः ॥ ३४ ॥

रम्यक्षोणीशरावाः प्रचुरतमतमोभारमुत्सारयन्तः
प्रोच्चैरुत्थानविद्योतितभुवनतला भस्मितापत्पतङ्गाः ।
ब्रह्मस्तम्बावलम्बास्तरुणतरणिरुग्गसर्वंकषास्ते
ज्वालापुञ्जप्रदीपास्तव शिवगृहिणि प्रज्वलन्तु श्रिये नः ॥ ३५ ॥

मुक्तागुच्छच्छटाच्छैरुपरि परिपतत्तुङ्गशाखिप्रसून-
प्रायैरुच्चैः शिलान्तस्खलनसरसरज्झर्झरारावरम्यैः ।
अन्तस्तापप्रपञ्चं चुलकयतु चिरं चारुवीचीकदम्बै-
रम्ब ज्वालामुखि त्वद्धवलमणिगृहद्वारकल्लोलिनी नः ॥ ३६ ॥

क्षीरस्नानप्रणालीसुभगसुरसरिन्निर्झरैः सिद्धपूजा-
कस्तूरीपङ्ककृष्णागुरुरसलहरीपुञ्जकालिन्दनद्याः ।
उत्कृत्तच्छागमेषोद्भटमहिषघटारक्तसारस्रतौघै-
रम्ब ज्वालामुखि त्वद्धरणिधरधुनी नस्त्रिवेणी च पायात् ॥ ३७ ॥

छायाविश्रान्तविद्याधरविधुवदनारब्धसङ्गीतभङ्गी-
रिङ्गच्चन्द्राकरङ्कच्युतवहलसुधासारसंसेवनेन ।
भूयः शाखाकदम्बच्छदवहलफलैर्नित्यमुल्लासमानः
पातु ज्वालामुखि त्वद्धवलमणिगृहद्वारवर्त्ती वटो नः ॥ ३८ ॥

दिव्यामोदप्रवाहभ्रमदलिमहिलाकोटिझंकारवाचा
गायद्भिर्नित्यमुच्चैरिव चरितचयं चारुभिः पुष्पगुच्छैः ।
स्निग्धच्छायोपरिष्टात्त्रिदशसहचरीवद्धमन्दारमालः
पातु ज्वालामुखि त्वद्धवलमणिगृहश्रीकदम्बद्रुमो नः ॥ ३९ ॥

उन्माद्यद्दण्डपाणिक्षतहतभुजगस्कन्धलाभप्रवृद्ध-
प्रारब्धक्रोधकोलाहलमुखरहरब्रह्मलक्ष्मीपतीनि ।
धावज्जम्भारिकण्ठच्युतसुरसुमनोमञ्जरीपिञ्जराणि
क्रीडन्ति श्रीजयन्तीगिरिशिखरभुवो मानसे मङ्गलानि ॥ ४० ॥

यक्षेशक्षिप्तचिन्तामणिमयगुटिकागर्भमन्दारमाला-
शुष्यज्ज्वालातिमूर्च्छत्परिसरधरणीपूरितब्रह्मकामाः ।
लक्ष्मीधम्मिल्लमल्लीमधुरसलहरीपिच्छिलग्रावकूलाः
पान्तु श्रीमज्जयन्तीगिरिशिखरतटीभूमयो भक्तिभाजः ॥ ४१ ॥

संशुद्धाश्चारुवेल्लत्सुरतरुसुमनःश्रेणीसंमार्जनीभि-
र्धौताः स्वःसिन्धुपूरैरमरयुवतिभिर्गाढकाश्मीरलिप्ताः ।
मुक्ताश्रीरङ्गवल्लीवलयतिलकिताः पूजिताः स्निग्धगीतै-
र्भूयासुः श्रीजयन्तीगिरिशिखरतटीभूमयो मङ्गलाय ॥ ४२ ॥

विक्षिप्तक्षेत्रपालक्षतयममहिषस्कन्धकीलालकुल्या-
कल्लोलश्रेणिकिर्मीरितरुचिरशिलाचक्रचूडामणीनि ।
शृङ्गीनिर्माणलीलाविदलितपवनारूढसारङ्गशृङ्गा-
ण्याकल्पन्तां जयन्तीगिरिशिखरतटीचत्वराणि श्रिये नः ॥ ४३ ॥

सेवासारम्भजम्भप्रतिभटरभसोन्मुक्तमन्दारमाला-
न्यञ्चन्माध्वीक[1]धारापरिमल[2]लहरीलम्पटालिच्छटाभिः ।
ऊर्ध्वारब्धालयाभिर्निविडतरघनाडम्बरं[3] देवि दुर्गे
हैमच्छत्रोपरि त्वच्छिरसि मधुकरच्छत्रमव्यादभव्यात् ॥ ४४ ॥

आमोदाहूतगुञ्जन्मधुकरनिकरच्छत्रगुच्छानुबिम्बत्-
स्वर्णच्छत्रं भवाम्ब स्फुरितमरकतच्छत्रवच्छोभमानम् ।
सेवायातामरस्त्रीदृगलिचयचमूचुम्बितं देवि मातः
प्रातः प्रातः प्रभातद्युमणिसहचरं चारु चित्ते चकास्तु ॥ ४५ ॥

उद्भ्राम्यच्चण्डवेगक्रकचशतशिखाकृत्तमाणिक्यचूर्ण-
प्राग्भारस्वस्तिकश्रीरतिविकचलसच्चम्पकाकल्पकल्पः ।
घण्टामालारसालारवभरितहरिद्दिग्वधूभूषणं नः
पातु ज्वालामुखि त्वद्धवलमणिगृहच्छत्रकल्याणगुच्छः ॥ ४६ ॥

कनकच्छत्रमम्बायाः कुरुते कुतुकं महत् ।
विशदेव दृशोरन्तर्यन्निर्गच्छति मूर्धनि ॥ ४७ ॥[4]

नेत्राय स्फुरदुक्तिचन्दनवनीचैत्राय चारुप्रभा-
पात्राय स्फुरदच्छकाञ्चनमहामात्राय नः श्रेयसे ।
चित्राय त्रिदशेन्द्रलोचनरुचां मित्राय तेजोभरै-
र्मित्राय प्रणतार्तिभञ्जनविधौ छत्राय तुभ्यं नमः ॥ ४८ ॥

स्फूर्जज्जम्भारिविश्वम्भरमुकुटतटीचन्दनस्निग्धकीले
बालेन्दुस्फीतचञ्चन्नखरुचिलहरीमौक्तिकश्रेणिरम्ये ।
प्रस्यन्दद्यावकीयद्रवशतगुणितारक्तमाणिक्यरागे
रत्नश्रीपादुके नः शिरसि करुणया देहि जालप्य देवि ॥ ४९ ॥

रम्योत्तुङ्गास्तुरङ्गाः कति कति विगलद्दानजम्बालगण्डा
वेतण्डाः कान्तिमत्यः कति नव ललनाः कत्यमू राजलक्ष्म्यः ।
सम्भाराश्चामराणां कति शशिधवलाः शीघ्रमेकैकमुच्चै-
रम्बाहेमातपत्र त्वयि कथय कति त्वं पराप्नोति यात्री ॥ ५० ॥

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[1] 88. *Padyaveṇī*, 47, चञ्चन्माध्वीक ।

[2] *Op. cit.*, वहालम ।

[3] *Op. cit.*, ऊर्ध्वं बद्धालयाभिर्विरचितरचनाडम्बरं ।

[4] *Padyaveṇī*, verse 46.

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चञ्चद्रोमाञ्चवीचीनिचयकवचितैरङ्गकैः स्यन्दमानैः
स्रोतोभिर्लोचनाब्जैर्भणितिभिरनिशं गद्गदोच्चारिताभिः ।
क्षोणीपीठे लुठद्भिर्विलुलितचिकुरैर्मौलिभिर्ये भजन्ति
श्रीमज्ज्वालस्य युष्मच्चरणसरसिजं भाग्यवन्तस्त एव ॥ ५१ ॥

वेल्लत्कल्याणदाम्ने तिलकितशशिने शक्तिजालस्यनाम्ने
चञ्चद्बालार्कधाम्ने मणिमयरसनारम्यझंकारभूम्ने ।
भूयः सौन्दर्यसीम्ने सृणिविशिखधनुःपाशवच्चारुदोष्णे
तेजःपुञ्जाय कस्मैचन कमलरुचे सन्तु कोटिप्रणामाः ॥ ५२ ॥

कल्याणच्छत्रलक्ष्मा पदकमलतलप्रह्वदम्भोलिलक्ष्मा
रज्यच्चन्द्रार्धलक्ष्मा मुखकमलजिताखण्डसारङ्गलक्ष्मा ।
उद्गायत्कीर्त्यलक्ष्मा नतभुवनतटीवासिनाम्भोजलक्ष्मा
भक्तापद्राजयक्ष्मा विलसतु पुरतो भीमसीमन्तलक्ष्मा ॥ ५३ ॥

हस्तेचापाय चेतो हरहृदयतटीहारिमाणिक्यदाम्ने
हैमच्छत्राय हालामदचपलदृशे हल्लकस्रग्धराय ।
हाराकल्पाय हेलाहिमगिरिजनुषे हिङ्गुलाभेतिनाम्ने
हर्षागाराय हारावलिहसितहृदे हन्त हिन्दोलयामः ॥ ५४ ॥

जरीजृम्भदम्भोजिनीपुञ्जशङ्कामिलन्मत्तमैलिंदमालाजटालाः ।
किमन्यैरगण्यैरधन्यैरपुण्यैः करिष्यन्ति नः शर्म कालीकटाक्षाः ॥ ५५ ॥
हरोरस्तटीचत्वरारब्धचञ्चन्मरुत्वन्मणिश्रेणिमालाविलासाः ।
किमन्यैरगण्यैरधन्यैरपुण्यैः करिष्यन्ति नः शर्म कालीकटाक्षाः ॥ ५६ ॥
फलिष्यन्ति नानाविधस्वर्णपुञ्जं भविष्यन्ति गुर्वीं वशीकर्त्तुमुर्वीम् ।
पतिष्यन्ति नः पत्तले भूमिपालाः करिष्यन्ति नः शर्म कालीकटाक्षाः ॥ ५७ ॥
महारम्यराकाशरच्चन्द्रबिम्बच्छटाबुद्धिमज्जच्चकोरीनिपाताः ।
निजारुण्यवीचीभरध्वस्तलाक्षाः करिष्यन्ति नः शर्म कालीकटाक्षाः ॥ ५८ ॥
स्फुरिष्यन्ति भव्योक्तिकाव्यप्रबन्धा मिलिष्यन्ति कामालसा बालवामाः ।
हरिष्यन्ति चित्तज्वलज्ज्वालजालं करिष्यन्ति नः शर्म कालीकटाक्षाः ॥ ५९ ॥

सौन्दर्यश्रीविलासप्रसरवसतयो भूरिसाम्राज्यलक्ष्मी-
संसृत्संकल्पकल्पक्षितिरुहततयो मोहनं मोहनानाम् ।
रम्योदञ्चत्कवित्वप्रकरकुमुदिनीचन्द्रबिम्बाभिरामाः
सन्तु ज्वालामुखि त्वच्चरणकमलयोरस्मदीय-प्रणामाः ॥ ६० ॥

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शिञ्जन्मञ्जीरहंसास्तदमलबलभिन्नीलचञ्चन्मरीचि-
श्रेणीशैवालजालामलरुचिलहरीशोणकह्लारविन्दाः ।
तुच्छीकुर्वन्तु चित्तज्वरमिह दधतश्चारुतावीचिमाला-
मम्ब ज्वालामुखि त्वत्पदकमलनखस्फीतकान्तिप्रवाहाः ॥ ६१ ॥
स्फूर्ज्जच्चुञ्चकोरप्रमदनपटवो भक्तसम्पत्समुद्रा-
नुच्चैरुद्वेलयन्तः सुरमुकुटतटीहीर[1]ताराकुटुम्बाः ।
भूयासुर्भूरितापप्रणतजनमनःशीतलीकर्त्तुमुच्चै[2]-
रम्ब ज्वालामुखि त्वत्पदकमलनखप्रस्फुरच्चन्द्रविम्बाः ॥ ६२ ॥
कर्पूरासारभासः कुमुदवनरुचः फुल्लमल्लीमतल्ली-
मुग्धाः स्निग्धाः शशाङ्कामृतरसलहरीगर्भसं...र्भतापि(?) ।
क्षीरोद्यत्पञ्चजन्यप्रतिभटमहसः कुन्दमालारसाला
देवि ज्वालामुखि त्वत्पदनखरुचयो मङ्गलं नः कृषीरन् ॥ ६३ ॥
ओष्ठे बन्धूकताम्रा कुचभुवि कठिना विग्रहे कुङ्कुमाभा
केशश्रेण्याम[तन्वी ग]तिषु गजवशा चञ्चला दृक्तरङ्गे ।
चित्ते चञ्चच्छिरीषप्रसवदलपटुर्मङ्गले सिद्धलक्ष्मी-
रित्येवास्मत्सहायो...........धनं बालजालप्यदेवि ॥ ६४ ॥
श्रीमज्जालप्यनामा शशधरकलिकाशुभ्रशृङ्गारधामा
वेल्लत्कह्लारदामा कुचकलशतटीभारभुग्नाङ्गयष्टिः ।
चञ्चद्दृक्कोणकेलिक्षरदुरुकरुणासारपीयूषपूरा
पायादुच्चैरपायादकलितमहिमा कोऽपि तेजःकदम्बः ॥ ६५ ॥
याभिः सिन्दूरसारा इव सकलदिशो रत्नबद्धेव धात्री
कौसुम्भश्रीविताना इव गगनभुवो भान्ति माञ्जिष्ठनीरैः ।
पाथोनाथाः प्रपूर्णा इव धरणिधराः पद्मरागैरिवाढ्या
देवि ज्वालामुखि त्वत्पदनखरुचयस्ताः श्रियं नः कृषीरन् ॥ ६६ ॥
क्रोडक्रीडज्जयन्तीमृगपतिचकितत्र्यक्षवृद्धोक्षबार-
क्षुभ्यद्दिक्कुम्भिचण्डध्वनिचकितसुरस्त्रैणमुक्तार्त्तनादाः ।
पुष्णन्तु प्रीतिमुच्चैः क्षितिमुकुटमहाकाङ्गडादुर्गचञ्चन्-
मुक्तालीमेखलाभाः फणिपतिसुहृदो मूलगङ्गातरङ्गाः ॥ ६७ ॥

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[1] *Padyaveṇī*, 37, v.r. स्वरणतललसद्धीर ।

[2] *Op. cit.*, v.r. प्रशमनबहुल-ध्वान्त-विच्छेददक्षा ।

पान्तु श्रीकाङ्डाद्रिप्रतिनवललनालोलदोर्वल्लरीणा-
मास्फालैस्तप्तचामीकरनिवहरसस्यन्दसन्दर्भगर्भाः ।
लीलामज्जज्जयन्तीपरिजनकबरीभारसिन्दूरलेखा
बिम्बव्याजात्त्रिवेणीतुमुलविजयिनो मूलगङ्गातरङ्गाः ॥ ६८ ॥
कूलोद्यद्भूतनाथाभरणफणिमणिश्रेणिबिम्बप्रणाली-
दम्भेन श्रीजयन्तीचरणसरसिजद्वन्द्वनीराजनानि ।
कुर्वाणास्तुङ्गगण्डोपलपतनघनध्वानमन्त्रार्णजापैः
प्रेंखंतिगौढपाया (?) मुखरितशिखरं मूलगङ्गातरङ्गाः ॥ ६९ ॥
पान्तु श्रीमज्जयन्तीगिरिशिखरचरज्जम्भजित्कुम्भिकुम्भ-
प्रेङ्खन्मुक्ताकलापप्रतिफलनमिलन्मुग्धसन्दिग्धवर्णाः ।
वेलाविश्रान्तवास्तोष्पतिकमलमुखीकर्णताटङ्कचञ्चन्-
माणिक्यच्छायवीचीकवचितरुचयो मूलगङ्गातरङ्गाः ॥ ७० ॥
चम्पामल्लीमतल्लीविकसितसुमनःकेतकीकेसराली-
मन्दारश्रीकदम्बस्तवकितसरणिर्धूपिता दिव्यगन्धैः ।
प्रस्फूर्ज्जत्कज्जलोर्मिप्रसरसहचरीमन्मनःपुण्डरीके
भृङ्गश्रेणीव वेणी तव ज [यतु शुभा] बालजालप्प देवि ॥ ७१ ॥
शम्भुश्रीकान्तवेधस्तनुकिरणभरैस्सन्द्रकस्तूरिकाम्भः
काश्मीरक्षालनेन ज्वलदनलमहामौक्तिकेन्द्राश्मगुच्छैः ।
मल्लीनीलाम्बुपुञ्जारुणकुसुमभरैरम्ब जालप्प देवि
ज्योतिर्वेणीव वन्द्यौ (?) तव चरणमणीपादुके नः पुनीताम् ॥ ७२ ॥
श्यामाङ्गी रत्नवीणामुखरितशिखरोत्तुङ्गवक्षोजभारा
तारानाथावतंसा शुकमधुरगिरः सम्भ्रमेणालंपती ।
आनन्दान्दोलवेल्लत्पृथुतरकबरीफुल्लकह्लारभङ्गी
मातङ्गीति त्वमेव श्रुतिषु परिचिता बालजालप्प देवि ॥ ७३ ॥
हिङ्गुला मङ्गला तोतला शारदा चन्द्रिका कालिका भैरवी शाम्भवी ।
इन्दिरा सुन्दरी तूलजा शैलजा ज्वालिनी मालिनी शक्तिरग्रे ममास्ताम् ॥ ७४ ॥
मङ्गले शङ्करप्रेम-पाथोनिधे तुङ्गलेखावलीशे खराभ्यर्चिते ।
पिङ्गले नूतनव्रश्च विवोदये(?) हिंगुले संततं मस्तके तिष्ठ नः ॥ ७५ ॥
देवेन्द्रप्राप्तशेषाण्यतिवहलतरालक्तकप्रौढराग-
श्रीमन्ति स्वात्तगन्धप्रसरमिलदलिद्रोणिदष्टाधराणि ।
कस्मिन् काले पिबेयं वद जननि जगज्जालजीवातुवल्लि-
श्रीमज्जालप्प युष्मच्चरणसरसिजक्षालनीयामृतानि ॥ ७६ ॥

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कालिन्दीनर्मदाम्भःप्लुतमदसलिलोत्सङ्गिनौ पुष्पवन्तौ
बिभ्राणः कुम्भयुग्मं गगनतलततः स्वर्धूनीपूरशुण्डः ।
घण्टालः साधुवादैरनभिमतयशो देव मृद्नन् मृणालं
कीर्तिस्तोमाब्जकुम्भी जगदुदरसरःसम्भ्रमो बंभ्रमीति ॥ ७७ ॥ [1]

[अकबरी-विलासः]

चन्द्रं[1] [चन्द्रार्ध]चूडं चतुरुदधिचयं चन्द्रिकां चन्द्रकान्तं[2]
चार्वङ्गीलोचनान्तं चमरसहचरीबालभारोच्चयञ्च ।
खर्वीकुर्वन्ति [दर्वीकरतिलकम]पि ध्वस्तगुर्वीतिभङ्गि
[ख]र्वीथिं प्रेषिता रे दलपति-गृहिणि त्वद्यशःस्तोमसोमाः ॥ १ ॥

भृङ्गाली[कण्ठमालाः]स्फुटित[1]कमलिनीधूलिभिर्धूसराङ्गाः
स्पन्दन्त[2]श्चन्द्रकन्यालघुतरलहरीशीकरासारलालाः ।
अङ्गादङ्गं व्रजन्तो विकसितविलसत्केतकीमल्लिका[नां]
[मोदन्ते] मन्दमन्दं मलय-गिरिदरीगर्भतो वातपोताः ॥ २ ॥

कर्णाटं देहि कर्णा[धिक विधि] सतत[1]त्याग लाटं जटाल[2]-
प्रोत्तुङ्गं द्राविडं वा निविड[3] भुजबलपौढिमागाढवाढम् ।
विस्फूर्जद्गुर्जरं[4] वा दलितरिपुगर्भवैदर्भकं वा
गाजी राजीवदृष्टे कुशशतमथवा[5] साहिजल्लालदीन[6] ॥ ३ ॥

वेलामुल्लङ्घ्य हेलादलितधरणिभृद्वाहिनीकोटिपूरै-
रुद्वेल्लत्काविलेन्द्रप्रबलजलनिधिः प्लावनायोज्जजृम्भे ।
स्यान्मग्ना मेदिनीयं प्रबलभुजबलप्रोल्लसच्चन्द्रहास-
ज्वालाभिः सन्ततश्चेद्दहति न वडवावीतिहोत्रो वघेलः ॥ ४ ॥

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[1] *SRB.*, 138.10; *SSRB.*, 452.92.

१ । Quoted in the *PV.*, *i.e. Padyaveṇī* (v. 76); *Subhāṣita-sudhā-bhāṇḍāgāra*, pp. 114-115.28; *Subhāṣita-sudhā-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra*, 413.1. The bracketed readings are supplied from the anthologies.

[1] MS. न्वं ।
[2] MS. चतुरुदधिचयं चन्द्रिकां चन्द्रकान्तं ।

२ । [1] *PV.*, v.r. स्फुरित० ।
[2] *PV.*, v.r. प्रदत्त० ।

Also quoted in *PV.*, 609; *SRB.*, 327.41; *SSRB.*, 189.41.

३ । [1] *SRB.*, 113.3, v.r. विदित० ।
[2] *SRB.*, v.r. ललाट ।
[3] v.r. प्रचल ।
[4] *SRB.*, v.r. प्रस्फूर्जद्० ।
[5] MS. r. कुलिसथमथवा ।
[6] *SRB.*, शाहजल्लालुदीन ।

Also quoted in *SSRB.*, 409.3.

४ । Also quoted in *SRB.*, 114.16; *PV.*, 66; *SSRB.*, 410.2; *Sūkti-sundara*, 121 and *Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī*, 72.

हस्ताम्भोजालिमाला नखमणिहरिणश्यामलच्छायवीची
तेजोऽग्नेर्धूमधारा वितरणकरिणो गण्डदानप्रणाली ।
वीर-श्री-वेणिदण्डो लवणिमसरसीबालशैवालवल्ली
वेल्लत्यम्भोधरश्रीरकबरधरणीपालपाणी कृपाणी ॥ ५ ॥

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५ । Also quoted in *SRB.*, 113.1; *PV.*, 138; *Padyaracanā*, 21.27; *SSRB.*, 409.1; *Rasika-jīvana*, 139.

MISCELLANEA

SUGGESTION *VERSUS* INFERENCE IN SANSKRIT AESTHETICS

It is a great pity that Mahimabhaṭṭa's *Vyaktiviveka* has not received that amount of recognition and appreciation which it is really entitled to. A parallel and comparative study of Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyaloka* (with the gloss of Abhinavagupta) and Mahimabhaṭṭa's *Vyaktiviveka* would greatly help the clear understanding of their respective positions by showing the strength and weakness in the views of either, and would thus enable us to appraise their proper worth. Rūyyaka, the reputed author of the *Alaṃkārasarvasva*, is the commentator of Mahimabhaṭṭa's work. As an adherent of the Dhvani school, he was the most unsympathetic critic of the theory of Inference advanced by Mahimabhaṭṭa. The theory of Dhvani, which in spite of the remarkable exposition of Abhinavagupta had some points unexplained that gave rise to misunderstanding, was given a reorientation by him, who by confuting the adverse criticisms of Mahimabhaṭṭa, the strongest opponent of the Dhvani theory, next to Bhattanāyaka and Kuntaka, placed the Dhvani theory in a position of unassailable security.

Mahimabhaṭṭa says that there is only one function of words—viz. denotation (*abhidhā*), and to posit two other additional functions—viz. Indication (*lakṣaṇā*) and Suggestion (*vyañjanā*), is absolutely unwarranted. According to him the sense conveyed by a sentence (*vākyārtha*) is reached through Inference (*anumāna*). In this respect Mahimabhaṭṭa seems to have been a follower of the Vaiśeṣika theorists who admitted only two instruments of knowledge (*pramāṇa*)—viz. Perception and Inference, and included verbal testimony (*sabda-pramāṇa*) of the Naiyāyikas under the latter. Thus according to these philosophers from the sentence 'the cow exists' we infer the existence of the cow (*pakṣa*). While explaining the third variety of Suggestion, Mahimabhaṭṭa cites as an instance the case of conceptual knowledge as derived from the utterance of such words as 'cow', 'horse', etc. Here the utterance of these words helps to bring forth into our mind the corresponding images which were all existent there in a state of dormancy merely because the respective images were known, in previous cases, to be connected with the corresponding concepts, just as the sight of smoke gives rise to the cognition of fire, since in our previous experiences they were represented as invariable concomitants. And, Mahimabhaṭṭa adds, these are pure cases of Inference, where we pass from the known to the unknown, and it is merely by courtesy that they are referred to as cases of suggestion. We must, however, note one important point at the very outset. Though Mahimabhaṭṭa follows the Atomists in holding the duality of *pramāṇas*, and denies Verbal Testimony any separate claim to recognition, still he is not quite in line with the latter inasmuch as in the case of simple cognitions derived from such isolated concepts as 'cow', 'horse', etc., he does not admit Inference, but recognizes *abhidhā* (denotation). The apparent incongruency of this position with what has been said before can be met by holding that Mahimabhaṭṭa introduced this much modification into the theory of the Atomists, on the ground that in case of such simple concepts as 'cow', etc., the usual paraphernalia of Inference are lacking, since an inference requires at least three factors—viz. *pakṣa* (minor term), *sādhya* (protandum), and *hetu* (probans). But in the case of judgments like 'the cow exists' (*gaus tiṣṭhati*), the resultant cognition is inferential, since every judgment has for its basis the subject-predicate relation, which constitutes the condition *sine qua non* of Inference. Now, it might be contended that in every case of Inference the 'probans' must be stated and there must be invariable concomitance between the 'probans and the

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probandum'. But usually in an ordinary sentence and the more so in an artistic verse, the 'probans' is rarely expressed. So how can we prove the inferential character of the cognitions arising from judgments like 'the cow exists'? To meet this contingency Mahimabhaṭṭa states that the probandum in the resultant cognition might be two-fold—viz. its existence might be well known to readers or hearers concerned and to adduce reasons for its establishment would be of little practical importance, or it might be unknown, being a creation of the poet's fancy, when, however, it is but quite in the fitness of things that the reason must be expressly stated in its support. And having thus shown that denotation (*abhidhā*) is the only function of words which can be admitted with any cogency of reason, and established the inferential character of our complex cognitions generated by judgments based on the subject-predicate relation, Mahimabhaṭṭa proceeds to state that the self-same Inference has to be resorted to for the cognition of what the Dhvani-theorists would fain call the suggested sense, instead of positing an altogether novel function styled suggestion or *vyañjanā*. The reasons are plain. Whereas in cases of suggestion the thing suggested and that which suggests must be given to our consciousness simultaneously, in Inference there is appreciable sequence between the two cognitions, e.g. of smoke and of fire. And as you Dhvani-theorists, too, cannot deny this sequence between the cognition of what you call *vācyārtha* (which according to Mahimabhaṭṭa, as has been already shown above, is inferential) and that of *vyangyārtha*, you have no other way but to submit to our criticisms and adopt the position which we are striving to defend. What you can, at most, claim is that though there cannot be any suggestion between what you call *vācyārtha* and *vyangyārtha* in the primary sense of the term, it might, however, be applied in a secondary sense—just as the term *cow* is secondarily used to denote a *fool*—and the ultimate reason for falling back on such secondary use might be to communicate the *transcendental charm* which is experienced as a result of the cognition of the suggested sense (according to Dhvani-theorists). But though *rasa* might be thus secondarily referred to as *vyangya*, still in the case of *vastu* and *alaṃkāra* no cogent reasons can be found for such usage since no one ever, even through illusion, experiences the simultaneity in the cognitions of *vācyārtha* and *vyangyārtha* in these two varieties.

Mahimabhaṭṭa, then, proceeds to elucidate his point further by making a classification of the different varieties of 'manifestation' (*abhivyakti*). Now, the thing manifested might be already existent or it might be previously *non est* being subsequently brought into existence by the manifester. The first variety of manifestation might, on its part, be again classified into three distinct categories, viz. (*a*) Effect becomes manifest, though it was previously existent in cause in an unmanifest state of energy, according to the Sāṃkhya realists,—as for example 'curd' in milk or 'oil' in the sesamum-seeds; (*b*) the thing brought into light might, again, have its own excitative existence *per se*, but due to some impediment it might not have been cognized, just as a jar, though already there, cannot be cognized till the light of the lamp reveals it by removing the screen of darkness that prevented it from being perceived; (*c*) and lastly it might be an ideal image which, though it lay in our mind uncognized, might become the object of cognition as a result of the perception of some other object having invariable concomitance with the former—just as the perception of smoke generates the idea of fire which was already existent as a mental impression. The second kind of manifestation, however, has no subdivision. As an instance of this last variety, Mahimabhaṭṭa cites the case of manifestation of the rainbow by the sun's rays, where the latter manifests the former which had no previous entity.

Having thus reviewed the nature of manifestation in all its various types, Mahimabhaṭṭa proceeds to examine the definition of suggestion as furnished by Ānandavardhana and his followers in the light of the foregoing discussion. Ānandavardhana, in defining Dhvani, states that where the sense conveyed by denotation (*abhidhā*) serves to bring to light another sense (which has no direct or necessary connection with it) by making itself subservient to the latter, it is called Dhvani. Mahimabhaṭṭa demurs that the first two types of manifestation cannot hold good in the case of the denotational sense for the alleged suggested sense which is manifested by the former can neither be an object of sense-perception as is the case with 'curd' or 'oil', nor can it be cognized simultaneously with the former in the same way as the cognition of the jar synchronizes with that of the lamp. If it be contended that the third type of manifestation, as between smoke and fire, is on a par with the case in point, Mahimabhaṭṭa would assent to it, but would further add that this is not a case of manifestation but merely an instance of inference proper. No one would dare gainsay the fact that fire is inferred from smoke and not manifested in the sense the jar is manifested by the lamp. What constitutes the essence of suggestion or manifestation, as we might call it, is that the thing suggested and the instrument of suggestion must be cognized together. And as this very essential characteristic is lacking in the case of Dhvani, it is nothing but an empty dogmatism on the part of the Dhvani-theorists to be persistent in their views. Now, Dhvani-theorists might posit that though we admit the justice of your criticism in the case of suggestion of *vastu* and *alaṃkāra*, still in the case of *rasa* our position remains untouched, as there is no sequence perceptible between the cognition of *vibhāvas*, *anubhāvas* and *saṃcāribhāvas* on the one hand and that of *rasa* on the other. Mahimabhaṭṭa's reply to this contention is the same as above. He states that mere non-perception is not a sufficient proof of the fact that there is no real sequence between the two cognitions, for as *vibhāvas*, etc. are causes of the final cognition of sentiment which is the effect, it would be a violation of the law of the causality if there be no real sequence between them. It is merely through illusion that we experience the two cognitions to be synchronous, inasmuch as one closely follows on the heels of the other.

It will not, perhaps, be out of place here to deal with the nature of the suggestion of *rasa*, for later writers on poetics have been much occupied with the topic. Ānandavardhana states that the sequence between the cognition of *vibhāvas*, etc. and the final relish is not observable, and as such *rasa* is spoken of as *asaṃlakṣyakrama-vyangya*. But Abhinavagupta in his scholium supplements the statement of Ānandavardhana by observing that the latter's view is not to be taken literally. For when he says that *rasa* is *akrama*, it is not his intention to rule out *rasa* from the other category of *vyangya*,—sense classed as *saṃlakṣyakrama*, where the sequence between the cognitions of *vācya* and *vyangya* (sense) is obvious. What he seeks to imply is that *rasas*, *bhāvas*, etc. alone can be subsumed under this division known as *akrama* and not *vastu* and *alaṃkāra* which must always be classed under the second head, and as such there can be no bar to *rasa*, *bhāva*, etc. being classed under the latter.

That Abhinavagupta was merely unfolding the implications of Dhvanikāra becomes apparent when we turn to the verse—*evaṃvādini devarṣau* (*Kumāra*, vi, 84) which the latter cites as an instance of *bhāvadhvani*. Here the 'maidenly blush' (*lajjā*) of Pārvatī is suggested by the act of her counting the lotus-petals with her face turned downwards. Ānandavardhana observes that here the mere act of counting petals cannot suggest 'maidenly blush', till other contextual factors have been taken into account. Thus when intervening factors, like the consideration of the context, etc., deter the final realization, *rasa*, *bhāva*, etc. too would have to be ranked with *vastu* and *alaṃkāra*. Jagannātha, the author of *Rasagangādhara*, has anticipated a probable objection to this view of including *rasa*, *bhāva*, etc. under both the categories, for then we should have eighteen different varieties of *saṃlakṣyakramadhvani* instead of twelve only, since parity of reasoning demands that *rasa*, too, would have its six-fold mode of suggestion besides the already existing twelve varieties of suggestion of *vastu* and *alaṃkāra*. To meet this objection, Jagannātha states that Abhinavagupta, when he viewed *rasa* as a subdivision of the *saṃlakṣyakrama* category, thought it needless to illustrate separately the six modes of suggestion on the analogy of *vastu* and *alaṃkāra*, for when the final relish of *rasa* is impeded by an intervening sequence, it loses the inherent charm which constitutes its very quintessence and as such should be ranked with *vastu-dhvani*. In this way, the two apparently incompatible views of Abhinavagupta might be reconciled. But, howsoever ingenious this interpretation might appear, it ignores the verdict of our experience which in no way discriminates between the above two modes of *rasadhvani*. And Jagannātha, too, does not fail to note, perfunctorily though, this inconsistency in his interpretation. Nāgojībhaṭṭa, however, would not subscribe to this view. He contends that the cognition of *rasa, bhāva*, etc. always synchronizes with that of *vibhāvas, anubhāvas*, and *saṃcāribhāvas*. Whenever there is the totality of causes, the effect must ensue. Now, the *vibhāvas*, etc. are the causes of the final cognition of *rasa*, and as such there can be no relish of *rasa* till all the elements constituting the totality of causes have become the objects of our cognition. In the verse cited above, there is, admittedly, a perceptible sequence between the cognition of the *vācya* sense and that of the context (which is also one of the constituents forming the totality) but no sooner the cognition of the context makes up the deficiency, than the final cognition of *rasa* ensues with all its attendant charm. Thus there might be sequence between the cognition of the *vācya* sense and that of *vibhāvas* and other causal factors, but between the latter and the final relish of *rasa* there cannot be any observable sequence that might act as a hindrance.

Let us now resume the main thread of our discussion. We have seen how Mahimabhaṭṭa has refuted the doctrine of suggestion put forward by the Dhvani-theorists basing his arguments on the very statements of his opponents. But it now remains to be seen how Rūyyaka, the commentator of *Vyaktiviveka*, succeeds in reinstating the theory of Dhvani by exposing the voidness of Mahimabhaṭṭa's criticisms. Mahimabhaṭṭa quotes from the *Dhvanyāloka* a passage to prove his point, where Ānandavardhana appears to be playing his opponent's game, and he does not fail to make capital out of it. As there is causality between the cognition of *vibhāvas* on the one hand and the final cognition on the other, there must be real sequence and on account of this causal connexion (*avinābhāva*) the cognition of one gives rise to that of another. Mahimabhaṭṭa takes his cue from the term *avinābhāva*, which was used by Ānandavardhana in a sense quite different from what Mahimabhaṭṭa attaches to it. In Mahimabhaṭṭa's view *avinābhāva* had a purely technical sense, denoting invariable concomitance (*avyabhicāra*) that constitutes the keystone of valid Inference. But Rūyyaka observes that this is merely a dodge to avoid the real issue. It is not sane to ascribe to others views which they do not really profess. Mahimabhaṭṭa's lengthy dissertation to disprove the function of suggestion which according to the Dhvani-theorists subsists between the primary and implied sense is equally untenable and cannot stand critical test. The supporters of Dhvani cite the instance of the jar and the lamp to illustrate the way in which the suggested sense is cognized. Mahimabhaṭṭa, too, admits that the jar and the lamp are presented to our consciousness together, but he would in no way concede the simultaneous cognition of the *vācya* and the *vyangya* sense, as is clearly brought out in course of his criticism. But Rūyyaka, with rare ingenuity, succeeds in controverting the contentions of Mahimabhaṭṭa, by bringing into surface the true implications intended to be conveyed by the Dhvani-theorists in referring to the case of the jar and the lamp as a parallel instance. He argues that there is no denying the fact that when the *vibhāvas* are cognized the final realization of *rasa* cannot ensue, for the effect must follow the cause in point of time. And Dhvani-theorists were not such fools as to be blind to such a glaring inconsistency in their position. If they contended that the *vācya* and *vyangya* senses are cognized together, they meant to imply thereby, that when the final realization of the suggested sense ensues the cognition of the primary sense is not sublated, just as the cognition of the lamp lingers even when the cognition of jar is generated, and as such there is no inconsistency in the view of the Dhvani-theorists when they posit that the cognitions of *vibhāvas*, etc., and *rasa* are synchronous. Rūyyaka quotes an extract from Ānandavardhana to show that Mahimabhaṭṭa missed this vital issue, and was buffeting with the winds. The *anumāna*-theorists might again turn round and raise a protest against the proposed solution. We have cases where negation in the primary sense suggests some positive injunction and *vice versa*. For example, in the verse—*bhrama dhārmika*, the positive injunction implies negation. How can we hold that in such cases, too, the realization of suggested sense in no wise sublates the cognition of primary sense, inasmuch as negation and predication being mutually opposed and exclusive cannot become the objects of cognition at one and the same movement? Rūyyaka would not yield his position even in such cases. According to him nothing can prevent predication and negation being cognized together at one sweep, in the same way as we cognize the two very dissimilar flavours of jasmine and onion mingled together, though each in its turn strives to subdue the other.[1]

It is, however, strange that Mahimabhaṭṭa did not perceive the beam in his own eyes while engaged in pointing the defects in his opponent's views. Every case of suggestion cannot be fitted into the scheme of a regular syllogism, as he would have it, and therein lies the inherent weakness of his position. Rūyyaka, in his *Alaṃkārasarvasva*—an independent treatise on poetics—referred to this fallacy while commenting on Mahimabhaṭṭa's theory of Inference. A reason to be valid must stand either in the relation of identity or of causality with the probandum (according to the Buddhists), and neither of these can be shown to subsist in a case of suggestion, which completely annuls the validity of the theory of inference.

In this brief account, we have tried to make clear the respective positions of these two opposite schools by referring only to the salient features of their theories, and have deliberately eschewed all technical and scholastic side-issues that would have made our study unnecessarily lengthy.

Bishnupada Bhattacharya.

BENGALI PROVERBS

It is interesting to study the proverbs current among the Bengalees. It is difficult to trace their origin. We are quite in the dark as to the incidents with which they are connected.

The proverbs throw much light on the social life, old customs, history, and ethnology. They serve to illustrate moral and religious subjects. They are as much valued in the East as in the West.

Long ago Rev. J. Long published a book which is a collection of proverbs.[2] Dwarkanath Basu's *Pravādamālā* deserves mention. Besides there are many articles on the subject. Saileshchandra Majumdar and others have written articles on them in the Bengali Journals entitled *Bhāratī* and *Bāmābodhinī-patrikā* which are now defunct. About 34 years ago Dr. B. C. Law published an article entitled *Pravāda-prasaṅga* in the then Bengali Journal called *Āryāvarta* (B.S. 1319). We feel it a great necessity to publish a detailed account of the events connected with the Bengali proverbs. Let us take one or two such proverbs and narrate the incidents leading to their origin.

1. *Lāge ṭākā debe Gaurī Sena.*

Vaiṣṇavacaraṇa Seṭha was one of the oldest inhabitants of Calcutta. More than hundred years ago he used to reside at Burrabazar. He was a rich merchant and was well known for his honesty. A prince named Rāmarājā of Telingānā used to fetch Ganges water from Calcutta for the worship of his deity. He did not use it if it was not touched by Vaiṣṇavacaraṇa. Once Vaiṣṇavacaraṇa purchased a large quantity of tin-foil in the name of his co-sharer who was known as Gaurī Sena. It was afterwards detected that most of the tin-foil was mixed with silver. Vaiṣṇavacaraṇa did not take a pice out of the profit made in this business. He was of opinion that as the business was made in the name of Gaurī Sena, he was not at all entitled to the profit. Although Gaurī Sena made several requests to him to take the profit, he refused to accept it. Gaurī Sena, who was an ordinary tradesman, thus amassed much fortune. He was doing well in business and afterwards became a wealthy man. He made the best use of his wealth. He saved many people from civil imprisonment on account of their inability to pay the debts incurred by them. He used to help the needy if he was made an accused in a law suit for fighting out the right cause. As he was in the habit of thus spending his wealth, people on several occasions, without considering the pros and cons of an act, used to perform it, thinking Gaurī Sena would spend money if required. This was proved to be true.

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[1] Jātī-palāṇḍu-nyāya.

[2] *Eastern Proverbs and Emblems illustrating old truths* (Trübner Oriental Series, 1881).

2. *Bismallāy galad.*

There are three words in *Bismallāh. Ve, ism* and *āllāh* mean in the centre, name and God (father) respectively. Before commencing any good work the Hindus are in the habit of writing *Śrī-Ganeṣāya namaḥ* (adoration to Ganeśa), so the Muhammedans write *Bismallāy Rahamāṇī Rahiṃ* (in the name of the All Merciful God, *āllāh*). Really *Bismallāh* means 'in the name of God'. Now let us trace its origin. A mendicant used to go out on alms every morning and return to his habitat every afternoon. He had some disciples. He used to feed them first before taking anything. Once one of his disciples asked, 'Why do you take the trouble of begging? Our Emperor is kind, righteous, and God-fearing. If you can do one thing, we all shall be free from taking the trouble of begging.' The mendicant eagerly asked him to find out the means by which he would be saved from this trouble. All the disciples then decided that the mendicant should go to a thick forest and incise on the bark of a big tree with a knife the following sentences: 'In such and such a place such and such a mendicant lives. If the Emperor offers him two lacs of gold coins, it will be for his good; otherwise something bad might happen.' The mendicant acted accordingly and stayed in his dwelling place for some time. In the meantime, the disciples used to go on alms. One of them visited the palace every day. The Emperor was pleased with these disciples and gave them alms. One day a disciple approached the Emperor, saluted him and said, 'Oh Majesty, last night I dreamt a dream. It is this. The income of your State has considerably increased. On enquiring about it in my dream I am told that the Emperor has become rich by obeying the command of the Almighty written on the bark of a tree in the forest.' The disciple then left the Emperor after explaining his dream. The Emperor sent his own man to find out the particular tree in the forest. After a long and careful search, his officers informed the Emperor that they actually saw what was written on the bark of the tree. It was distinctly written there that the Emperor should give two lacs of gold coins to the mendicant. When the Emperor was about to give the coins, his minister advised him that both of them should go to the forest to inspect the writing personally. Then both of them went to the forest and read what was written on the bark of the tree. The minister said after perusal, '*Bismallāy galad*'. The Emperor asked, 'why?' The minister replied, 'A human being before writing anything first of all writes the name of the Almighty; but if the Almighty writes anything, why should He mention the name of *āllāh*?' The whole trick was detected and the mendicant was punished.

There are innumerable proverbs of this nature and an attempt has been made here to trace the origin of two only. We will surely enrich our literature if a careful and exhaustive treatment of Bengali proverbs is made by competent scholars.

D. GUHA.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL POSITION OF THE AṬṬHAKATHĀ-MAHĀVAṂSA

An earlier *Mahāvaṃsa* composed by the Ancients is presupposed by the *Mahāvaṃsa* composed in verse by Mahānāma, and that the allusion is evidently to a chronicle of the *Dīpavaṃsa* type. Mahānāma does not refer to any commentary version of the *Mahāvaṃsa* written in Sinhalese, nor does he say that his work was a translation from Sinhalese into Māgadhī meaning Pāli. The author of the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* has taken a lot of pains to explain the significance of the title of *Mahāvaṃsa* meaning 'The great Chronicle' as well as to enlighten us on the allusion to an earlier chronicle made in the words—*porāṇehi kato p'eso* (this as composed by the ancients). The *Mahāvaṃsa* is the title adopted by Mahānāma for his own work. There was nothing to prevent him from loosely applying the same title to the earlier chronicle *Dīpavaṃsa*. He might easily have got the idea of such a title from a sectional caption, viz. *Mahārājavaṃsa*, used in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, Ch. III. Let us see what the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa Commentary* himself has got to say.

Mahāvaṃsaṃ pavakkhāmi ti: Mahantānaṃ vaṃso tanti paveṇi paramparā sayaṃ eva vā mahantattā ubhayatthaparidīpakattā vā mahāvaṃso, taṃ mahāvaṃsaṃ. Tesaṃ Buddhabuddhasāvakādīnam pi guṇamahantānaṃ, Mahāsammatādīnam pi vā rājamahantānaṃ paveṇidīpakattā ca Buddhāgamanādippakārehi mahādhikārattā sayaṃ eva mahantattañ ca veditabbaṃ.

Anūpamaṃ vaṃsavaraggavādinaṃ
sabbaṃ anaññaṃ tathasuppakāsitaṃ
ariyābhataṃ uttamasabbhivaṇṇitaṃ
suṇantu dīpatthutisādhusakkataṃ ti.

Iminā Aṭṭhakathānayen'eva assa mahattaṃ paridīpitañ ca veditabbaṃ. Ettha dīpatthuti nāma ñāññaṃ, Bhagavato dīpāgamanādim eva. Ten'āhu Porāṇā:

Dīpāgamanaṃ Buddhassa dhātūnaṃ bodhiyāgamaṃ
saṅgahā theravādañ ca dīpamhi sāsanāgamaṃ
narindāgamanā vāsaṃ kittayissaṃ suṇātha me ti.

Imāya pana gāthāya nayena pi assa saṅkhyāmahattaṃ paridīpitattaṃ ñeyyaṃ. Evaṃ 'Mahāvaṃsan' ti laddhanāmaṃ Mahāvihāravāsīnaṃ vācanāmaggaṃ Porāṇaṭṭhakathaṃ; ettha Sīhalabhāsaṃ hitvā Māgadhikabhāsāya kathessāmī ti adhippāyo. Aṭṭhakathāya vā ye vuttappakārā te asesetvā bhāsāmattam'eva pahāya vigatadosāya seṭṭha Māgadhikabhāsāya kathessāmī ti adhippāyo.

Nānānūnādhikārikan ti: nānā anūnā adhikārā nānānūnādhikārā; te yassa sambhavanti, nānānūnādhikāriko; taṃ nānānūnādhikārikaṃ Mahāvaṃsaṃ pavakkhāmī ti attho. Vaṇṇagandhasampannehi nānāvidhakusumehi ganthitaṃ vicitrapupphavamsaṃ viya nānānayavicittaparipuṇṇādhikārapaṭimaṇḍitaṃ Mahāvaṃsaṃ paridīpayissāmī ti adhippāyo. Ten'āhu Porāṇā:

Suṇātha sabbe paṇidhāya mānasaṃ
vaṃsaṃ pavakkhāmi paramparābhataṃ
atippasatthaṃ bahunābhivaṇṇitaṃ
etaṃ hi nānākusumaṃ va ganthitaṇ ti.

Nānānūnādhikārikan ti Dīpāgamanappabhuti adhikārikaṃ anūnādhikārikan ti paripuṇṇam adhikārikaṃ. Moggaliputtatissatherena hi tatiyasaṅgītikāle ṭhapetabbassa Kathāvatthuno Satthunā ṭhapitanayaṃ va kiñci adhikāraṃ dassetvā kassaci adhikārassa nayamattam pi dassitaṃ; tato anūnādhikāriko nāma hotī ti daṭṭhabbo.[1]

Here the scholiast has tried with his great erudition to exhaust all probable explanations of the introductory verses of the text. The work is called *Mahāvaṃsa* or 'Great Chronicle' not only due to the fact that it is the chronicle of the great kings and teachers but also because it deals with great themes. This twofold significance of the title is explained in the light of the verses from the prologue to the *Dīpavaṃsa*. The word *dīpatthuti*, literally meaning 'an eulogy of the island' which occurs in these verses, is similarly sought to be explained in the light of other verses from the prologue to the same earlier chronicle. Here these are quoted in the name of 'the Ancients' (*Ten'āhu Porāṇā*). But it is not certainly true that these verses testify to the great number of subject-matters (*saṅkhyāmahattaṃ*). In explaining the significance of the verbal expression *pavakkhāmi*, which literally means 'I will narrate well', the scholiast arbitrarily suggests that by it the author means to say that he was going to narrate the chronicle in the blameless Māgadhī or Pāli language, abandoning the Sinhalese diction of the chronicle contained in the *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā* as taught in the school of Mahāvihāra. In the sequel, again, two authoritative verses are quoted from the *Dīpavaṃsa*, although in the name of the Ancients. Evidently the scholiast has made the confusion between the traditional sayings of the *Porāṇas* in verse and the Sinhalese *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā* worse confounded. It seems rather very strange why he, instead of quoting the verses from the *Dīpavaṃsa*, quotes them in the name of the *Porāṇas*. Are we to understand that when the *Aṭṭhakathā* was first written, it was written in Sinhalese? If so, from whom did the impetus come to write the commentary in Sinhalese in preference to Māgadhī (Pāli)?

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[1] *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*, P.T.S., I, pp. 35-36.

The *Dīpavaṃsa* presupposes indeed the *Piṭaka* commentaries when it says that king Vaṭṭagāmaṇi caused the *Three Piṭakas* to be committed to writing along with the *Aṭṭhakathās*:

Piṭakattayapāliñ ca tassa Aṭṭhakatham pi ca . . . .
ciraṭṭhitattham dhammassa potthakesu likhāpayuṃ.[1]

This very statement occurs also in the *Mahāvaṃsa*.[2]

But the question still remains—Were these *Aṭṭhakathās* the commentaries written in Sinhalese? As shown elsewhere,[3] there is a commentary process to be noticed throughout the *Three Piṭakas*, in which case the statement, if at all correct and true to fact, may be taken to mean that the first incentive to producing the commentaries in Sinhalese came from the direction given by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. Whatever it may be, the traditional sayings of the Ancients were all in Pāli verses, and none in Sinhalese. The *Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā* speaks, on the other hand, of a *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā* written in Sinhalese prose, in which evidently the Pāli sayings of the Ancients in verse were quoted. If so, the *Mahāvaṃsa* itself might be a later metrical version of an earlier prose chronicle in Sinhalese prose, but as regards the *Dīpavaṃsa*, it was composed or compiled on the basis of the traditional sayings of the Ancients in Pāli verse. In such circumstances the *Dīpavaṃsa* must have to be treated as chronologically earlier than the *Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṃsa* or the Sinhalese prose chronicle in the *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā* with the traditional Pāli verses quoted here and there in the name of the *Porāṇas*.

In support of the statement of the *Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā* regarding the earlier *Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṃsa* one may cite the evidence of the Pāli commentaries ascribed to Buddhaghosa. One may even go so far as to premise that the general introduction to the *Samantapāsādikā* is only a verbatim reproduction in Pāli of such an earlier chronicle in a Sinhalese *Aṭṭhakathā* (commentary). We have similar reproductions also in the general introduction to the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, the commentary on the *Dīgha Nikāya*, and in those to the *Atthasālinī*, the commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, and the *Kathāvatthu Aṭṭhakathā*. These reproductions presuppose the *Dīpavaṃsa* and Sinhalese commentaries, but nowhere Mahānāma's great work.

B. C. LAW.

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[1] *Dīpavaṃsa*, XX, pp. 20-21.
[2] *Mahāvaṃsa*, XXXIII, 100-101.
[3] B. C. Law, *Buddhaghosa*.

REVIEWS

THE LEGEND OF THE TOPES (THŪPAVAṂSA). Translated into English for the first time by Bimala Churn Law, D.Litt., etc. (Bibliotheca Indica), Calcutta, 1945. Price Rs.3.

Dr. B. C. Law by the present work has made a valuable addition to his edition of the *Thūpavaṃsa,* and it adds one more to his many achievements of research and investigation in complex problems of Indian history and archaeology. It is no mere translation, for with its abundant notes it forms a welcome commentary on the text.

The work itself by the thera Vācissara is late, being of the twelfth century A.D. There is a curious resemblance in its mode of composition to the *Mahāvaṃsa,* for the author tells us that there were two similar works already in existence, one in Sinhalese and one in Pāli, suffering like the *Dīpavaṃsa* from being confused and incomplete, so that he undertook to give a more useful and consistent account. He goes through the same historical events as the Chronicles, but concentrates his descriptions on the various *stūpas* beginning with Dīpaṅkara. Dr. Law accuses it of lack of originality, and thinks that the atmosphere of life it creates, is dull and monotonous. But in spite of its lateness there is always the possibility that such a work may lead to a better interpretation of the historical events. This question is one that must be left to the historical specialists of Ceylon.

The translation itself raises the question of the best terminology to use for the expression of Buddhistic terms. Dr. Law keeps on safe ground, but his translation does illustrate the unsettled state of affairs that still prevails, for which he is in no way responsible. The fact that translators are continually innovating is quite a healthy sign. It shows a recognition of the inadequacy of former attempts and a readiness to remove actually misleading expressions. But there is also the fact that many terms have become stereotyped, and are sometimes still preserved. Why should *dhamma,* when it means the teaching of Buddha, be called the 'Law'? The *dhamma* may in a wide sense include the legislation of the *Vinaya,* but the reason why the term 'Law' was used, is because Burnouf translated it *loi,* and the reason why he did so, had nothing to do with Buddhism. He was not to blame. The only sense of *dhamma* then known came from the so-called Law-books, the *Dharma-śāstras* of Manu and others, which he quite illegitimately transferred to the Buddhist doctrine. It still persists, though Dr. Law has found its inadequacy. Does any one coming straight from the Pāli know what is meant by 'waned out'? It is Mrs. Rhys Davids' translation of *nibbuta.* When the moon wanes out we know that it is entirely extinguished, and 'extinguished' was the term actually used by Kern for 'attained *Nirvāṇa*'. It is the more surprising that Mrs. Rhys Davids should have invented the term 'waned out', for though she despised the present Buddhism as 'degenerate monasticism', she did not share the views of those who prefer to interpret *Nirvāṇa* as annihilation. However, Dr. Law does not slavishly follow Mrs. Rhys Davids, for on one page having said, 'he has waned out entirely', he also gives, 'he passed away entirely into *Nibbāna*'. Another expression, 'the canker-waned', is also due to Mrs. Rhys Davids, and it is meant to translate *Khīṇāsava.* But what is a canker? This is a term well known among English gardeners, but how does it explain *āsava*? The *āsavas,* we know, are the three tendencies of the individual that have to be eradicated, passion, with its opposite aversion or hatred, and confusion of mind. But the term 'canker' was not chosen to explain this. It was adopted because of a supposed derivation of *āsava* based upon the philology of Buddhaghosa. It remains to be seen whether future translators will be satisfied with this. Translators will also have to decide between *tope, thūpa,* and *stūpa.* Rhys Davids translated it 'cairn', but this only obscures the conception of what a *thūpa* really was.

There is much to be said for the view that a term need not always be translated in one way, but when we find 'Kāḷa the Nāga king', 'the great black Nāga king', 'the serpent-king Mahākāla', 'Mahākāla, the king of serpents', all referring to the same personage, his identity is somewhat obscured.

In Chapter 5 there is a rather ambiguous passage in the account of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. The Pāli reads: *Sā dasamāsaccayena puttaṃ vijāyi. Tassa Gāmaṇi-abhayo ti nāmaṃ kariṃsu. Aparabhāge aparampi tassa Tisso ti nāmaṃ kariṃsu.* This becomes, 'At the expiry of ten months she gave birth to a son. They named him Gāmaṇi-Abhaya. Subsequently they gave him also another name (calling him) Tissa'. But as Gāmaṇi never had the name Tissa, and, as the sequel shows, Tissa was the name of his brother, it will be better to translate by making *aparaṃ* the object of *vijāyi* and get the real sense by translating, 'subsequently (she gave birth to) another son also. They gave him the name Tissa'. The punctuation appears to be partly responsible.

The whole translation reads fluently and idiomatically, and the rich stores of information in the notes will furnish much material for future historians and philologists.

E. J. THOMAS.

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AŚVAGHOṢA. By Dr. Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt. Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Monograph Series, Vol. I. Calcutta, 1946. Pages ix+92.

Biographies of men and women who have played an eminent rôle in the history of ancient India are rare. Rarer still are the biographies of persons who have done significant work in the field of art and letters. This may be perhaps due to the paucity of material necessary for the writing of such biographies. About political personalities we get at least some information from literary, epigraphic and numismatic sources. But such is not the case with regard to Sanskrit men of letters. And this is quite natural. It is doubtful whether any Sanskrit writer has written an autobiography or whether the biography of any Sanskrit writer is written by another Sanskrit writer. Even in the colophons of their own works, Sanskrit writers hardly tell us anything important about themselves. A biographer of an old author has therefore to ransack all scattered literary works and archaeological sources which are likely to throw some light, directly or indirectly, on the life and times of the subject of his biography, and glean from them whatever relevant material he can. On the basis of such material he has to reconstruct a connected story about the career of that author. It is hardly necessary to dilate upon the importance of such biographies for the understanding of the literary history of India in its proper perspective. The arduous labours that are involved in the preparation of such a biography are also quite patent. Dr. B. C. Law therefore deserves the best thanks and felicitations of all serious students of Sanskrit literature for his valuable and exceedingly well-documented monograph on *Aśvaghoṣa*.

In the history of Sanskrit literature as a whole, the contribution made to that literature by Buddhist writers must be regarded as, in many respects, quite remarkable. Buddhist Sanskrit literature certainly deserves to form an independent chapter in such a history. It is a well-known fact that, in the field of metaphysics and logic, Buddhist writers have produced, in Sanskrit, some works of sterling merit. Their contribution to *belles lettres* also is not insignificant. The theory propounded by Max Müller that Sanskrit literature had received a set-back in the early centuries of the Christian era, that is to say, after the completion of the epics, and that its renaissance started with Kālidāsa in the sixth century A.D., is now entirely given up by scholars. And one of the reasons for this is the proper evaluation of Buddhist Sanskrit literature, particularly of the writings of Aśvaghoṣa. In more senses than one, Aśvaghoṣa, and after him, the authors of early Sanskrit inscriptions, may be said to have prepared the ground for the Golden Age of Sanskrit literature inaugurated by Kālidāsa. A systematic study of the life and works of Aśvaghoṣa is therefore of paramount importance for an adequate estimate of Sanskrit classical literature. For his biographical monograph on Aśvaghoṣa, Dr. Law has made ample and discreet use of all available Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan sources. The extensive bibliography given at the beginning of the book will testify to the fact that the biographer has spared no pains in exploiting, in a constructive manner, all material available to him. It may however be suggested, in this connection, that the usefulness of the bibliography would have been considerably enhanced, had fuller details of the books and journals included therein been given.

Dr. Law has divided his monograph into five chapters. The first chapter gives a general account of the writings traditionally ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa's authorship. It also includes a brief survey of the researches so far made about Aśvaghoṣa and his works. An attempt is made in the second chapter to form an estimate of Aśvaghoṣa as a man. The third chapter deals with his poetical works. We also find therein a balanced evaluation of his poetic genius. Aśvaghoṣa was brought up in the Theravāda tradition. In order to be able to understand and appreciate the part played by the poet as a Buddhist teacher, it is therefore necessary to study his views and teachings with reference to the traditional teachings of Theravāda Buddhism. Dr. Law has devoted the fourth chapter of his monograph to the treatment of this subject. The author's profound study of the various schools of Buddhism becomes quite apparent in this treatment. In the fifth and the last chapter, the author makes a study of the poetic art of Aśvaghoṣa as seen in his remarkable power of delineation of human characters and objects of nature. Several other problems regarding the life and works of Aśvaghoṣa are critically discussed, and, on account of his sober judgment and of the objective evidence, which he has produced in support of his arguments, most of Dr. Law's conclusions have become quite acceptable.

After a discriminative sifting of Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan traditions about the works attributed to Aśvaghoṣa, Dr. Law concludes that only three works, namely, the two *Kāvyas*, the *Buddhacarita* and the *Saundarananda*, and one drama, the *Śāriputra-Prakaraṇa*, can be definitely said to have been written by the poet. One of the topics in the history of Sanskrit classical literature, which is commonly discussed by scholars, is the comparison of Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa and their chronological relationship. On the strength of the popular tradition about Kālidāsa's association with Emperor Vikramāditya, who is supposed to have founded the Vikrama era in 56 B.C., several scholars assume that Kālidāsa lived in an epoch earlier than that of Aśvaghoṣa. And therefore they assert that the parallelisms in poetic episodes and expressions, which exist between the works of Kālidāsa and Aśvaghoṣa, are due to the former's influence upon the latter. But a critical and objective study of these parallelisms, such as the one made by Dr. Law, leads one to quite a contrary conclusion. We find that though Kālidāsa modelled his works on the earlier *Kāvyas*, of which he must have made a deep study, his true genius is seen in the originality with which he has developed and perfected the ideas and incidents which were only vaguely and conventionally portrayed in those works. This should not of course be regarded as in any way belittling Aśvaghoṣa's poetic genius. Moreover, as a matter of fact, Aśvaghoṣa considers himself to be a teacher first and a poet afterwards. In the concluding part of the *Saundarananda*, he clearly states that his *kāvya* was written not merely for the sake of literary pleasure, but that it was primarily written with the intention of directing the attention of the people, who normally concerned themselves with sensual pleasures alone, towards the path of renunciation taught by the sage of Kapilavastu. Traditionally Aśvaghoṣa is said to have been a Brāhmaṇa belonging to Ayodhyā. As is clearly indicated by his works, he had made a deep study of the Upaniṣads and other Brahmanical systems of philosophy. But in course of time he turned to Buddhism, and, with the enthusiasm usual to a convert, he began to preach the doctrines of Buddhist metaphysics and ethics. Throughout his works, one perceives unmistakable indications of his intention to establish the superior worth of the three Refuges, namely, the *Tathāgata*, the *Mokṣadharma*, and the *Ārya Saṃgha* from the viewpoint of the *śaraṇāgati* which he himself adopted in preference to the one advocated in the Brahmanical tradition. The treatment of this aspect of Aśvaghoṣa's activity in Dr. Law's monograph is indeed quite enlightening.

Though first of its kind, this biography of Aśvaghoṣa by Dr. Law can be regarded as almost the last word on the subject. The learned author has already given us the biographies of Buddhaghosa and Mahāvīra, and it is to be earnestly hoped that this excellent series of biographies of ancient Indian thinkers and writers will be continued by him.

R. N. DANDEKAR.

VEDIC BIBLIOGRAPHY. By R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph.D. Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, 1946, pp. 398.

It is not only a record of important Vedic works done since 1930 but also it is a systematic register of important works done in the field of allied subjects including the study of Indus Valley civilization. The author says that the present work may be regarded as the continuation of the great work done by Renou through his *Bibliographie Vedique* (Paris, 1931). The author has ably performed the task undertaken by him. He has made mention of all the important writings which appeared between 1930 and 1945. His table of contents is useful. He has supplied a list of Journals, Periodicals, etc. So far as the Vedic studies are concerned his Bibliography seems to be exhaustive. His attempt is no doubt laudable and I am confident that it will be found greatly helpful by scholars interested in the history of our country and people. The two indexes given at the end will surely enhance the utility of the book. The more we have such Bibliographies the better. I am delighted to find that my *Bibliography of Ancient Indian Geography*, accepted as a monograph by the Kern Institute of Holland, has been prepared in the plan of the book under review.

B. C. LAW.

OBITUARY

DR. N. J. KROM

We are very sorry to have the news of the death of Dr. Nicholas Johannes Krom who was born in September 1883. He was well posted in Sanskrit and Comparative Philology. He spent five years in Java to study numerous Hindu remains. At Leiden he was appointed as the Professor of Archaeology and Ancient History of Netherlands India. He was the well-known author of *the Barabudur*, which is no doubt a very useful publication. He wrote many minor books and articles dealing with Indo-Javanese archaeology. His two great works on Buddhist and Brahmanical sanctuaries in Java and a history of Indonesia, especially of Java from the beginning of the Hindu colonization till the *circa* sixteenth century A.D., will immortalize his name.

B. C. LAW.

DR. W. F. STUTTERHEIM

DR. STUTTERHEIM, born at Rotterdam on the 27th September, 1892, studied at Leiden where his chief subjects were Sanskrit, Pali, Old-Javanese and both Indian and Hindu-Javanese archaeology and epigraphy. The doctorate of Aryan Letters was conferred on him in 1924, his thesis entitled 'Rāma-Legenden und Rāma-Reliefs in Indonesien' being a work of great merit. In the same year he proceeded to Java where he joined the Archaeological Survey. Subsequently in the year 1926 he was appointed Principal of a College at Soerakarta, which was intended for the education of young Indonesians, not on Western lines but with due regard to the importance of indigenous culture. DR. STUTTERHEIM devoted himself to this task with great zeal and wrote for the use of his students a series of three handy text-books on Indian civilization, Hinduism in Indonesia, and the Islam in Indonesia. Notwithstanding the absorbing character of his educational duties, STUTTERHEIM did not abandon his favourite antiquarian studies. To these he was again enabled to give his full attention when in 1937, on the retirement of DR. BOSCH, he was appointed Director of the Archaeological Survey. This post he held till 1942 when the whole of Indonesia was overrun by the Japanese, and not only the military, both European and Indonesian, were imprisoned but also the civil European population—men, women and children—were interned in concentration camps under appalling conditions. Large numbers including many persons—doctors, nurses, civilians, engineers, teachers, scholars and missionaries—who had devoted themselves to the development and welfare of the country and people of Indonesia, perished in these camps. One of the victims was DR. STUTTERHEIM, who died in September 1942.

It will be out of place in this obituary notice to give a survey of the numerous writings on archaeology and allied subjects written—partly in English—by DR. STUTTERHEIM during his stay in Java. Let us only mention the following books: *A Javanese Period in Sumatran History* (1929), *Tjandi Bara-boedoer* (1929), *Oudheden van Bali I* (1929), *Indian Influences in Old-Balinese Art* (1935).

J. PH. VOGEL.

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RAO BAHADUR K. N. DIKSHIT

It is our very painful duty that we have to record the news about the demise of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, who just a short while ago retired as Director-General of Archaeology. He had a most brilliant University career and carried off almost all the prizes and scholarships of the Bombay University connected with Sanskrit literature. He passed M.A. in 1912 and was soon thereafter taken as a scholar for being trained in archaeology by Sir John Marshall. At my suggestion to the Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, Mr. Dikshit was appointed in November 1914 as Assistant Curator. I was glad that before I left Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, I was able to send him to Lucknow to fill up the post of the Curator of the Provincial Museum there, though thereby I incurred the displeasure of some members of the Prince of Wales Museum. He was now in Government service and soared up higher and higher in the archaeological empyrean till he became Government Epigraphist, then Deputy Director-General and finally Director-General of Archaeology for India. That he was on the whole a good administrator will be admitted by many, though they may not agree that there was no Indian in his Department to succeed him efficiently as Director-General of Archaeology. Similarly, though he was on the whole a capable administrator, he was somewhat simple-minded. An Assistant of his, who was not as good a scholar as he, managed to become a F.R.A.S.B. prior to him. My attention was drawn to this, and I was glad to propose Rao Bahadur's name for the Fellowship and was delighted that it was carried out forthwith. It is difficult to fill up the void created by his demise. Let us pray for the peace of the departed soul!

D. R. BHANDARKAR.

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THE FEUDAL SYSTEM OF RAJPUTANA

By P. SARAN

Colonel James Tod is responsible for giving currency to the belief which is now almost universally accepted as an undisputable fact of history that a Feudal system identical with the Feudal system of medieval Europe was prevalent in Rajputana. The terminology of that peculiar socio-political system which arose in the middle ages in Europe has been very vaguely and carelessly applied to Indian institutions by numerous writers. Some western writers persist in calling even the assignments which were made to their officers by the Muslim rulers of India, as 'fiefs'[1] and the word feud is quite as freely and indiscriminately used, although it has been shown by some scholars, like Moreland, for instance, that the use of the Feudal terminology of Europe to denote any institutions of India which might have a superficial or, at least, partial resemblance with the former is highly inappropriate and misleading.

This remark is also true to some extent in respect of the system which prevailed and still survives in Rajputana, although the Rajput society did wear the aspect of a feudal society and its framework seemed to possess many resemblances to the Feudal system of Europe. Many of the incidents of the two systems are so similar that they seem to have a common origin. It was these resemblances and common incidents which misled Colonel Tod into drawing an exact analogy between them. But a close examination of the essentials of the Rajput system reveals the fact that the two systems, despite their superficial resemblances, are fundamentally different. Hence to the socio-political institutions which are found to have obtained in the Rajput kingdoms during the Mughal period it is neither accurate nor safe to apply the terminology of western Feudalism.

Before proceeding to notice the points of resemblance and difference between the two systems it would seem necessary to examine the causes and circumstances which gave rise to these systems. The history of the European Feudal system has been studied thoroughly by numerous eminent scholars and an enormous body of literature has been produced dealing with the various aspects of the subject. But such is not the case with the Rajput system. It has not received any attention from our historians. Even such monumental works as the Vir Vinode of Kaviraj Shiamaldas and the History of Rajputana by G. H. Ojha do not contain a single line on the nature of the socio-political system of Rajputana. The only exception is that of Col. Tod who excites admiration by the thoroughness and deep scholarship which he brought to bear on the subject. Nevertheless Tod has only described the system as he found it existing in his time. He has not tried to trace the causes and conditions of its origin and growth. He only says that the basis of the Rajput as well as the European system was the patriarchal form (Crooke's Ed. I, 155). Nor has any other scholar, so far as I know, explored this field which remains quite dark like so many other aspects of our history. The problem of the rise and growth of feudalistic institutions in the society of Rajputana is indeed part of a wider problem which offers a vast field of enquiry for the student of Indian History. I therefore wish in passing to refer to this problem.

The rise of the Rajput kingdoms is known to commence from the sixth or seventh century A.D. and their history gradually emerges from darkness and comes into full light until from about the 8th century we are in a position to know about their society and culture, and their political institutions, at least up to the end of the

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[1] The C.H.I. Vols. III and IV, for instance, and V. A. Smith.

12th century when the leading Hindu chiefs of Northern India collapsed like ninepins in the first sweep of Turkish invasions from the north-west. In Rajputana where they managed to maintain their existence they sank into insignificance until we find them emerge into prominence again in the middle of the 15th century, and then though, as subordinates and vassals of the Mughal Emperors, they played a very important rôle in the Mughal Empire. Now this period extending over close upon three centuries was, without doubt, a period of transition during which Rajput society and their institutions seem to have undergone profound and far-reaching changes. Up to the end of the 12th century the character and structure of the Rajput social and political institutions was purely indigenous, inherited from the ancient politics of India. Their terminology was entirely derived from Sanskrit, and their aims and ideals were governed by principles expounded in Hindu works on polity. Nor are there any traces in their social and political systems up to that time of any feudalistic institutions which we find from the 16th century onwards. But besides the growth of feudalistic institutions which wrought a radical change in the Rajput social structure, their political system also would appear to be changed almost beyond recognition. The Mantrin, or Mahāmātya, the Mahāsandhivigrahika, the Mahāsenāpati, the Mahābalādhikrit and others have all disappeared and their place is taken by Pradhān, Bakhshī, Suratnāmā, Sahāi, and Faujdār. In place of the Mandal, Vishaya and Bhuktī, we have the Tahsīl, Parganāh and Thānā, the last one being of course the popular form of the ancient Sthāna or Sthānika. How and by what forces such a radical change was brought about is a very interesting subject for historical investigation. Now for a comparison of the Rajput and European systems, it is necessary briefly to review the origin and rise of the Feudal system of Europe and its fundamental characteristics.

In the growth of all institutions in history two things must be clearly distinguished from the very beginning in order to have a correct understanding of the process and its results. First, the change of conditions in the social and political environment which necessitated growth or innovation and second, the already existing institutions which began to be transformed to meet the new needs.

In the case of European Feudalism the need for a change in the existing institutions, and for a new growth, was created by the chaos brought about as a consequence of the decline of the power and prestige of the Roman Empire. In such a condition the government of the empire found itself too weak to perform its primary obligations of providing security of life and property to its subjects. Consequently it became the universal and imperative need of Roman society to manage for self-protection, both from internal and external dangers, from the tyranny of oppressive neighbours, government officers, and other disturbers of peace who spring up and thrive at such times, as well as from the outside invaders. Faced with this situation the weak freeman, who was exposed to attack in almost every relation of life, naturally sought for protection from whatever quarter it was to be got and paid its price. So the *great and fundamental social fact* was the failure of the government to perform its primary duty of protecting its people, which was the occasion for the rise and growth of Feudalism. Thus was created the first of the two conditions which made a change necessary in the constitution of the social organism.

The second condition was provided by the *vestiges of the early Roman institutions* in the beginning and later by the local institutions in France and other countries where Feudalism occupied the vacuum created by their governments having lost the capacity and power to perform their primary obligations.

In Rome there were two chief classes of people who were compelled to seek protection, viz., the landless freemen and the petty land-owners. The ancient Roman institution of patron and client relationship served as a basis and with slight modification was utilized by the landless freeman, both in the later Roman and early German state. The landless freeman who could not support and protect himself went to some powerful neighbour, stated his needs and offered his services—such as were befitting a freeman—in return for shelter and support. In the German state this transaction came to be a written contract, and was called *commendation*, its Roman name being *patrocinium*.

The petty land owner was in greater difficulty for the protection not only of himself but his land too. So when he begged for protection, the rich man said 'I can only protect my own land'. The poor man was forced to surrender the ownership of his land to his powerful or rich neighbour and receive it back under a condition called *precarium*, which gave him protection during his lifetime. But this was done at the cost of his children who were left without any legal claim to that land.

After the conquest of Gaul by the Franks, these two practices underwent certain modifications by contributions from the Frankish institutions, such as the *comitatus*, of which the oath of fealty was adopted in the future relations of master and vassal thus changing their very spirit and ideas. Similarly, a very important contribution was made by the church in as much as it began to grant its own land to smaller freemen, which was called a *benefice*. Later it came to be associated with an obligation of maintaining cavalry and rendering military service on the part of the client or the vassal to his overlord.

But the last and most important change which the weak successors of Charlemagne had gradually to accept and even legalize was the recognition of the army of the vassals, and of the transference of a number of cases of public duty into private obligation and of the authority of the sovereign into the hands of the feudal nobility. Thus, for instance, the feudal lords began to exercise judicial authority within their fiefs and consequently there grew up numerous systems and codes of law in a single country.

But in the different lands where Feudalism found congenial soil to develop it naturally differed very greatly in its conditions and practices. Nevertheless underlying all this diversity there were certain fundamental principles and relationships which were alike everywhere and which gave a distinctive character to everything that was feudal, no matter what its form might be. The chief of these were: (1) The relation of vassal and lord. (2) The principle that every holder of a land is tenant and not an owner until he reached the highest rank. (3) The tenure by which a thing of value is held is one of honourable service; not intended to be economic, but moral and political in character. (4) The principle of mutual obligations of loyalty, protection and mutual service binding together all the ranks from the highest to the lowest. (5) The principle of contract between lord and tenant as determining all rights and obligations between the lord and vassal, and forming the foundation of feudal law.

The foundation of feudal relationship was the fief which was usually land but might be any desirable thing, as an office, a revenue in money or kind, the right to collect toll, or operate a mill. In return for the fief the man became the vassal of the lord which carried with it a number of duties and obligations which the vassal was to perform, such as military service, court service consisting of helping to form the court, submitting its decisions to the overlord, taking their cases to their own lords, and also giving advice to lords. They had also to pay certain aids to the lords in times of need, either civic or military. The heir had to pay something as relief for the recognition of his right to inherit his father's tenure, etc., etc.

Lastly, the government of the feudal country was a new form of organization which had supplanted the old form in which military and civil duties to the community were the public obligations of the government to perform. In the new system the idea of public duty or duty to the community was replaced by a private obligation on the vassals in return for the fiefs they held. Thus the feudal state was one in which private law had usurped the place of public law. Public duty had become private obligation. All sorts of services which men ordinarily owe to

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the public or to one another were translated into a form of rent paid for the use of land and defined and enforced by a private contract. The government was usually sustained by the scanty feudal payments, the proceeds of justice and income of domain manors.

These then were the chief characteristics of the Feudal system of Europe. Along with them had grown up a great variety of external forms and ceremonies to be observed by the vassals on ceremonial occasions. These, however, differed from place to place, and constituted only the outer vesture of the system, and not its essence. Feudalism thus came in as a great social and political necessity, the necessity of performing the public obligations and functions of the kings and rulers when the latter became too feeble to perform them. Its supreme feature was that it was a system in which kings and their governments were thrown into the shade and rendered impotent, and secondly, in which the authority and functions of the government were, for all practical purposes, usurped by powerful landlords in their private capacity. In other words, it was an anarchy, but not without an organization and method, whatever might have been the local environments, which gave it peculiar forms.

Its decline and disappearance therefore came when the function of protection and local supervision could be resumed by kings and their governments.

Besides the above stated features which constitute the essence of the Feudal system of Europe, there were certain more general obligations of vassals known under the term of Feudal incidents, viz., Relief, Escheat, Aids, Wardship, Marriage and Fines of alienation.

We have now to see what similarities and dissimilarities can be found between the two systems on a comparison of European Feudalism with the Rajput social and political organization.

Resemblances.—The resemblances of the two systems pertain mainly to their structure and framework; hence they are only superficial. They are in the incidents rather than in the essential features.

Feudal Relief or Nazrana.—The custom of feudal relief was in principle the same in the east and west. In Mewar, when a chief died his estate was taken possession of by the prince. He used to send a party known as the Zabti (sequestrator) for the purpose. When the relief was paid the estate was put in possession of the heir of the deceased chief at an imposing ceremony. The '*Khaḍg bandhai*' or 'binding of the sword' is also performed when a Rajput is fit to bear arms. This is like the ancient custom of German tribes, who used to put into the hands of the aspirant for fame a lance. It also resembled the Roman custom of the '*Toga virilis*' (i.e., the garb of manhood put on by boys at fourteen).

The custom of relief points to the existence of a right of resumption though, as admitted by Tod (Vol. I, 186) it was only a formal privilege which was never exercised, and was rendered a dead letter by the non-practice of it (*Ibid.*, p. 191).

Escheats.—The practice of escheats in case of failure of heirs in lineal succession, or forfeiture, partial or total, as punishment for crimes, was also in vogue. But in the former case the evil of escheat was mitigated by the practice of adoption. Then there were two distinct classes of landholders in Rajputana, viz., the '*Girasia*' and '*Bhumia*'. The *Girasia* chieftain was he who held '*giras*', i.e., subsistence, by a grant (patta) of the prince for which he had to perform service with specified quotas of force at home and abroad. This class of tenure was subject to resumption and was renewable, and was comparable to the fief-holders of Europe.

But the *Bhumia* held his land by prescriptive possession which was inherited as an indefeasible patrimony. The Bhumia land-holder had only to pay a small annual quit-rent. His obligation to render military service too was limited both in point of time and place. He could be called upon for local service in the district where he resided and for a certain period only. The Bhumia, as Tod points out, was the counter-part of the allodial proprietor of Europe. The English land system, however, is fundamentally different in this respect, being based, as it is, on the conception of the whole land being legally the property of the King.

Fine of alienation.—The practice of alienation by a vassal of his feud or transfer of tenure did not prevail in Rajputana. The only exception noted by Tod is that of donations for pious or charitable purposes for which the Lord's sanction was necessary. There being no Alienation, there were no Fines of alienation, as there were in Europe. But the agricultural tenants of the Crown who had no counterpart in Europe, could alienate their holdings because they were the real proprietors of the soil, although for doing so they had to pay a small fine to mark the transaction. Such peasant-proprietors did not exist in Feudal Europe.

Aids.—Aids or free-gifts or 'benevolences' as they were termed in European code, were quite common to both. These consisted of aids at the marriage of the chief's daughter, a water-tax when the chief was in trouble or as ransom to redeem his person from prison, or in some states, for the marriage of the eldest son. But just as in Europe these aids varied greatly according to local customs and were often extorted unreasonably.

There was a further analogy in the various obligations of the vassal and indeed in the mutual obligations of the overlord and vassal. In European Feudalism the vassal was bound to fidelity, aids and counsel. These vague terms implied forty-days' service in war, often the temporary surrender of castles at need, the payment of feudal aids, attendance at the suzerain's court to give him counsel in his affairs and in his justice. In Rajputana, too, almost the same obligations had to be performed by the vassal. Here he had even to give himself as a hostage for his release. The principle of a fief was in both cases a mutual contract of support and fidelity.

Thus the Rajput polity was organized on a military basis and in its structure it had a close resemblance with its European parallel. But there were certain fundamental differences between the two which make it clear that in its origin and, to some extent in its working, the Rajput system was so different from European Feudalism that it would be highly inaccurate and misleading to call it by that name.

Dissimilarities.—The most fundamental point of difference between the two systems was that the Rajput system did not arise as a result of the weakness and incapacity of the monarchies, which was the occasion for the rise of European Feudalism, which stepped in to perform the duties and functions of the governments, when they failed to perform their primary duties of protecting their subjects from external and internal dangers. In the history of the Rajput kingdoms we know of no such period when their kings and governments had grown so weak as to be unable to perform their obligations towards their subjects. In Europe Feudalism came in as a necessary and welcome substitute for the machinery of the government which had almost ceased to function. As we have seen above after Charlemagne the governments of Europe had grown so effete that gradually almost all their powers and functions were usurped by the feudal barons. Public law gave place to private law, public duty became private obligation, and the king's peace and justice were taken over by the manorial courts which exercised unlimited powers within their respective jurisdictions, allowing no right of appeal by their subjects to the royal court. Thus the feudal lords threw off the responsibility for their actions to any higher or central authority and began to exercise it in their own private right. Later on the kings making a virtue of a necessity recognized the accomplished fact and even went forward to begin the practice of granting administrative fiefs to courts to be administered by them. In this way the feudal duchies and counties came into existence and the territories of the kingdoms were farmed out. Thus the feudal system took possession of the territory as well as the functions of the State. In its fullest development this system was a perfect example of organised anarchy. Now in the history of the Rajput kingdoms, or for that matter, in any part of India, we know of no such political weakness or incapacity of the monarchs at any time as to have occasioned the growth of a system which could so completely supplant the monarchy and usurp all its functions. The Rajput system never assumed the aspect of an organised anarchy. The Rajput rulers continued to exercise their powers and prerogatives as well as their primary functions of legislation, justice and protection. They were never reduced to the position of being weaker than their own jagirdars or to depend solely on the latter's support and assistance even for their own safety as in Europe. So the excuse which occasioned the rise of European Feudalism was wanting in the case of the Indian system.

Secondly, the land in Europe was legally the king's property while in Rajputana, just as in the rest of the country, the peasant was the proprietor of the soil, the king or his jagirdars having a claim only to a share of its produce.

Thirdly, much of the judicial and administrative authority was exercised by the village community councils, the panchayats, whose jurisdiction remained intact and was never interfered with by any authority. No such institution existed in Europe where the barons were the sole masters and enjoyed all powers over the inhabitants of their fiefs. In Rajputana at a very late period (in the 19th century) some chiefs had begun to claim the right of exercising judicial powers but only in civil cases, while the criminal and property disputes were decided by the village panchayats. But even this power was not effectively acquired. Besides the recognition which was given to the local panchayats, other local customs and laws were respected, which was not the case in Europe.

Among the minor but nonetheless important points of difference was the right of adoption which was an ancient Hindu right of the childless parents and was never questioned. This served as a protection against the abuse of the feudal right of wardship. Then the right of marrying a minor vassal to whomsoever he chose was exercised by the overlord in Europe. This was unthinkable in the Indian social system.

The nature of the military obligation of the vassal was essentially different in India inasmuch as it entailed military service to the lord at any sacrifice, while in Europe it meant merely an obligation to follow the lord in war.

Lastly, we must also note that while in Europe with the revival of monarchical governments when they could resume their functions of protection and general administration the Feudal system has completely disappeared, the Indian system in the land of its rise still survives simultaneously with the governments of the kings who are by no means weaker than their vassals, and far from being puppets in the latter's hands as the rulers of Europe had become.

The causes and circumstances of the rise of the Indian system are still obscure and difficult to trace. But it may be surmised that the Indian system arose from certain social and moral forces rather than from any political necessity, and this is why it survives even today, while the European system receded gradually into the background with the resuscitation of monarchies and eventually disappeared completely.

SUPPLEMENTARY PORTION OF THE TEXT OF THE *GṚHASTHA-RATNĀKARA* OF CAṆḌEŚVARA

By BHABATOSH BHATTACHARYA

The *Gṛhastharatnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara was edited by the late MM. Kamalakrishna Smrititīrtha and published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* in 1928. In his *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I,[1] published in 1930, Mr. (now Mahāmahopādhyāya) P. V. Kane has utilized in his section on Caṇḍeśvara the incomplete MS.[2] of the *Gṛhastharatnākara*, deposited in the library of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona and has referred to the printed edition of the same in Appendix A (p. 539) of his above work. Mr. Kane's Vol. II[3] of the *History of Dharmaśāstra*, published in 1941, contains not less than a hundred quotations and translated extracts from the printed edition of the *Gṛhastharatnākara*. The frequency of these quotations and translated extracts can be best inferred from the fact that in the list of abbreviations Mr. Kane has shortened the name of the work into Gṛ.R. and गृह. र. for his text and footnote portions respectively. He has followed this process of abbreviation in the case of no other digest on Smṛti except the *Smṛti-candrikā* and *Smṛti-muktāphala*.[4] That Mr. Kane has ignored nothing important of the *Gṛhastharatnākara* in his Vol. II of the *History of Dharmaśāstra* can be proved by the fact that he has even utilized the interpretation of Caṇḍeśvara in his *Gṛhastharatnākara* (p. 279) of the term *pṛṣṭhavāstu*, occurring in Manu III, 91, along with that of Kullūka Bhaṭṭa, a commentator of Manu, on the same. The *Gṛhastharatnākara* contains 68 *taraṅgas* or chapters as is evident from the last line of the last introductory verse[5] of the same (p. 3). But the printed edition, though containing on the cover the words 'complete work', is really incomplete, as it finishes with the 65th chapter on *tyājyātyājya* and the post-colophon of the MS. क, collated for the edition, adds the following line:—

avaśiṣṭam bhāratādiśravaṇañca ādarśābhāvānna likhitam.

The other two MSS. of the *Gṛhastharatnākara*, collated for the printed edition, are also wanting in the last three chapters. So it appears that all the three MSS., utilized for the printed edition, are copies of the same incomplete original. Though Mr. Kane has said in his section on Caṇḍeśvara,[6] 'The Deccan College MS. that I could consult is incomplete, has only folios 30, 72–133 and contains the last 23 *taraṅgas* only', yet on examination of this very MS., now deposited in the library of the Bhandarkar Institute of Poona, I find that the folio 30 contains a fragment of the *taraṅga* on *pakṣiṇaḥ*,[7] while the remaining folios (72–133) cover full 21 *taraṅgas* and a small portion of the *rakṣoghnācāravarṇana-taraṅga*, the last *taraṅga* on *bhārata-śravaṇa* being also omitted in this MS. So we see that of the missing three *taraṅgas*[8] of the printed edition which ends abruptly on p. 591 with the text of

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[1] Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

[2] No. 44 of A1883-84.

[3] Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

[4] Vide footnote 1780 on p. 746, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II.

[5] अष्टषष्टिरमी स्पष्टास्तरङ्गाश्चित्तरङ्गदाः. ।

[6] Page 366, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I.

[7] From कलविङ्कं प्लवं हंसं (p. 371 of the printed text) to पारावतकपोतौ च अभक्ष्याः (p. 372 of the printed text).

[8] कृत्यापकरणञ्चाथ रक्षोघ्नाचारवर्णनम् ।
श्रवणे भारतादीनां विधानञ्च प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

Viṣṇu[1] in the *tyājyātyājya-taraṅga*, only the whole of the *ṛṇāpakaraṇa-taraṅga* and a little portion of the *rakṣoghnācāravarṇana-taraṅga* can be had from the Deccan College MS., as also the end of the *tyājyātyājya-taraṅga* which also appears to be missing in the printed edition as compared with the Deccan College MS. of the same.

TEXT OF THE SUPPLEMENTARY PORTION OF THE GṚHASTHA-RATNĀKARA.

विष्णुः—

भार्य्या पुत्रस्य बन्धुस्य संसृष्टः पापकर्मभिः ।
परिभाव्य परित्याज्यः[2] पतितोऽपि तथैव च ॥

परिभाव्य दोषमुत्पाद्य ।

गौतमः (२१।१२-१६)—

अज्ञानाध्यापनादृत्विगाचार्य्यौ पतनीयसेवायां च हेयौ । अन्यत्र हानात् पतति । तस्य च प्रतिग्रहीतेत्येके । न कर्हिचिन्मातापित्रोरवृत्तिः । दायं तु न लभेरन् । ऋत्विगाचार्य्यौ च याजकाध्यापकौ न हेयौ ।

अज्ञानाध्यापनादित्यत्र नञो ज्ञानेऽध्यापने चोभयत्राप्यन्वयः । ज्ञानविरहस्य कर्मविशेषार्त्विज्ये च बोध्यते । अवृत्तिरनुवृत्तिशून्यः । दायं तु लभेरन् पुत्रा इति शेषः ।

आपस्तम्बः (१।२८।६-१०)—

न पतितमाचार्य्यं ज्ञातिं वा दर्शनार्थो गच्छेत् । न चाऽस्माद्भोगानुपयुञ्जीत । यदृच्छया संनिपाते उपसंगृह्य तूष्णीं व्यतिव्रजेत् । माता पुत्रत्वस्य भूयांसि कर्माण्यारभते तस्यां शुश्रूषा नित्या पतितायामपि । न तु धर्मसन्निवापः स्यात् ।

दर्शनमर्थः प्रयोजनं यस्य । पुत्रत्वस्येति[3] पुत्रस्य आहितगर्भस्य सिद्ध्यर्थम् । धर्मसन्निवापः धर्मकृत्ये श्राद्धादौ मोदनम् ।

आपस्तम्बः (१।२१।५-६)—

न पतितैः संव्यवहारो विद्यते । तथापपात्रैः ।

अपपात्रैरपवित्रभाजनैः ।

वसिष्ठः (१३।४७)—

पतितः पिता परित्याज्यः । न माता पुत्रं प्रति[4] पतति ।

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[1] भार्या पुत्रस्य बन्धुस्य संसृष्टः पापकर्मभिः ।
परिभाष्योऽपरित्याज्यः पतितोऽपि तथैव च ॥ (as read in the printed edition).
भार्या पुत्रस्य शिष्यस्य संसृष्टः पापकर्मभिः ॥
परिभाव्य परित्याज्याः पतितोपोन्यथा त्यजेत् ॥ (as read in the Deccan College MS.).

[2] Corrected from the reading of the Deccan College MS. The printed edition of the Gṛ.R. reads परिभाष्योऽपरित्याज्यः.

[3] Supplied from conjecture.

[4] The printed edition of the *Vaśiṣṭha-dharma-śāstra* reads माता तु पुत्रेण°.

बौधायनः (२।२।४२-४३)—

न पतितैः सह[1] संव्यवहारो विद्यते। पतितामपि तु मातरं बिभृयादनभिभाषमाणः[2]।

इति गृहस्थरत्नाकरे त्याज्यात्याज्यतरङ्गः॥

अथ ऋणापकरणम्॥

तत्र बौधायनः (२।९।१-१४)—

प्रजाकामस्योपदेशः। प्रजनननिमित्ता समाख्येत्यश्विनावूचतुः।

आयुषा तपसा युक्तः स्वाध्यायेज्यापरायणः।
प्रजामुत्पादयेत् युक्तः स्वे स्वे वंशे जितेन्द्रियः॥
ब्राह्मणस्यर्णसंयोगस्त्रिभिर्भवति जन्मतः।
तानि मुच्यात्मवान् भवति विमुक्तो धर्मसंशयात्॥
स्वाध्यायेन ऋषीन् पूज्य सोमेन च पुरन्दरम्।
प्रजया च पितॄन् पूर्वाननृणो दिवि मोदते॥

तथा विज्ञायते। जायमानो हि ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिः ऋणवान् जायते। ब्रह्मचर्य्येण ऋषिभ्यः, यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः, प्रजया पितृभ्यः। एवम् ऋणसंयोगं वेदो दर्शयति। × × × सत्पुत्रमुत्पाद्यात्मानं तारयति।

सप्तावरान् सप्त पूर्वान् षडन्यानात्मसप्तमान्।
सत्पुत्रमधिगच्छंस्त तारयत्येनसो भयात्॥

तस्मात् प्रजासन्तानमुत्पाद्य फलमाप्नोति। तस्मात् प्रजामुत्पादयेदात्मनः फललाभाय। यस्तु(?)यस्मात् पुत्रं वोत्पाद्यात्मानमेवोपपादयेत्। एवं विज्ञायते, आत्मा वै पुत्रनामासीति। एवं द्वितीय आत्मा जीवता द्रष्टव्यो यः पुत्रमुत्पादयति तस्मान्नात्मा क्वचिदक्षेत्रे समुत्स्रष्टव्यः। × × × × × × तस्मादुचितमेव क्षेत्रमन्विष्यते। सवर्णो संस्कृतव्यपदेशेन तस्माद्दारसंयोगे[3]। प्रजामुत्पादयेदौषधमन्त्रयोगेन। तस्योपदेशः श्रुतिसामान्येनोपदिश्यते। सर्ववर्णेभ्यः फलवत्त्वादिति[4]।

प्रजाकामस्योपदेशो विधीयत इति शेषः। प्रजननं पुत्रोत्पत्तिः, समाख्या कुलकीर्त्तनम्। आयुषा आयुर्हेतुदीर्घसन्ध्योपासनब्राह्मणपरदानादिकर्मणा,[5] स्वाध्यायो वेदाध्ययनम्, इज्या

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[1] The Mysore edition of the *Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra* omits सह.

[2] Corrected from the Mysore edition of the same. The Deccan College MS. reads बिभृयाद-भिभाषमाणः.

[3] Omitted in the printed editions of Baudhāyana but found in the Deccan College MS. of Gṛ.R.

[4] Corrected from the Mysore edition of *Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra*.

[5] Corrected from conjecture. The D.C. MS. reads परदानादिकर्मण्यपमानियमेन, which is meaningless.

यागः। युक्तो यत्नवान्, जितेन्द्रियः परदारेषु मैथुनवर्जी, स्वदारेष्वपि निषिद्धकाले मैथुनवर्जी। आत्मवानात्मतत्त्वज्ञः। धर्मसंश्रयः सत्पुत्रोत्पादनरूपो धर्मो बोध्यः। × × × अक्षेत्रे परदाराद्ये। सवर्णौ समानजातौ। औत्सर्गिकी वेदविधानादिना संस्कृतस्य पुत्रोत्पादनस्योपदेशश्रुतिः। औषधमन्त्रयोगेन औषधप्रयोगेण मन्त्रयोगात्। श्रुतिसामान्येन उपदिश्यते शतपथब्राह्मणे पठ्यत इत्यर्थः। फलवत्त्वात्[1] औषधमन्त्रफलवत्त्वात्।

विष्णुवसिष्ठौ (=विष्णु १५।४५=वसिष्ठ १७।१)—

ऋणमस्मिन् संनयति अमृतत्वं च गच्छति।
पिता पुत्रस्य जातस्य पश्येच्चेज्जीवतो मुखम्[2]॥

अस्य जातस्य ऋणापकरणयोग्यस्येति भर्तृयज्ञः। संनयतीत्याक्रामयति।

शङ्खलिखितौ:—

जीवत्पुत्रमुखं दृष्ट्वा पितॄणामनृणः स्वर्गी।
स तेन जातेन तस्मिन् संन्यस्यति ह्यृणम्।
यत्र क्वचन[3] जातेन पिता पुत्रेण नन्दति।
तेन चानृणतां याति पितॄणां पिण्डदेन वै॥

यत्र क्वचन वीजिक्षेत्रिणोरन्योन्यसमयपूर्वकं परक्षेत्रेऽपि।

हारीतः—

यस्य पुत्रः शुचिर्दक्षः पूर्वे वयसि धार्मिकः।
नियन्ता चात्मदोषाणां स तारयति पूर्वजान्॥

तथा—

पुंनामा निरयः प्रोक्तः छिन्नतन्तुश्च नैरयः।
ततो वै त्रायते यस्मात्तस्मात् पुत्र इति स्मृतः॥

नैरयो निरयगामी।

तथा (=विष्णु १५।४६=वसिष्ठ १७।५)—

पुत्रेण लोकान् जयति पौत्रेणानन्त्यमश्नुते।
अथ पुत्रस्य पौत्रेण ब्रध्नस्याप्नोति विष्टपम्[4]॥

शङ्खलिखितौ—

अग्निहोत्रं त्रयो वेदा यज्ञाश्च बहुदक्षिणाः।
ज्येष्ठपुत्रप्रसूतस्य कलां नार्हति षोडशीम्॥

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[1] Omitted in the D.C. MS. Supplied from conjecture.

[2] V.R. quotes this as from Manu and Vaśiṣṭha.

[3] The D.C. MS. reads as यस्मात् पुत्रेण.

[4] V.R. quotes this as from Śaṅkha-Likhita, Viṣṇu, Vaśiṣṭha and Hārīta.

पुत्रपौत्रप्रतिष्ठस्य बहुपुत्रस्य जीवतः ।
अक्षुण्णवेदयज्ञस्य हस्तप्राप्यं त्रिपिष्टपम्[1] ॥

ज्येष्ठपुत्रप्रसूतस्य प्रथमं पुत्रप्रसूतस्य । अथ सन्तानवर्द्धनं पुत्रप्रयुक्तं पितृकर्मणि देवब्राह्मणसम्पन्नो देवब्राह्मणपूजनपरः ।

वसिष्ठः (१७।२-४)—

अनन्ताः पुत्रिणो लोका नापुत्रस्य लोकोऽस्तीति श्रूयते, अप्रजाः[2] सन्त्वदनाः । प्रजाभिरग्नेऽमृतत्वमस्यामित्यपि निगमो भवति ।

अप्रजाः सन्त्वदनाः अदनाः अदनशीलाः राक्षसा[3] इत्यर्थः । तेनापुत्रस्य निन्दा कृता पुत्रवतश्च स्तुतिः इत्यादीनि चान्यानि पुत्रातिदेशे विवादरत्नाकरे एवास्माभिर्वर्णितानीति तानि तत्रैवानुसन्धेयानि ।

इति गृहस्थरत्नाकरे ऋणापकरणतरङ्गः ॥

अथ रक्षोघ्नाचारः ॥

तत्र मार्कण्डेयपुराणे (५०।४२-४३, ४५-४७) दुःसह उवाच—

क्षुत्क्षामोऽस्मि जगन्नाथ पिपासुश्चास्मि दुर्बलः ।
कस्याश्रयो[4] ममाख्याहि वसेयं यत्र निर्वृतः ॥

ब्रह्मोवाच—

तवाश्रयो गृहं पुंसां जनश्चाधार्मिको बलम् ।
पुष्टिर्नित्यक्रियाहान्या तव वत्स भविष्यति ॥
उच्छिष्टापक्वमखिन्नमवलीढमसंस्कृतम्[5] ।
भग्न[6]भाण्डगतं तद्वन्मुखवातोपशामितम् ।
भग्ना[7]सनगतो भुङ्क्ते आसन्ना[8]गत एव च ।
विदिङ्मुखं सन्ध्ययोश्च नृत्यवाद्यस्वरोत्तमम्[9] ॥

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[1] Corrected from V.R. The D.C. MS. reads

पुत्रपौत्र-प्रविष्टस्य बहुपत्यजीवतः ।
अक्षणवेदयज्ञस्य हस्तप्राप्यं त्रिविष्टपम् ॥

[2] Corrected from V.D.S. The D.C. MS. reads अपुत्राः.

[3] Corrected from V.R. The D.C. MS. reads अप्रजाः सत्त्रिणः अत्रिः पालनशीलाः बान्धवा इत्यर्थः.

[4] Corrected from the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*. The D.C. MS. reads कथं श्रेयो.

[5] Corrected from the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*. The D.C. MS. reads उच्छिष्टापणप्रभृतिवलाखड्गादिसंस्थितम्.

[6] Corrected from the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*. The D.C. MS. reads भिन्न°.

[7] Corrected from the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*. The D.C. MS. reads भिन्ना°.

[8] Corrected from the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*. The D.C. MS. reads आसन्दी°.

[9] Corrected from the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*. The D.C. MS. reads °मिवाकुले.

उदक्या[1] पश्यता भुक्तमुदक्या हृतमेव च ।
यच्चोपघातवत् किञ्चिद्भक्ष्यं भोज्यमथापि वा ॥
एतानि[2]........................

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D.C. MS. = Deccan College MS. (No. 44 of A1883-84).
Gṛ. R. = Gṛhastharatnākara (ed. by MM. Kamalakrishna Smrititīrtha, *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1928).
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[1] Corrected from the *Mārkaṇḍeya-puraṇa*. The D.C. MS. reads उदक्यां.

[2] Corrected from the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*. The D.C. MS. reads दत्तानि.

Verse No. 48, Chap. 50, of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* begins from here.

THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA ON THE EVE OF GUPTA ASCENDENCY

By BUDHA PRAKASH

In order to appreciate the rôle of the Guptas in Indian history it is necessary to outline the picture of this country in the beginning of the 4th century A.D. In the North-West of India the Sassanid empire stretched up to the regions of Central Asia and Siestan. Below them was the belt of Kuṣāṇa domination which extended from Kasmere along the Indus Valley up to Kaccha and Kaṭhiawar. The Purāṇas write:—

सिन्धोस्तटं चन्द्रभागां कौन्तीं काश्मीरमण्डलम् ।
भोक्ष्यन्ति शूद्रा व्रात्याद्या म्लेच्छाश्चाब्रह्मवर्चसः ॥

(Pargiter: Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 53.)

The Indus Valley and Kasmere-maṇḍala were ruled by the Imperial Kuṣāṇas, whereas the Kaṭhiawar provinces by the Satraps. In the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, they are referred to as दैवपुत्रशाहीशाहानुशाहीशकमुरुण्ड. According to Dr. Raychoudhury 'the "दैवपुत्रशाहीशाहानुशाही" belonged to the Kuṣāṇa dynasty of the North-West which derived its origin from Devaputra Kaniṣka. The Śaka-Muruṇḍas must have included the Northern Chiefs of Scythian nationality as well as the Śaka-chieftains of Suraṣṭra and Central India, which once dominated even the Ganges Valley' (*Political History of Ancient India*, p. 460). One objection to this view is the fact that the Kuṣāṇa records never mention 'Śāhānuśāhī' as the imperial title of the Kuṣāṇas. On the contrary, this title is exclusively employed by the Sassanian sovereigns. Consequently, Devaputra should stand here for the Kuṣāṇa King of the Indus Valley and Kasmere-maṇḍala and Śāhānuśāhi for the Sassanian emperor Shahpuhr II (309–379 A.D.). Here the mention of 'Dévaputra-śāhānuśāhi' together suggests the alliance of the Kuṣāṇas with the Sassanians, which was cemented by the Kuṣāṇa King marrying his daughter to Hormizd II (302–309 A.D.). It is also significant that Kālidāṣa, while detailing the North-Western conquests of 'Raghu does not mention the Śakas but refers only to the Persians (cf. पारसीकांस्ततो जेतुं प्रतस्थे स्थलवर्त्मना— Canto IV). Evidently, the Kuṣāṇas had lost their importance and independence by allying themselves with the Persians.

Below the Kuṣāṇa realm lay the republican clans detailed in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription as मालवार्जुनयौधेयमद्रकाभीरप्रार्जुन सनकानीककाकखरपरिकादि...of these the Ārjunāyana and the Yaudheyas are placed by the Bṛhatsamhitā in the North-Western regions. Dr. Raychoudhury connects the Ārjunāyanas with the Pandoonoi located by Ptolemy in the Punjàb. The Harivaṃśa connects the Yaudheyas with Uśinara. But the Bijayagarh inscription shows that they had migrated downwards in Rajputana and occupied the tracts now comprised in the Bharatpur State. The Yaudheya territory must have also embraced the tract now known as Johiyahār along both banks of the Sutlej on the border of the Bhawalpur State. Thus this clan was spread from the Sutlej up to the confines of the Bharatpore State.

The Madrakas had their capital at Śākala in the Punjab. The Bṛhatsamhitā places them near the people of Takṣaśilā and Puṣkala:

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तक्षशिलापुष्कलावतकैलावतकण्ठधातवः ।
अम्बरभद्रकमालवपौरवकच्छारदण्डपिङ्गलकाः ॥

—Ch. XIV.

The Ābhiras were a great power in the 3rd and 4th centuries of the Christian era. The Purāṇas connect them with the people of Surāṣṭra and Avantī:

सौराष्ट्रावन्त्याभीराश्च शूद्रा अर्बुदमालवाः ।
व्रात्यद्विजा भविष्यन्ति शूद्रप्राया जनाधिपाः ॥

(Pargiter, *ibid.*, p. 53.)

The Paikuli Inscription which relates to the Civil War of 293 A.D. between Varahrān III and his grand-uncle Narseh, mentions 'Bagda't, the King of Z'urādian', 'Avantikan Xvatāvya' and 'Abhirānshāh', besides the Kuṣāṇa King, who sided with the contending parties. The first is evidently Bhagadatta, King of Surāṣṭra (Z'uradian), the second, the King of Avanti and the third the sovereign of the Abhirs. The title 'Shāh' given to him shows his paramountcy and the reference to the independent King of Surāṣṭra reveals that this province had been won back from the Śaka-Satraps. Side by side the absence of the Western Satraps Viśvasena and Bhartṛidāman (209–295 A.D.) from the Paikuli list of Indian kings shows that they were not free to have diplomatic dealings and had come under the sovereignty either of the Ābhiras or of some other power. By 240 A.D. these Ābhiras had become monarchical and Iśvarasena was their ruler, some of whose descendants must have participated in the Sassanid war of succession. But by the time of Samudragupta they had again reverted to their republican traditions. Their pressure on the Śaka-Satraps proved very detrimental to the Scythian domination. After investigation of the Satrap coins Prof. Rapson concludes 'All the evidence afforded by the coins or the absence of coins during this period—305 A.D.–348 A.D.—the failure of the direct line and the substitution of another family, the cessation first of the Mahākshatrapas and later of the Mahākshatrapas and the Kshatrapas as well seem to indicate troublous times. The probability is that their dominions were subject to some foreign invasions' (Indian coins). The Śūdras mentioned by the Purāṇas must be identified with the people Sodrai noticed by the historians of Alexander the Great on the mouth of the Indus.

The Mālavas are mentioned in the Purāṇas, Bṛhatsamhitā and the Allahabad Pillar Inscription as a northern people. At the time of Alexander they inhabited the lower reaches of the Indus Valley and in conjunction with the Kṣhudrakas offered a desperate resistance to the Macedonian forces. Later on they migrated downwards and settled in the regions known as Malwā with Nāgarī as their capital. Many coins bearing the legend 'Mālavānāṃ jayaḥ' have been found there. The Nanda inscription of 282 Kṛta era or 226 A.D. reveals a certain Mālava chief 'Purapa' whose name began with the letters 'Soma . . . . .' as a great sacrificer and conqueror of the Śaka ruler, who must have been either Rudrasena I (220–222 A.D.) or his younger brother Sanghadāman (see A. S. Altekar in P.I.H. *e.* 1940, Lahore). Though kingly titles could not be employed on account of a deeply rooted republican tradition, yet as a matter of fact hereditary kingship had been established in the clan. The inscription shows that the father of Purapa was Jayasoma and his grandfather 'Prabhāgra-vardhana' and that both of them held kingly posts. By the time of Samudragupta they had turned back republican and in the time of Samudragupta's successors they were probably connected with the Mandsor region, for we find princes of Mandsor using the Mālava era in their records (Raychoudhury, *op. cit.*, p. 457).

Below the Mālavas and the Ābhiras were the Prārjunas, whom Smith located in the Narasinghapura district of C.P. The Udaigiri Inscription of Chandragupta II gives a clue to the locality of the Sanakānikas. Whereas the Kākas were associated with the name Kākanāda given to Sāñchi. The Kharaparikas, according to D. R. Bhandārkar, may have occupied the Damoh district of C.P. Thus we have noticed the Punjab, Rajputānā, Malwa and parts of Central Provinces inhabited by republican tribes who performed yeoman's service in expelling the foreigners from India and weakening the power of the Western Satraps.

We now come to South Punjab, U.P. and Bihar. In the Jalandhar doab at Singhapura a Yādava family of feudatories had been set up about 250 A.D. The 6th of the dynasty was Vṛddhivarman, who is described as Chandra in verse 7 of the Lakkhā mandal Inscription and whom K. P. Jayaswal proposed to identify with Chandravarman of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. The eastern regions were studded with Nāga principalities which were mostly autonomous. The regions round about Beas, i.e. Srughna were ruled over by Nāgadatta and a seal of one of his descendants Maheswarnāga is preserved in the Lahore Museum. Next to Nāgadatta was the realm of Matila, whose Bulandshahar seal depicts Nāgas with expanded hoods. Then came the Mathurā realm under the sway of Nāgasena and his predecessor Kīrtiṣena. Bāṇa in his Harṣacharitam wrongly places him in Padmāvatī, for the latter was the seat of Gaṇapatināga as shown by his coins. The Ahichchhatra realm (modern Rāmanagar in the Barailli District) was the seat of the Nāga ruler Achuta Nandin, belonging perhaps to the line of Śivanandin, etc. His coins bearing the letters 'Achu . . . .' have been discovered at Ahichchhatra. Below them at Padmāvatī (modern Pawāyā) and at Vidiśā (Besnagar) was ruling the famous Nāga chieftain Gaṇapatināga, whose coins have been discovered in large numbers. This ruler is mentioned in a work on poetics called Bhāvaśataka, which is dedicated to him:—

नागराजसमं (शतं) ग्रन्थं नागराजेन तन्वता ।
अकारि गजवक्त्रश्रीर्नागराजो गिरां गुरुः ॥

This ruler also dominated over portions of eastern Malwā as he is styled धाराधीशो in this work. The Bhāvaśataka also gives a striking study of Gaṇapatināga's character: 'He was of severe and austere nature, one who did not take interest in beautiful women and who is noted to be one of a warlike temperament and a veteran warrior.' He was looked upon as suzerain by other Nāga rulers:—

पन्नगपतयः सर्वे वीक्षन्ति गणपतिं भीताः ।

Another family of the Nāgas ruled at Kāntipuri, capital Purikā, where the tradition of the 'Bhārs' as Kings is still current. One of these rulers Bhavanāga died issueless and hence his daughter's son Rudrasena, the grandson of Pravarasena I Vākāṭaka succeeded to his throne. After the death of Pravarasena he also succeeded to the Vākāṭaka throne at Chankā, thus combining the two realms. Rudrasena (Rudradeva of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription) was thus the most important sovereign of his time, commanding the vast stretch of territory from the Ganges up to the confines of Kuntala. Dr. Raychoudhury does not accept this identification, but with no sound reasons. These Nāga principalities are also mentioned in the Purāṇas:—

नवनागास्तु भोक्ष्यन्ति पुरीं चम्पावतीं नृपाः ।
मथुरान्तु पुरीं रम्यां नागा भोक्ष्यन्ति सप्त वै ॥

Here, it should be noted, the Purānas give only the main lines. After the Nāgas, the Purāṇas go on to describe the 'Maṇidhānyajāḥ':—

नैषधां यदुकाँश्चैव शौशितान् कालतोयकान् ।
एतान् जनपदान् सर्वान् भोक्ष्यन्ते मणिधान्यजाः ॥

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In place of 'Maṇidhānyajāḥ', K. P. Jayaswal read in some Brahmāṇḍa manuscripts 'Maṇidhānyajān' and thus taken it to be a province 'which was created at the cost of the Vākāṭaka empire under the rulership of the descendant of Maṇidhānya and afterwards handed over to Pṛthivisena on conclusion of better terms' (Jayaswal in 'History of India 150 A.D.–350 A.D.'). But this reading and interpretation are subject to many objections: (1) Jayaswal himself confesses: 'Pṛthivisena must be ruling over this portion to be in direct contact with the King of Kuntala.' (2) The reading 'Maṇidhānyajāḥ' is found in most manuscripts by collating which Pargiter has given this version. (3) The Purāṇas here are not describing the condition of India under Samudragupta but are referring to the period just prior to his rise, when the Gupta realm was confined to 'Prayāga, Sāketa, Magadha and the regions along the Ganges' and all other dynasties, including the Maṇidhānya are described as contemporaneous with it:—cf.

तुल्यकाला इमे राजन् म्लेच्छप्रायाश्च भूभृतः । (Pargiter, *op. cit.*)

Hence the conclusion becomes irresistible that 'Maṇidhānyaja' may have been some family name of the Vākāṭakas who are definitely known as ruling over these territories: Naiṣadha (Berar), Yadukas (Daulatābād), Śaiśilā (?) and Kālatoyaka (territory between the Ābhiras and Aparānta according to Mahābhārata).

Coming to the east of India we find the Guptas ruling there and the Lichchhavis completely merged in their realm. Above all these northern States, ran another belt of independent frontier kingdoms along the feet of the Himālayas. Kartṛipura (modern Kartārapura, and Kumaon Garhwal and Kangra according to Smith) in the Punjab near Amritsara in the north-west and Nepala in the north-east were such frontier States (Pratyantarājya). This belt moved southwards embracing Samataṭa (south-east Bengal), Kāmarūpa (lower Assam) and Darāka (Dacca according to Fleet, Bogra, Dinājpura and Rājśāhi districts according to Smith and the 'Hill-tracts of Chittagong and Tipperah' according to Bhandarkar).

Now we come to the south and south-east of India. Let us begin from Kaliṅga and Orissa. The Purāṇas say:

कौशलाश्चाँन्ध्रपौण्ड्राँश्च ताम्रलिप्तान् ससागरान् ।
चम्पां चैव पुरीं रम्यां भोक्ष्यन्ते देवरक्षिता ॥ (Pargiter, p. 53.)

Here again as before Dr. Jayaswal reads 'Devarakṣitān' and means that this province was under the viceroyalty of one 'Deva' (May he be Chandragupta II whose favourite name was Devagupta and who is credited with the conquest of Bengal in the Meharauli Ins.!). But the same objections that were levelled in case of Maṇidhānyajāḥ may be advanced here too. What appears to me likely is this: Devaraksitāḥ may be taken along with Tulyakālāḥ rājānaḥ in the last line. It would mean that the kings ruling over south-western Bengal and Orissa, including the seaboard of Tāmralipti as well as Bhāgalpore were 'protected by Deva'—(Dévarakṣitāḥ). Now this Deva is the name of a province known as Dévarāṣtra in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription and is said in the same record to have been ruled over by 'Kubéra'. Dévarāṣṭra, according to K. P. Jayaswal, was a district in Elmañchi Kalingadésa (modern Yellomenchilli). Jayaswal's views in this respect are accepted and corroborated by Jouveau Dubreuil, who also identifies the place with a district in Kalinga mentioned in a set of copperplates discovered in Kāsimkoṭa. Fleet, on the contrary, identifies Dévarāṣṭra with Mahārāṣṭra, where this name still survives in a village Devarāthe, in Kanakpore Taluk of Satārā district.

The greatest objection to this identification is provided by the discovery of Palakka in Nellore district, Madras Presidency, which renders it difficult to understand how Samudragupta could conquer Mahārāṣṭra and Khandeśa without first passing through and conquering the intervening Kanarese districts. Dr. Raychoudhury also remarks that 'Dévarāṣṭra is the Yellomañchili Taluk of the Vizagapatam district'. Thus it becomes apparent that Devarāṣṭra was conterminous with Kośala (Sirpura (Sripura) capital, in C.P.), Andhra, Pauṇḍra, and Tāmralipti, and I hazard the proposal that these territories were subordinate to Dévarāṣṭra. The Purāṇas at least mean this thing.

Further south consisted of the following States:

कलिङ्गा महिषाश्चैव महेन्द्रनिलयाश्च ये ।
एतान् जनपदान् सर्वान् पालयिष्यति वै गुहः ॥

The capital of Kaliṅga was Piṣṭapura. These regions embracing the whole of Kaliṅga were ruled by Guha. Jayaswal states that Guha belonged to the Sālaṅkāyana family of Brahmins, whom Samudragupta installed as his viceroys in Kaliṅga. Some of the rulers of this family were Śaktivarman and Chandravarman and one Vijayadevavarman also performed a horse sacrifice after Skandagupta. Guha, Jayaswal remarks, must have been the name of the first ruler. Here it is idle to suppose that Guha was established by Samudragupta as his feudatory in Kaliṅga, after extirpating the then reigning king, for the Allahabad Pillar clearly says that he reinstated the conquered kings of the south in their respective States (cf. दक्षिणापथराजग्रहणमोक्षानुरागजनित, etc.). Under these circumstances what appears probable is that Guha was already reigning there at the time of Samudragupta and that his official name was different, perhaps 'Mahendragiri', given to him on account of his dominion over the Mahendra mountain. Kālidāsa calls him Mahendranātha (cf. श्रियं महेन्द्रनाथस्य जहार न तु मेदिनीम्). After the victory of Samudragupta, Guha was confirmed in the enjoyment of sovereignty under the imperial tutelage and afterwards Guha started the Sālaṅkāyana line. The fact of Guha's submission is corroborated by a statement of the Pāli work Dāṭhavaṃso (4th century B.C.).

गुहसिवाव्हयो राजा, तत्थ राजा महातेजो जम्बूदीपस्स इस्सरो तुह्यं सामन्तभूपालो
गुहसिवो पनाधुना, निन्दतो तादिसे देवे छवाहिम वन्दते ति..........etc............

Many other kings mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription must have been the subordinates and even officials of Guha-Mahendragiri.

The southernmost regions are described as Trairājya, Muṣikas, Strirājya and Bhojakas and they are said to have been ruled over by one named Kanaka (Kanakāhvaya). This Kanaka has been rightly identified by Jayaswal with Kaṅkavarman. He writes 'Kanaka is the sanskritized name of Kaṅkavarman, the son of Mayūraśarman, who assumed royalty after the fall of the Pallava King Viṣṇugopa at the battle of Collair Lake.'[1] Besides these kings the Allahabad Praśasti mentions the following:

कौसलकमहेन्द्र महाकान्तारक व्याघ्रराज कौरोलकमठराज-पैष्टपुरकमहेन्द गिरि-
कोट्टूरकस्वामिदत्त ऐरण्डपल्लकदमन-काञ्चेयविष्णुगोप-आवमुक्तकनीलराज वैङ्गेयहस्तिवर्म-
पालक्कोग्रसेन-दैवराष्ट्रककुबेर-कौस्थलपुरक धनञ्जय

We do not want to enter into the intricacies of the battle of wit that has ensued over the identification of these kings and kingdoms. What is apparent is that

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[1] Here the Purāṇas are evidently confused, for they placed an event which took place after Samudragupta as contemporaneous with the kingdom which preceded him.

Devarāṣṭra, Piṣṭapura and Kāñchi were the seats of power and influence in the south and were ruled over by important personages Kubera, Mahendragiri (Guha) and Viṣṇugopa and later Kanakavarman. Others mentioned in the Praśasti were subordinate to them.

To sum up, the North-Western Frontiers of India were darkened by the menace of the Kuṣāṇa-Sassanian coalition, which was on a lookout for some opportunity to invade India and rehabilitate the lost kingdom of the Kuṣāṇas. The Punjab and Rajputana were inhabited by republican clans, which were frequently changing their constitutions, striking blows against the foreigners and waiting simultaneously for a great power as a bulwark against the Kuṣāṇa-Sassanite entente. In U.P. and Malwa the Nāga principalities were clinging round the redoubtable Gaṇapatināga and the Nāga-Vākāṭaka realms were coming closer and closer to each other as a consequence of marital alliance and Gupta ascendency. In Magadha and the eastern territories the Guptas were striving for paramountcy. Towards the south the kingdoms of Devarāṣṭra, Kaliṅga, and the Pallavas were divided into tiny estates, and were ready to ally themselves with a strong power.

The most important State of the times was that of the Vākāṭakas. But the seat of Vākāṭaka power was in the south—Kilkila (in modern Ajayagarh Panna State) and Chankā (the present Nachnā) and the events of the preceding generations had demonstrated that a southern power like the Andhras was quite incapable to withstand the advance of northern invaders. The security of the Hindu State demanded a strong northern power, with its seat in the naturally fortified and fertile plains of Magadha and the pivotal regions of the doab, pierced by the gateway of Delhi, well-guarded by men and materials. Side by side history had taught the Hindus that the plains of the Punjab, which act as a glacis to the natural fortress of the central territories—bounded as they are by the ranges of the Himālayas to the north and the stream of the Ganges and the spurs of the Vindhyas to the south, and flanked by the deserts of Rajputana and the deeps of the Bay of Bengal—must be strongly protected. Thus strategical circumstances and geopolitical considerations discredited the Vākāṭaka State from the very start and insisted on the need of a strong Magadhan empire.

The chieftains and princelings noted above were too zealous of their independence to merge their identity in a central state. But side by side they were becoming conscious of the need of such state as a result of the rising current of the Brahmanical renaissance and the revival of national culture, which were giving an imperialist turn to the politics of Northern India. Hence any king, to succeed, had to pursue the circumspect policy of adapting the passions of autonomy to the dictates of the central government. The Guptas, under Samudragupta, did follow such a course. The ideal of combining the elements of autonomy and centralization, a distinct improvement upon the rigid system of the Mauryas and the loose federation of the Nāgas was laid for them by the great bard of Gupta Imperialism, viz. the poet Kālidāsa, as follows:—

न खरो न च भूयसा मृदुः
पवमानः पृथिवीरुहानिव ।
स पुरस्कृतमध्यमविक्रमो
नमयामास नृपाननुद्धरन् ॥

(*Raghuvaṁśa*, VIII, 9.)

THE STATE AND BRAHMANISM IN THE POST-HARSHA PERIOD

By K. N. Seth

Brahmanism in the post-Harsha period not only enjoyed a prominent but also a predominant position over the other religious systems prevalent in those times. Buddhism and Jainism were certainly declining though the latter enjoyed the royal patronages of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Hastikuṇḍī and of Paḍihāra (Pratihāra) Kakkuka. The preponderance of Brahmanical inscriptions and lack of Buddhist or Jain ones during this period support the truth of the above statement. It may be pointed out, at the very outset, that we are confining our information only to the epigraphic evidence available up to 1000 A.D.

The all-pervading influence of Brahmanism and the socio-religious status of its spiritual exponents, the Brahmins, in the religious life of the country is evident from a number of inscriptions recording various gifts to them as a token of their accepting the hierarchy of the Brahmins. It may be noted that practically all such grants were made by the rulers of different ruling houses and families. The Vedic idea of spiritual merit involved in the grants or the gifts to Brahmins appears to have influenced the ruling aristocracy most. The Barah Plate[1] records the revival and bestowal of a grant to the Brahmins of the family of Bhaṭṭakāchara-Svāmin by M. Bhōjadeva for the increase of the merit of his parents ('मया पित्त्रो-पुण्याभिवृद्धये').

It is undoubtedly correct that the Brahmins commanded the greatest respect and patronage at the hands of the crown-heads of that time. This fact is not only proved from numerous royal grants to them, but also from the title 'Parama-(bra)-hmaṇya(ḥ)' before the name of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Nannarāja.[2]

It is significant that the Brahmins could not secure that amount of respect from the public which they could get from the royalty. No inscription of this period records any grant or gift to a Brahmin by a commoner. It indicates, therefore, that the Hindu idea of giving gifts to the Brahmins could not much influence the laity.

Like the Brahmins, Brahmanical deities were held in great esteem by every section of people belonging to the upper strata of Hindu society. No consideration of birth or status could alienate any person from making grants to them. A ruler, a government official and a commoner enjoyed an unfettered right of making such grants. The Rājorgaḍh[3] and Partābgaḍh[4] Inscriptions record grants to Lachchukeśvara Mahādeva by M. P. Mathanadeva of the Gurjara-Pratihāra lineage and to the temple of Indrādityadeva by Mādhava who was 'तन्त्रपालमहासामन्तमहादण्डनायक' at Ujjayinī respectively. The Sīyaḍōni[5] Inscription refers to endowments in favour of Śrī Vishṇu Bhaṭṭāraka and Śrī-Vāmanasvāmideva by ordinary persons like Keśava, the seller of betel ('ताम्बूलिक-केशवेन') and Bhāila, the merchant ('वणिक').

Brahmanism, as we notice from the inscriptions, manifested itself into three main religious sects, namely Vaishṇavism, Śaivism, and Śāktaism. All these sects have exclusively confined to the worship of Vishṇu, Śiva, and Śakti respectively.

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[1] *E.I.*, Vol. XIX, p. 176.

[2] *I.A.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 234f.

[3] *E.I.*, Vol. III, p. 266.

[4] *E.I.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 182ff.

[5] *E.I.*, Vol. I, p. 174.

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Vaishṇavism played an important part in the religious life of the country during this period. The discovery of several Vaishṇavite inscriptions no doubt support the fact that Vishṇu enjoyed a prominent place among the Hindu gods. It was one of the religious sects in the Brahmanical fold which exercised great influence in moulding the religious beliefs of both the rulers and their subjects.

It may be noted that Vishṇu figures under different names, both in royal and public inscriptions, and this information further testifies to the popularity of Vaishṇavism. The conservatism and consistency in the worship of Vishṇu is also evident from his names, most of which are common and conventional. The name Śauri under which Vishṇu occurs in the epigraphic records of this and later periods deserves special consideration. It is significant that this name of Vishṇu does not occur in the inscriptions of the pre-Harsha era. Most probably the earliest inscription which refers to Vishṇu under this name is Nāgdā [1] Inscription of the time of the Guhila Aparājita. The other references to it are found in Paṭhāri [2] Pillar Inscription, and Chandravati Plate[3] of Chandradeva where the donor made a grant to a Brāhmaṇa after having bathed in the neighbourhood of Śauri (Śauri)-Nārāyaṇa. Some expressions such as 'नित्यं सत्याश्रितस्सन्नृपकाम(शौ)रि'[4], 'श्रियः कुलगृहं शौरेः श्यामूर्त्ति-रमापतेः'[5], 'सौरी मण्डपम् पुण्यकारिणा'[6], 'श्री महेश रवि शौरिण्ये स्थिरं रुद्रदेव नृपति'[7] occurring in different inscriptions may also be considered in this connection.

Vaishṇavism, in order to bring people under its influence, encouraged the 'Saguṇa' worship of Vishṇu in different forms along with the 'Nirguṇa' one as the former method of worship appealed more to the public and the nobility. Numerous grants or gifts to Vishṇu during this period are the result of his 'Saguṇa' worship. The Jodhpur [8] Inscription mentions Vishṇu who is both Nirguṇa and Saguṇa 'Rishikeso nirguṇas-Saguṇaś-cha'. The Harsola Plates [9] and the Āhār Sārṇeśvar [10] temple inscription refer to two forms of Vishṇu, namely the Nṛsiṁha-Incarnation ('Siṁghākṛiteḥ Śārṅgiṇaḥ') and the Boar-Incarnation ('हरिरिह निवेशितोऽयं घटितप्रतिमो वराहेण') respectively. The Khajuraho Inscription[11] refers to these two forms of Vishṇu together by the expression किरिपुरुषसिं(होभय). These two forms of Vishṇu appear to have found favour with people as the inscriptions do not mention any other specific form.

It is interesting to note that up to this time no change took place in the attributes of Vishṇu as recorded in the Vedic literature. The same mace, discus ('Chakkra-lāṁchhita-Karō'), and conch-shell are clearly noticed in the hands of a four-armed figure, in the temple of Queen Jāyāvalī,[12] which may be taken for Vishṇu. The reference to Vishṇu's hands which bear the complexion of the water of the Jamuna ('श्यामाः कलिन्दतनयापुरा इव हरेर्भुजाः'[13]) and mention of Lakshmī who sports and of Kaustubha which glitters on the bosom of Murā's foe ('यावल्लक्ष्मीर्मुरारेरुरसि विलसति द्योतते कौस्तुभं च'[14]) in the inscriptions is also found in ancient Hindu texts. The permeating influence of Vaishṇavism can very clearly be seen from these facts.

Vaishṇavism could not ignore two associates of Vishṇu, namely Garuḍa, his Vāhana, and Lakshmī, his consort, from giving due importance in the worship of Vishṇu. Lakshmī, who is the wife of Madhusūdana ('प्रणयिनी मधुसूदनस्य लक्ष्मी')

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[1] *E.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 31.
[2] *E.I.*, Vol. IX, p. 252.
[3] *E.I.*, Vol. IX, p. 303.
[4] *E.I.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 144, 147.
[5] *E.I.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 71, 78.
[6] *E.I.*, Vol. 21, p. 160.
[7] *I.A.*, Vol. XI, pp. 10, 16.
[8] *E.I.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 95f.
[9] *E.I.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 241ff.
[10] *I.A.*, Vol. LVIII, p. 162.
[11] *E.I.*, Vol. I, p. 124.
[12] *E.I.*, Vol. IX, p. 199f.
[13] *I.A.*, Vol. LVIII, p. 162.
[14] *E.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 119ff.

appears in the inscriptions under the names of Śrī and Rādhā. It is significant that the inscriptions do not give direct references to Garuḍa, Vishṇu's Vāhana, can only be inferred from indirect references occurring in Harsola and Gwalior [1] Inscriptions. It appears that Lakshmī was next to Vishṇu in his religious worship and Garuḍa could not attain that eminence.

Śaivism, which confines to the worship of Śiva, undoubtedly commanded the greatest support and patronage, both at the hands of the masses and the royalty, as a religious sect in Brahmanism. This fact is proved by the discovery of the largest number of Śaivite Inscriptions during this period. Had the influence of Śaivism not been great, it would have been never possible to note such a large number of dedications and grants to Śiva. The popularity of Śiva can also be inferred from the fact that he is worshipped in the inscriptions under as many names as no other Hindu deity is worshipped.

It may be noted that, like Vishṇu, no change took place in the Vedic attributes of Śiva. The Khajuraho [2] and Harsha [3] Inscriptions throw sufficient light on this point. He still dwells in the cemetery ('प्रेतवनं निवासभवनं'), holds sway over goblins ('भूतैः प्रभुत्वं'), applies ashes to his body to decorate it ('भूतिर्भूषणमङ्गरागरचना'), delights in the destruction of the world ('प्रीतिर्युगान्त[न्तं]प्रति'), and on whose neck there is a deadly poison ('कण्ठे तिष्ठति कालकूटम्'). Not only this, he holds a three-pointed spear in left hand ('सव्ये शूलं त्रिशिखमपरे'), an alms-dish in the other ('दोष्णि [भि]क्षाक[पालं]'), a serpent serves as necklace for his blue throat ('भूषा......[भु]जगः कंठिका नीलकंठे'), wears tiger skin [4] ('मृगपतिप्रांतं'), and possesses three eyes ('नेदृग्वेषस्त्रिनयन'), and whose third eye consumed the body of the Cupid [5] ('स्मरतनुदहनलोचनं'). He, whose head is adorned with skulls ('नरशिरो'), whose matted hairs are cooled by Jahnukanyā Jal, is a moon-crested god ('चन्द्रमौलिः शिवाय').

Like Vaishṇavism Śaivism could not alienate two companions of Śiva, namely his Vāhana, Nandin the bull, and Bhavānī the consort, from the field of his religious worship. The consort of Śiva, who figures in the inscriptions under the names of Umā, Gaurī, Girijā, Ambikā and Pārvatī and holds a trident ('शूलक्षतद्विरददानवकुंभ') acquired that prominence in Śiva's worship which Lakshmī attained in the worship of Vishṇu. It is almost certain that Nandin acquired greater popularity than Garuḍa and this fact is proved by references from the Gwalior [7] and Baijnath [8] Inscriptions. In this connection it may be mentioned that there are more inscriptions referring to the Vāhana of Śiva, namely Nandin, than to Garuḍa, the Vāhana of Vishṇu.

The Harsha [9] and Khajuraho [10] Inscriptions throw light on the phallus-worship during this period. The former mentions Śiva in the form of the liṅga ('लिंगरूपो') and the latter records that Dhaṅga constructed a temple for Śambhu Pramathanātha with two liṅgas, one of emerald and the other of stone.

Śiva being the most favourite Hindu god undoubtedly had the largest following of devotees in Northern India. It appears natural that devotees of Paśupati (Śiva) namely Pāśupatas would have been divided into different schools of devotees. The

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[1] *E.I.*, Vol. I, p. 156.

[2] *E.I.*, Vol. I, p. 148.

[3] *E.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 119ff.

[4] *I.A.*, Vol. XII, pp. 193f.

[5] *I.A.*, Vol. V, p. 181.

[6] *I.A.*, Vol. XIX, p. 57.

[7] *E.I.*, Vol. I, p. 156.

[8] *E.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 112ff.

[9] *E.I.*, Vol. II, p. 124.

[10] *E.I.*, Vol. I, p. 140.

Harsha and Ekling Jī[1] Inscriptions stress this very point and inform us that Pāśupatas were at least divided into two schools, namely the Pāśupatas and the Lakulīśa-Pāśupatas. If we take these two inscriptions together we find that the former does not make the slightest reference to god Lakulīśa while the latter opens with the expression 'ओं ओं नमो लकुलीशाय'. It is certain that the Harsha Inscription is a Pāśupata record as it mentions the name of Allaṭa who was a disciple of Praśasta, a true worshipper of Paśupati. Not only so much the above record also mentions Bhāvadyota, a disciple of Allaṭa who was very strict in the practice of the vows of a Pāśupata ascetic. Viśvarūpa is mentioned here as the preceptor of Allaṭa. The mention of a line of preceptors and disciples possibly suggests the existence of a definite school of Pāśupata ascetics.

On the other hand, the Ekling Jī Inscription is undoubtedly a Lakulīśa record as is evident from its opening and the history of the Lakulīśa sect which it records. It also refers to Kuśika and other sages who were conversant with Pāśupata Yoga.

The above reference to Kuśika and others only points out to the fact that they were Pāśupatas of the Lakulīśa sect whereas Allaṭa and others in the Harsha Inscription were doubtlessly the Pāśupatas but certainly not of Lakulīśa sect. If the Harsha Inscription would have been a Lakulīśa record, the Pāśupatas mentioned there would have been identical with the Lakulīśa Pāśupatas.

It may be pointed out that devotees of Paśupati, though divided into different schools, did not differ in external appearance. This fact can very easily be brought out from a comparison with the requirements of an ascetic mentioned by Bhāvadyota in Harsha Inscription and the necessities to which Kuśika and others in Ekling Jī Inscription resorted to.

We do not feel inclined to discuss the question of Lakulīśa Pāśupatas in detail, as it has been sufficiently dealt with by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.[2]

It is true that Śakti worship could not secure the popularity as enjoyed by Vishṇu or Śiva, as very few inscriptions relating to it have been discovered. The reason for it is not far to seek. If a comparison be made with the attributes of Śiva, already mentioned above, to that of Kālī described in Kinsariyā[3] Inscription, a great resemblance is to be found between the two. It is evident from epigraphic records that the worship of Śakti could not sufficiently influence religious sentiments of both the public and the royalty. As Śiva was the most popular Brahmanical deity during this period and a marked resemblance between his and Kālī's attributes could easily be noticed, it appears to be natural that people would have become more inclined towards the worship of Śiva than to Kālī. In other words, Śaivism eclipsed the growth of Śāktaism in the field of religious worship, though the latter continued to be a living cult within the Brahmanical fold.

It cannot be doubted that Sun, which occurs in the inscriptions under the names of Ravi, Jaya, Āditya, Śrī-Bhāilasvāmideva and others, enjoyed a place next to Śiva and Vishṇu in the worship of male Brahmanical deities. Sandhyā is his wife and the 'horses' are his Vāhan.

The royal and public endowments in favour of Āditya as recorded in Partābgadh[4] and Sīyaḍoṇi[5] Inscriptions throw light on the fact that his worship secured both kinds of patronages in those times.

It is significant that only permanent or perpetual endowments have been created, both by the nobility and the public, in favour of different Brahmanical deities for their maintenance. We do not hear of any temporary endowment created in favour of a Hindu deity. The expression 'अक्षयनीमीयं निवेदिता' or 'अक्षय-

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[1] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 166ff.

[2] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 153. (*Archaeol. Surv. Ind. An. Rep.*, 1906-7, p. 179f.)

[3] *E.I.*, Vol. XII, pp. 59ff. [4] *E.I*, Vol. XIV, p. 187. [5] *E.I.*, Vol. I, p. 177.

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नौमिका प्रदत्ता' is used in the sense of a perpetual or permanent endowment in Sīyaḍoṇi Inscription. The withdrawal of moral and spiritual sanction from temporary religious endowments by Brahmanism, as can be inferred from religious sentiments expressed by venerable Vyāsa as regards the gift of land, resulted in the negation of such endowments. These religious endowments are created not only for the purpose of meeting the daily expenses involved in the worship of any particular deity but also for the maintenance of such establishment.

It is evident from inscriptions, both royal and public, that religious catholicity reached its high-water mark during this period. Religious tolerance was not only the creed of most of the crown-heads but the evidence previously recorded to show that government officials and laity also enjoyed freedom of worship without any interference from State.

The possibility of an existence of some sort of machinery, which was responsible for the promotion of religious tolerance on such a high level cannot be ignored. The appointment of Govinda in charge of religious affairs ('Dharmmakasa') by King Nannarāja [1] throws light on this point. It is rather probable that like the Dharma Department of Emperor Aśoka who had extended his vision so as to include even persons not residing in his dominion within the pale of his mission, the Dharmmakasa and his department in this period confined their activities only for moral and spiritual welfare of the subjects, though their activities in this field did not extend beyond the jurisdiction of their State.

Taking the above information into consideration it can be presumed that most of the rulers during these times were maintaining the departments of religious affairs in their respective states like King Nannarāja, though their epigraphic records are silent.

It may be pointed out that the universal North-India policy of non-interference in religious affairs virtually agreed upon by the rulers and their subjects, as evident from inscriptions of different ruling houses, was not being practised only as regards different sects in Brahmanism. It had its full sway also in respect to other religious systems such as Jainism, and Deogaḍh [2] and Ōsiā [3] Jain Inscriptions justify the above statement. The absence of a single instance of religious persecution further strengthens our contentions.

From these facts, it may thus be reasonably concluded that the tree of Brahmanism with all its ramifications, namely Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Śāktaism was flourishing on the soil of religious tolerance.

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[1] *E.I.*, Vol. XI, p. 279.

[2] *E.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 310.

[3] *A.S.I. An. Rep.*, 1908-9, p. 108.

THE RÔLE OF BUDDHISM IN INDIAN LIFE AND THOUGHT *

By B. M. BARUA

The very fact that the conveners of the Indian Philosophical Congress thought it necessary to bring the subject to this forum for discussion implies that we have not as yet a definite and clear idea of the part played by Buddhism in Indian life and thought in spite of the divergent views that have gained ground in the modern world from the days of Schopenhauer and Max Müller to those of Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan and Dr. Dasgupta. The issue raised suggests a problem to be approached from the standpoint of the history of philosophy which to be worth the name must be both a history and a philosophy by itself.

The historical method kept here in view is well anticipated by Radhakrishnan in whose opinion it requires us to be sure of the exact chronological development, to form a clear idea of the force of the Indian spirit which had its shaping influence on the contributions made by different peoples at different ages to the continuous development of Indian thought, and to recognize the solidarity of philosophy with history, of intellectual life with the social conditions.[1]

The underlying spirit of Indo-Aryanism is to set higher values on the religious and cultural side of man's life and civilization. Accordingly, the whole trend of Indo-Aryan thought was to have declared and established the supremacy of mind over matter, of soul over body, of spirit over intellect, of reflective life over vital; in short, of things spiritual over things temporal.

This found its poetical expression in one of the oldest Vedic hymns[2] and its artistic expression in one of the inscribed Indus seals.[3] This was at the back of the Upaniṣadic conception of Devayāna and Pitṛyāna and Buddha's conception of the upward course (*uddhagamana*) meaning the elevation and the downward course (*adhogamana*) meaning the degradation of human nature. The inner trend of life came to be interpreted by Yājñavalkya as *eṣaṇā* meaning seeking, seeking either after children, riches and worldly fame and power or after the imperishable and undecaying state of soul.[4] Buddha interpreted it as *pariyesanā* meaning earnest seeking, either ignoble (*anariyā*) or noble (*ariyā*), either after that which is contingent or conditional or after that which is non-contingent or unconditional.[5] The noble quest on his part led to the discovery of *pratītyasamutpāda* as the essential nature of factual reality and *Nirvāṇa* as the free state of consciousness, the tranquil state of our internal nature, and the highest emotional state of spirituality and blessedness.

Here the name of Yājñavalkya deserves special mention, his philosophy having formed a great synthetic landmark of early Indian thought prior to the rise of Buddhism. He was evidently credited by Buddha as the propounder of the Indian Doctrine of Karma[6] slightly modified in Buddhism.[7] The Buddha, in one of the most important among his Discourses, defined, though negatively, his own position as a thinker in contradistinction to Yājñavalkya's philosophy in the *Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.[8] The pre-Pāṇinian *Mahābhārata* with its several replicas in the *Jātakas* and other Buddhist works, modified to suit the Buddhist idea of morality and ethical idealism, must be constantly kept in view along with the *Vedas*, the *Sūtras* and the theories and stories of creation in order to appreciate the rôle of Buddhism.[1] None of the *Sūtras* of any of the six systems of Hindu philosophy is presupposed by *Pali Canon*.

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* A lecture delivered on December 24, 1946, at the first symposium of the Indian Philosophical Congress, 21st Session, Delhi.

[1] *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 56.

[2] *Ṛgveda*, I, 164, 20.

[3] Barua, *Indus Script and Tantric Code* in *B. C. Law Volume*, II, p. 463.

[4] *Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Up.*, iv, 4, 22–25.

[5] *Majjhima*, i, pp. 101ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, i, p. 483.

[7] *Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Up.*, vi, 5, 4–7; *Atthasālinī*, pp. 64ff.; Shwe Zan Aung, *Compendium of Philosophy*, Introd. Essay, p. 44.

[8] *Majjhima*, i, pp. 1ff.; Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, pp. 253f.

The history of Buddhism as a progressive movement of thought and self-culture with the regulative principles of human conduct and the directive to the furtherance of the cause of humanity started from the enlightenment of a deeply meditative mind and the successful career of an earnest seeker of the truth and the way and that of a thinker and teacher. It was built up on the tradition of a new religious order and Kṣatriya school of thought founded by Gautama the Buddha whose most eminent and influential immediate disciples and later followers were mostly erudite and gifted men from Brāhman families, and rarely those from other social grades.

The enlightenment is described as an epoch-making event in a psychical sphere of consciousness, a sudden inner illumination of the mind in an intense form of concentration, as an awakening to the essential nature of the objective reality in a flash of intuition. This nature is viewed as that element of reality (*sā dhātu*) which stands in its own right independently of all thinking and ideal construction.[2] It is a matter of discovery rather than that of the ratiocinative process of thought. The task of the discoverer is not to create the thing or fact but just to find it out and declare it as it is (*yathābhūtam*).

So far as the Buddha speaks of the thing-in-itself or things-in-themselves, his philosophical position is Kantian. It is not Kantian in so far as the emphasis is laid on the supreme value of the chance discovery of the truth and the way by a 'wayfarer' in a purely psychical region of consciousness through Yogic *pratyakṣa* and the life-transforming mystical experience and spiritual vision. Furthermore, Buddhism had not developed a system of thought, which thinks precisely in terms of notions supplied *à priori* by mind from itself and those derived *à posteriori* from the data of experience.[3] In Buddhism, precisely as in Sāṅkhya-Yoga and Older Vedānta, mysticism rather than intellectualism constituted the basis of religion, and intuition rather than discursive thought served as the mode of apprehending the nature of reality—the suchness or actuality of things (Bhūtatā, Dharmatā, Tathatā, Satyatā).

The tried means of inducing and experiencing the mystical states which in the opinion of William James are more like the states of feeling than like the states of knowledge,[4] and developing the noetic quality is said to be *Yoga* or the practice of meditation and mental concentration. The moral behaviour (*sīla*) of the aspirant is subservient to this means, and it has just a negative value as means of getting rid of certain hindrances, external and internal, that lie on the way.[5]

In the *Buddha-upaniṣad* the middle place is occupied by the Yoga method of self-culture and self-perfection. Certain states lead up to it and certain states follow from it as results. Thus Buddhism, too, upholds the Yoga tradition of the Indus Valley civilization associated with Śiva. The right direction of the mind to and the firm resolve of the will for the attainment of the fourfold end (*pradhānas*), the proper exercise and articulation of all faculties and powers (*indriyas*, *balas*), the practice of mindfulness or subjective awareness, and the correct registering of all the facts of experience and the data of thought are combined with it. It is relied upon as means of deepening mental concentration by passing from one object to another, eliminating all objects and complexes foreign to consciousness, diving deeper and deeper into our internal nature and ultimate state of consciousness and of life, plumbing the depths of truth, differentiating the levels of consciousness and planes of experience and thought, distinguishing the mental complexes that arise with each type of thought and their reactions on the self and the surrounding world.

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[1] Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 239ff.

[2] *Saṃyutta*, ii, pp. 104ff.; Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism* (Home University Library), pp. 33ff.; *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, Nanjio's edition, pp. 143f.; Suzuki's Transl., pp. 175f.

[3] Cf. Radhakrishnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 467f., for 'some similarity between Kant and Buddha in their attitude to metaphysical problems'.

[4] *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, pp. 380f.; Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, pp. 165f.

[5] *Dīgha*, i, p. 71.

A very important part was thus played by Buddhism in immensely developing, perfecting and rationalizing the age-old Yoga method of India leaving a distinct legacy to the Yoga method of Patañjali. The net outcome of this was an analytical psychology—a system of psychological ethics,[1] developed particularly in the *Abhidharma* branch of Buddhist literature. By it Buddhism changed the definition of art, treating it as a tangible expression of refined imagination. The earlier definition met with in the *Brāhmaṇas* went to represent art (*śilpa*) as imitation of the works of nature (*devaśilpānāṃ anukṛtiḥ*).[2] Even Pāṇini defined an image in terms of likeness (*ive pratikṛtau*).[3] The *Brāhmaṇa* definition was applicable to dolls and terra-cotta figurines, the tradition of which carries us back to the civilization of the Indus Valley. Buddha's definition of art as means of actualization of an idea conceived in the mind (*cittaṃ citten'eva cintitaṃ*) [4] was elucidated later by Buddhaghoṣa and others.[5] It served to bring about a palpable change in the conception, technique and purpose of Indian art. The image of Buddha was neither carved nor installed as an object of worship until his votaries were taught to believe that it was not a physical likeness but a shape and form of art without any objective background (*uddesikaṃ avatthukaṃ manamattakaṃ*).[6] Such was the viewpoint regarding the iconic representation of all the gods and goddesses of the later Mahāyāna Pantheon, they being conceived as the *dhyānarūpa* of *śūnyatā*. The real history of Indian art commenced from the impetus given to it by Aśoka. Thenceforward Indian art became creative, pushing the imitative craftsmanship into the dark background of popular life.

By the Yoga method Buddhism developed a rational theory of sensation and perception and supplied a good corrective to the general Indian theory. In the earlier stage of Indian thought the thesis 'Because of the organ of sense, the object' was met by the antithesis 'Because of the object, the organ of sense', and the synthesis was reached in the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* attaching importance to both the subjective factor (*prajñāmātrā*) and the objective factor (*bhūtamātrā*), the interaction between the two being the *conditio sine qua non* of sensation or mental operation warranting the possibility of a knowledge of external world.[7] With this in the intellectual background, the Buddha laid down the *conditio sine qua non* of sensation: 'There must be the organ of sense, the appropriate object and the sense-cognition. In the coming together of the three in a single mental operation lies the possibility of sensation.'[8] This was taken by the Ābhidharmikas to mean that when an object enters the field of sense, is within the range of action (*āyatana*) and there is no defect, organic or otherwise, in the particular organ at the time, the object impinges on the sensitive part of the organ and action and reaction (*hanana-paṭihanana*) take place between the two.[9] This physical or physiological operation is not enough by itself as an explanation. There must also be mind to attend to it to fulfil the required conditions, better, to complete the causal situation.

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[1] We owe this nomenclature to Martineau. Cf. Radhakrishnan, *op. cit.*, p. 418.

[2] *Aitareya Br.*, vi, 1; Barua, *Barhut*, Bk. III, pp. 74f.

[3] *Pāṇini*, v, 3, 96.

[4] *Saṃyutta*, iii, p. 151

[5] *Atthasālinī*, p. 64.

[6] *Jātaka*, iv, p. 228.

[7] *Kauṣītaki Up.*, iii, 7; Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, p. 263.

[8] *Dīgha*, i, p. 42; iii, pp. 228, 272, 276.

[9] *Atthasālinī*, pp. 309f.

Bālāki of the older Upaniṣads naively betrayed his inanity when he contended for an inhibiting spirit, a personal double (*puruṣa*) in each organ of sense.[1] He might be excused. But the most advanced scientific explanation which followed from this line of thinking, e.g. in the Nyāya philosophy, sadly failed to recognize the part played by the object, and there was much beating about the bush in clearing up the meaning of 'proximity' (*sannikarṣa*).[2]

Diṅnāga, the great Sautrāntika teacher, is not unreasonably regarded by Vidyābhūṣaṇa as the founder of the mediaeval school of Indian logic. His fame, precisely like that of Dharmakīrti and others, rests on his being the author of powerful treatises on *Pramāṇavāda* or Indian theory of knowledge. The critical examination of the nature and validity of the *pramāṇas* was started by Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva and other earlier Buddhist thinkers. But it was Diṅnāga who gave a systematic shape and form to this branch of Indian philosophy. According to Diṅnāga and Dharmakīrti, *pratyakṣa*, generally translated by 'perception', stands for a direct knowledge or experience of the object which is individual and unique (*svalakṣaṇam*). This knowledge, which is gained either through an apparatus of sense or Yogic intuition, is unerring in the sense that it carries with it its own certitude as regards the belief in its reality when it occurs. *Pratyakṣa* contains nothing, no interpretation, supplied by mind from its own resources (*kalpanāpoḍham*), as is done in perception. The mind at the time of *pratyakṣa* must be so disposed as to be free from all thoughts and preconceptions (*vikalpas*), the soundness of body and mind being held as a pre-requisite.[3] Certainly behind this scientific definition of *pratyakṣa* was the Buddhist practice of mindfulness (*smṛti-prasthāna*) and the Ābhidharmika idea of the functional modes of mental processes (*citta-vīthis*). It is assumed that mind (*citta*) in its non-functioning and thought-free (*vīthi-mutta*) state is just a life-continuum (*bhavāṅga*, i.e. *ālaya-vijñāna*)—a stream of consciousness inseparable from the general life-process of an individual.[4] When any object enters the field of a sense, and action and reaction take place between the two, the normal flow of consciousness is disturbed and arrested and it rises up to the *manodvāra* (supraliminal) stage to turn towards the particular sense to mind its affairs. This is followed by other *vīthis*, the cycle being completed with the naming of the object, which is not possible previous to perception identifying the object with a class.[5] Thus there is a long way from the first impact of object on sense-organ and perception. The Sautrāntikas pointed out the psychological and logical error in thinking that the class-notion or universal (*jāti*) is given *à priori* in a name denoting any individual object.[6]

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Here Buddhist thinkers had to obviate a difficulty. If sense-cognition be an act of mind and the object a thing of the external world, which stands over against the organ of sense, how is it possible for mind or consciousness to recognize the object which is non-conscious and no part of itself? As to this, their position is that mind does not cognize anything which is not its own content, no part of itself, it being concerned with the image (*paṭibhaganimitta*).[7] But for this the external world is non-existent. Mind in its realistic attitude, as in Sarvāstivāda, Sautrāntika and Vaibhāṣika systems, regards the image as the mental counterpart of the object contacted by the organ of sense. Mind in its idealistic attitude, as in Vijñānavāda or Yogācāra philosophy, regards all things as *vikalpas* or ideal creations and constructions by mind out of its own fancies and preconceptions, while thought in its dialectic position, as in Śūnyavāda or Mādhyamika philosophy, fails to find an

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[1] *Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Up.*, ii, 1, 8.

[2] Satkari Mukerjee, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux*, pp. 301ff.

[3] Satkari Mukerjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 337ff.

[4] Cf. *Chāndogya Up.*, vi, 9, 2; *prāṇabandhanaṃ mana iti*. Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, p. 266.

[5] Shwe Zan Aung, *op. cit.*, Introd. Essay, pp. 28f.

[6] Satkari Mukerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

[7] Satkari Mukerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 338; Shwe Zan Aung, *op. cit.*, Introd. Essay, p. 54.

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objective correlate to any idea or concept. Proceeding realistically, as in the practice of *smṛti-prasthāna*, mind may or may not receive or form any image referable to an external object of sense. If the image is not received or formed, we cease to feel interested in an external thing and are not involved in the drama of pleasure and pain, happiness and misery on its account.[1] In the same connection the Ābhidharmikas developed with much ingenuity a Door-theory of cognition (*Dvāra-kathā*). By this they ruled out of court the idea of sequence between the impact of the object on the sense-organ and the formation of the image in the mind. The external sense-door and the internal mind-door are set one behind the other, so to speak, and the object-impact and image formation take place simultaneously. Here the analogy of the bird perching on a tree and the instantaneous casting of its shadow on the ground below [2] may be inapt but the approach is undoubtedly scientific.

If the reduction of the number of *pramāṇas* (instruments and kinds of knowledge) from six to two, viz. *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna*, were a distinctive contribution made by the Sautrāntikas to Indian epistemology, the reduction of the ten-limbed syllogistic structure of thought as means of valid argument and inference (*parārthānumāna*) to the two-limbed one with 'example' was equally their notable contribution to Indian logic. The latter was effected by Diṅnāga through his theory of invariable concomitance (*vyāpti*) of the *probans* (*hetu*) standing for the major premise and the *probandum* (*sādhya*) standing for the inference or conclusion. If the Jainas effected a further improvement by omitting 'example' from the universal proposition on the ground of internal concomitance (*antarvyāpti*) bringing the Indian syllogism into line with the Aristotelian, the Buddhists had certainly paved the way for them.[3]

Buddhist philosophers took a lively interest in the discussion of the import of words and negative judgment (*abhāva*), and their contributions on these problems could not pass unrecognized in other systems of Indian thought. As to the import of terms and words, the general Buddhist position is that they do not refer to reality, their concern being with the concepts that are ideal constructions, the handiworks of *nirmāṇa-citta*.[4] Although universals are thus intellectual fictions their value in thought-representation arises from the fact that at the back of the psychological process of their formation is the impact of the object on the organ of sense—of the external fact which is particular, discrete and disconnected and which 'stands in its own right independently of the thinking mind'.[5] The personal names given by the parents are mere convenient word-devices to designate certain individuals; they have accordingly a denotation without any connotation. Even in the matter of denotation, the organic whole can be identified neither with any single part or constituent nor with their mechanical summation.[6] Buddhaghoṣa's dissertation on the signification of terms and concepts (*paññattis*) [7] and Ratnakīrti's Apohasiddhi cannot but be treated as important contributions on the subject. According to Vasubandhu and Yaśomitra, the function of two contradictory terms is to comprehend the universe of discourse regarding a common subject, going by which the negative term *a-vidyā* does not imply the absence of knowledge but just a kind of knowledge of which the practical bearings on human conduct run counter to or other than those of the *vidyā* kind.[8]

At the back of the Sautrāntika idea of the transition of thought from *pratyakṣa* or direct experience to *svārthānumāna* meaning the conceptual form of thought for self-satisfaction, and from that to *parārthānumāna* meaning the syllogistic

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[1] *Dīgha*, i, p. 70.

[2] *Atthasālinī*, p. 72. The Buddhist physio-psychologist would not have been compelled to resort to such a theory, if he were acquainted with the modern knowledge of interaction between the sense-organs and cerebrum through sensory and motor nerves.

[3] Satkari Mukerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 364.

[4] *Abhidharma-kośa*, vii, 50-51.

[5] Satkari Mukerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

[6] *Saṃyutta*, i, p. 135; *Milinda*, pp. 25ff.

[7] *Puggala-paññatti Commentary*, Introd.; Shwe Zan Aung, *op. cit.*, Introd. Essay, pp. 4f.

[8] *Abhidharma-kośa*, iii, 28.

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structure of reasoning, as well as at the back of the Mahāyāna idea of three *Kāyas*, *Dharma*, *Nirmāṇa* and *Sambhoga*, was Buddha's idea of the three steps of knowledge leading to the building up of a system of thought and training. *Abhisambodhi* implies the mystical or intuitional step, *abhisamaya*, the conceptual, and *desanā*, the doctrinal.[1] The *Dharmakāya* of Mahāyāna theology is the essential nature of reality standing in its own right, the *Nirmāṇakāya* means the nature as brought within one's conception in a form of thought, and the *Sambhogakāya* stands for the doctrine or system as propounded for the guidance of others—all personified for religious purpose.[2]

Similarly, at the back of Sautrāntika's logical test of truths consisting in the community of nature and causality (*tādātmya-tadutpatti*) was the Buddha's doctrine of *hetu-pratyaya* or *pratītyasamutpāda*. Their pragmatic test consisting in *artha-kriyākāritva*, too, was in no way un-Buddhistic.

As for the pragmatic test, no view of life, none of the philosophic positions, whether eternalistic or annihilationistic, idealistic or materialistic, pluralistic, dualistic, or monistic, dogmatic or sceptical, ascetic or hedonistic, theological or ritualistic, theistic or atheistic, is good and acceptable if it serves to make us irrational in mental attitude, intellectually inane, æsthetically ugly, ethically imperfect, socially irresponsive, and spiritually dead or unprogressive, inactive, lethargic and diffident, if it does not set reason free to think and see things for oneself,[3] to ensure the freedom of the will to act, to endow life with brighter and brighter qualities, and the like. No path of action is good if it does not make for progress but stagnates all higher activities and is not adequate for the attainment of the fulness of life. No human institution or organization, whether religious or political, social or economic, is good if it serves only to degrade human nature and does not elevate it, meaning the raising of the standard of morality, rationality and spirituality, in short, of culture and civilization.

Now, as for the logical test, the rationality of philosophic thought consists neither in studiously evading the issues as by the sceptics, nor in the academic approaches to truth from all standpoints as by the Jainas avoiding the operation of the laws of thought. It consists neither in devising a hypothetical negative argument, Candrakīrti's *prasaṅgānumāna*, nor in employing an independent logical argument as suggested by the Svātantrikas to expose the logical absurdity of the opponent's position without having a thesis of one's own to maintain in either case. Thought to be thought must think logically taking care to see that the first statement tallies with the last, and *vice versa*. If it is not self-consistent throughout, it falls to the ground.

While discussing the general philosophical position of Buddhism, Radhakrishnan remarks that it is psychological, logical and ethical but not metaphysical. It stands certainly for ethical idealism, but it does not seem quite correct to say that it is not metaphysical despite its ontological position being rather obscure. From the beginning the trend of Buddhist thought is epistemological, it being interested in making a critical survey of the philosophy of the older Upaniṣads[4] and conducting a critical examination of the grounds of various beliefs, the data of experience and of thought, the lines of argument, the conclusions drawn, their logical consequences and ethical and practical bearings.[5]

True that when a Yogin develops clairvoyance (*divyacakṣu*), his career as an individual presents itself with all its transitional stages and forms like a cinematographic show on a screen of memory,[6] giving rise to the belief that he as an entity passed through an unbroken series of embodiments like a snake which goes on casting off its old worn-out skin to put on a new one,[1] and other individual beings appear before his eyes as rising up and falling away from different states according to their deeds, forcing upon him the belief in the operation of the law of Karma.[2] To a normal view 'Nothing is dear if self is not dear, and all things or persons are dear because the self is dear'.[3] Every living individual is vitally interested in his welfare and aspires to die with the self-satisfaction that he did his best what he was to have done.

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[1] *Saṃyutta*, ii, pp. 104ff.; Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, p. 175.
[2] Cf. N. Dutt, *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its relation to Hīnayāna*, pp. 96ff.
[3] *Aṅguttara*, i, pp. 188f.; Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, p. 291.
[4] *Majjhima*, i, pp. 1ff.; Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 253f.
[5] *Dīgha*, i, p. 29.
[6] *Ibid.*, i, p. 81.

These Upaniṣadic ideas might be taken for granted and profitably utilized for building up a religious and ethical life. The fleeting character of the world is denied by none. That everything formed is bound to break down some day is a fact, which nobody challenges. The divergence of views arises in philosophic thought when we try to rationally understand and logically interpret the nature of existence and the manner of change and its final stage. On this vital issue Buddhism had to fight a difficult battle against all other schools of Indian and world thought, especially by denying the existence of soul as an abiding entity and declining to think in terms of any permanent substances and attributes.

In the Buddhist view the nature of existence is fluid or fluxional. It may be said to be static only if it be assumed that at each single moment of Yogic *pratyakṣa* the time-consciousness is reduced to zero point, not to say, eliminated, and the objective reality presents itself to the view as a single and unique fact. It is spatial because it has position, and it is an infinity because there is no other fact than present. The nature of existence could have been taken to be static, eternal and unchanging, if it would appear in one and the same form at successive moments of Yogic *pratyakṣa*. Since it appears or presents itself in varying forms, its character is fluid. But this is not enough to say that the forms in which it presents itself are each individual and unique. If that were so, the datum of one experience could not have been connected with that of another, and the building up of a system of thought on the basis of causality would not have been possible. The facts of different experiences registered in memory and viewed in an order of sequence go to show that if they are not identically the same, they are not altogether divergent (*na ca so, na ca añño*),[4] with the result that if the law of identity cannot be established thereon, we can at least establish a law of similarity, and to conceive not a circular but a cyclical order of the cosmic and life-processes. The similars as facts of experience must possess a community of nature or commonness of features and factors (*tādātmya, svabhāva*), however variable, otherwise they cannot remind us of one another. To interconnect these 'points-instants' in a string of memory thought cannot but introduce the idea of continuity (*santati*)[5] or procession (*prabandha*) as a logical necessity.[6] Such is the main ontological position of Buddhist thought.

Pratītyasamutpāda, literally translated by 'causal genesis', is held as the basic concept of Buddhism. Vasubandhu and Yaśomitra speak of it under its four aspects: (1) *Kṣaṇika* representing the momentary duration of each appearance or fact of experience, (2) *Prākarṣika*, the continuity of the order of becoming, (3) *Sāmbandhika*, the causality, (4) *Āvasthika*, the successive stages of the individual life-process.[7] At the step of *abhisambodhi* or Yogic *pratyakṣa*, it means the essential nature of factual reality standing in its own right. At the *abhisamaya* or conceptual step (*pratyātma*), it is brought in the form of thought as a law of sequence: 'This

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[1] *Jātaka*, No. 154, *Petavatthu*, i, 12, iv, 3; B. C. Law, *The Buddhist Conception of Spirits*, Revised edition, pp. 32f.

[2] *Dīgha*, i, p. 82.

[3] *Bṛhad Ār. Up.*, iv, 5, 6; *Saṃyutta*, i, p. 13.

[4] *Milinda*, p. 40.

[5] *Netti-pakaraṇa*, p. 79; *Atthasālinī*, p. 421.

[6] Satkari Mukerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 205; Radhakrishnan, *op. cit.*, p. 370; Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, p. 169.

[7] *Abhidharma-kośa*, iii, 25; cf. *Atthasālinī*, p. 421.

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having been, that comes-to-be, this having ceased, that ceases-to-be.'[1] At the *desanā* or doctrinal step, it is interpreted and utilized as a law of causation or dependent origination and the whole structure of thought is built upon it.[2] A highly interesting and deeply instructive philosophy of relations is developed in Buddhism on the same basis with somewhat different significance in its application to logical thinking[3] and psychological ethics.[4] The Kauṣitakin idea of the unity of mental life[5] is endorsed by the Buddhist Ābhidharmikas with whom, too, when a mental operation takes place, it takes place as a unit with regard to time, in the same subjective context and stimulated by the same object.[6] This unit appears as a complex on introspection and analysis,[7] and the philosophy of relations comes in to enable us to understand the inter-relations of different causal factors. Although the *citta* and the *cetasikas* as mental coefficients arise together simultaneously,[8] the former is given priority, logical priority (*uppādapaccayaṭṭhena*), only for a rational understanding of the subject.[9]

The relative positions of the three steps of knowledge is such that when we pass from the first to the second, we get out of touch with reality, we come away from it, and when we pass from the second to the third, we are apt to lose sight of the master-mind whose personal conviction is the real authority behind the Doctrine and the Discipline—an argument by which Śāntarakṣita refutes the Brahmanist faith in the *apauruṣeyatva* of the *Vedas*.[10] Thus when we come finally to the system itself, we move about in a world of logical thought which can never be resolved to get back the reality as directly experienced, here Buddhist philosophy tending to be Bergsonian. Now thought is occupied with itself to devise the *mātikas* or ground plans of thought, Kant's architectonics, for the guidance of others in a rational understanding of what is what. For the purpose of psychological ethics *pratītyasamutpāda* is taken to mean a moral law, a law of reaction (*paṭibhāga*, Aśvaghoṣa's *pratikriyā*). The Buddhist view of the world is Heraclitean and Great Epical in so far as it maintains that the line of reaction may proceed under the sway of *avidyā* between two opposite states, such as pleasure and pain, happiness and misery,[11] it ceases to be so when it maintains that the same under the guidance of *vidyā* takes place between two complementary states (*sabhāgas, sadisas*), driving the development of wholesome states towards the fulness of life (*pāripūri*) meaning *Nirvāṇa*.[12]

The powerful dialectical weapon of the Mādhyamikas was used with its destructive effect on all systems on the strength of the same doctrine of *Pratītyasamutpāda*. If the concepts as devices of intellect are all relative and interdependent, such as those representing the three divisions of time, past, present and future, and cannot as such stand on their own legs, none of them can be competent to express the reality which stands in its own right. This is the typical argument of the dialectic of *śūnyatā*. But for that reason we are not to go away with the idea that the Mādhyamikas were just clever enough to destroy the thesis of others without having a positive thesis of their own. Nāgārjuna himself at the end of his *Vigrahāvyavartanī* maintains: 'If a man believes in the void, then he believes in all *dharmas*, mundane and supramundane. If he believes in the same, then he believes in the doctrine of emergence of all *dharmas* as effects from the combination of causal

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[1] *Udāna*, i, 1–3; *Majjhima*, i, p. 262, ii, p. 32.

[2] Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, p. 175.

[3] *Netti*, i, pp. 78f.

[4] *Paṭṭhāna* and its commentary; *Abhidharma-kośa*, ii, 61–63; *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, Chap. viii; Satkari Mukerjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 316f.; Shwe Zan Aung, *op. cit.*, pp. 178ff.

[5] *Kauṣītaki Up.*, iii, 7.

[6] *Dhammapada Commentary*, i, p. 23.

[7] *Atthasālinī*, pp. 143f.

[8] *Abhidharma-kośa*, ii, 62; *Citta-caittāḥ acarima utpannāḥ samanantarāḥ.*

[9] *Dhammapada Commentary*, i, p. 23.

[10] *Tattvasaṅgraha*, verses 1502-3; Satkari Mukerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

[11] Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, pp. 157ff.

[12] *Majjhima*, i, p. 304; Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, pp. 158ff.

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circumstances. If he believes in that, then he believes in the Four Noble Truths If he believes in them, then he believes in emancipation.'

Thus our discussion reaches a point where we may answer the general charge of negativism[1] levelled against Buddhism, particularly by John Caird, while distinguishing its position from that of Hindu polytheism and pantheism. In his opinion 'so little is there in this religion any trace of positive movement that we may even represent it as saying simply that God is not-being . . . . . So far from saying, "whatever is, is right", and finding in this the sanction of our natural passions, our inhuman customs and traditions, it is true to say, "whatever is, is wrong", and it is only in emancipation from the thraldom of sense and habit, in ceasing from the thoughts, feelings, and desires that bind us to the finite, in the utter abnegation of ourselves and the world, that we rise into union with the Divine. Only in that emptiness is the Divine fulness hidden.'[2]

This charge, like that of pessimism,[3] is due to the one-sided emphasis laid by the Buddhists themselves on the significance of the tenfold progressive path of life.[4] It is equally due to the failure of scholars to apprise themselves fully of the general mission of Buddhism. It is no less due to the lack of proper appreciation of its guidance to worldly life and human institutions. The four express aims of life of efforts kept always in view of Buddhism comprise the prevention of the rise of those sinful and unwholesome states of existence which have not as yet arisen, the abandonment of those states which have already arisen, the inducement of those wholesome states which have not as yet arisen, and the preservation, non-deterioration, augmentation, increase, development and fulness of those states which have arisen.[5] By such statement of the fourfold aim of moral and spiritual life the Buddha gave an important guidance to other branches of Indian science, such as those of medicine, wealth and administration, all of which accepted the formula suiting their needs.[6]

If taking human life to be at rest, men were usually classified as degraded, elevated, partly degraded, partly elevated, and neither degraded nor elevated. Buddhism supplemented it with a new classification, taking human life to be in motion. According to this new classification, the best of the four men is one who is not only elevated now, but is proceeding also to further and further elevation (*unnataunnata*).[7] This leaves no room for doubt that the aim of Buddhism is to lead men and their institutions from elevation to elevation by arresting and stopping their course towards degradation.

Of the four ends of Buddhism, the first two are evidently negative, they being concerned with two kinds of *nirodha* (cessation) called *pratisaṃkhyā* and *apratisaṃkhyā*,[8] and the remaining two are positive, their concerns being reinforcement and development.

If the *Ātman* philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* impels us to discover the likeness of the self (*ātmatām*) in the whole of the not-self, and the *Anātman* doctrine of Buddhism impels us to find out the unlikeness of the human self (*anātmatām*) in the not-self, even then the common aim of both is to raise the position of man and the standard of values. If with the early Greek thinkers 'man is the measure of everything', with the Indian thinkers only a perfect type of man is the measure of everything, and not any and every man. If, according to the general Vedantic view, the highest among men stands on the same level with the highest in the universe,[1] in accordance with the general position of Buddhism the highest in the universe is not found to be on a par with the standard of ethical, intellectual and spiritual perfection reached or reachable by the highest among men. If in one view the history of the universe is unmeaning if it does not gravitate towards the fullest recognition and appreciation of the greatness and goodness of Brahman the Supreme Being and the Absolute, in the other view the same is unmeaning if it does not tend towards the fullest realization of the greatness and goodness in the godly man. If, going by the first view, the Brahmanist thinkers proposed a social organization which does not go out of harmony with the order of nature, external and internal, going by the second view, the Buddhist thinkers stood for an organization in which the nature and form of existence should be conformable to an ideal scheme, both necessitating a careful survey of the natural order and the ascertainment of man's place in the cosmos. A synthesis of the two views was sought to be effected in the *Bhagavad Gītā* through its cult of Bhāgavatism and Puruṣottama, Nietzsche's *Ubermensh,* and this was not without its influence on the later history of Buddhism, when it tended to become a distinct form of Bhāgavatism, the Buddha-Bhāgavatism, particularly in the writings of Aśvaghoṣa the poet.

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[1] Radhakrishnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 431f., discusses the charges of intellectualism and asceticism against Buddhist ethics.

[2] *Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion*, Glasgow, 1901, p. 325.

[3] Schopenhauer found pessimism as the great truth in every great religion like a person suffering from jaundice sees everything yellow. But his pessimism and Leibnitz's optimism are more questions of psychological moods than problems of philosophy as exemplified by Milton's *L' Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*.

[4] *Dīgha*, iii, pp. 271, 291.

[5] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 221.

[6] Barua, *Asoka and His Inscriptions*, Part I, p. 155.

[7] *Puggalapaññatti*, iv, 20.

[8] Satkari Mukerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 249; Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, p. 198; *Pratisaṃkhyānirodha* does not, however, represent the positive aspect of *Nirvāṇa* as Mukerjee opines.

If the *Veda-upaniṣad* taught in Older Vedānta [2] had formed the main substance of the Indian doctrine of piety and duty for the layman, good layman, upheld alike by Buddha and Aśoka, the *Buddha-upaniṣad* may be shown to have formed the positive thesis of all schools of Buddhist thought.[3]

The general mission of Buddhism, like that of Christianity, was not to destroy the law but to fulfil it, both wanting to temper the rigour of mere justice with the quality of mercy. If the Brāhman hymn-chanters as worshippers of the Akṣara or Śabda Brahman had elevated human speech through the *Ṛgveda*, Buddha and his followers enriched its vocabulary and expressiveness, maintaining its dignity and gave an impetus to the development of various local and national scripts and languages. It served as a powerful creative factor to the development of different types of Indian literature. In the psalms of the early Buddhist Brothers and Sisters we have fine examples of lyrics that stand chronologically next to the Vedic hymns, forestalling the *kāvyas* and dramas of Aśvaghoṣa who paved the way for Bhāsa and Kālidāsa, vied with Vyāsa and Vālmīki in creating ideal characters, family-life and kingdom. The plot of narratives in curse is dispensed with. Attention is directed to the eradication of social evils and the cause of piety vigorously espoused. Moral courage is displayed in driving superstition out of man's mind. Fears of all kinds are sought to be removed.[4] The spirit of self-dedication to social service cherished in the Bodhisattva-naya Mahāyāna went to increase the altruism of ethical virtue, and its value was widely recognized. The laws of etiquette and rules of decorum were held before the people. Buddhism laid down the foundation of a science of law, anticipating modern jurisprudence, and advocated a new system of education. In point of fact, Buddhism vigorously espoused the cause of education and culture,[5] and the Buddhists succeeded in founding several universities instead of creating a separate society or caste among the householders. It gave a great impetus to the development of medical science and chemistry as also to the founding of hospitals. The moral tone of society and human expression was sought to be improved.[1] Popular rites and rituals, customs and traditions were not rudely brushed aside. Their forms were sought to be changed by holding the superior worth of other forms.[2] The ground was prepared for a law of persons by placing the duties of householders on a reciprocal basis.[3] The scope of human understanding was sought to be widened by enunciating a new principle of toleration, insisting on the careful study of all traditions and appreciation of different standpoints with a view to being well-informed and helping each other to grow in essential matters. If the *Mahābhārata* in its final stage advocated a somewhat different idea of tolerance with its greater sentimental appeal, it suggested really the wisdom in following the policy of non-intervention in the divine business of each person, class or community.[4] Extremism in all positions of thought and action was sought to be avoided through 'the doctrine of the mean (*madhya*)', and this was not without its salutary effect on the course of political thought.[5] Buddha was not in favour of preaching any dogmas and creeds among the masses who needed only the good principles of piety and dynamic of conduct to guide them.[6] The *Madhya* doctrine was meant to call men away from forms to the essence of things, the germ of quarrel lying in slavish adherence to forms and the possibility of agreement in the essence of things. Buddha agreed with contemporary thinkers that philosophers and divines might at best enunciate higher principles of conduct and set forth nobler ideals, but it was possible only for a progressive State to apply them to life at large. Thus the position of the king or king emperor was freely recognized by them as the founder of a socio-moral order (*rājā dharma-pravartakaḥ*) based upon the principle of piety and aiming at the increase of comfort and happiness of men in this life and the attainment of heavenly life hereafter.[7] Buddhism tried to draw away people's interest from the pompous and lustful heaven of Indra to a new paradise in Buddhakhetta with its idea of an eternal school for the thinkers, teachers and learners with its grand mansion in sylvan surroundings,[8] and ultimately to another in Sukhāvatī, which is an eternal abode of infinite light, grace and spirituality. The Buddha and his followers did not quarrel with the forms of government, whether monarchical, oligarchical or republican; they were mainly interested in emphasizing the discharge of certain essential duties by each State. Buddha propounded the ideal of the universal monarch which was fulfilled to a large extent by Aśoka who, following the policy of *Dharma-vijaya*, carved out a permanent place for India in the comity of nations and proved to be the real founder of the greater and eternal India. Buddha upheld a theory of social contract (*mahājana-sammati*)[9] in accounting for the origin of kingship in preference to the *Upaniṣad* theory of divine origin of the same, and came to regard State and society as purely human institutions.[10] The caste system was shown to be unjustifiable on biological, social, ethical and philosophic grounds.[11] Both the Buddhist view of life and the law of the land combined to see all Indians free and none of them as slaves, even not a foreigner used as a slave. Megasthenes paid the highest compliment to Indians on this ground.[12] But the table was turned by

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[1] B. C. Law, *Aśvaghoṣa*, pp. 67f.; Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, pp. 204ff.

[2] *Taittirīya Up.*, ii, 8; *Praśna Up.*, vi, 7.

[3] Aśvaghoṣa's *Saundarananda Kāvya*, xiii, 22-23; Āryadeva's *Śataśāstra*, Tucci's Transl., p. 14.

[4] Buddha sought to destroy the dread of the accumulation of Karmic sins through 84,00,000 aeons by propounding a Miltonic idea of mind, which is its own place and can undo in a moment the work of ages. *Mahāniddesa*, under *Jarā Sutta*.

[5] See Iswarlal Topa's paper—*Asoka and his Dhamma-culture* in Barua's *Asoka and His Inscriptions*, pp. 356ff.

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[1] Referring to the discourses of Buddha, Rhys Davids observes: 'In depth of their philosophic insight, in the method of Socratic questioning often adopted in the earnest and elevated tone of the whole, in the evidence of the most cultured thought of the day, (they) constantly remind us of the dialogues of Plato.'

[2] *Dīgha*, i, pp. 143ff.

[3] Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 236, 268ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 271f.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 233.

[6] D. R. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, Revised edition, p. 250.

[7] Barua, *Asoka and His Inscriptions*, i, p. 237.

[8] *Apadāna*, Buddhāpadāna.

[9] *Dīgha*, iii, p. 93.

[10] Barua, *Asoka and His Inscriptions*, p. 228.

[11] *Suttanipāta*, pp. 119ff.; *Dīgha*, i, pp. 91ff.; *Dial. of the Buddha*, S.B.B., Vol. II, pp. 96ff.; *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 622f.; Aśvaghoṣa's *Vajrasūci*, cf. *Vajrasūcika Upaniṣad*.

[12] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 38; *Arthaśāstra*, iii, 13; Barua, *Asoka and His Inscriptions*, i, p. 264.

Manu in whose time the forms of slavery increased in number and were assuming a feudal character. Manu gave a religious and legal sanction to the institution and his argument is, to all intents and purposes, the same as that of Aristotle.

It is often doubted if Buddhism is at all a religion. Radhakrishnan rightly points out that the Buddha was not a rationalist [1] in spite of his rationality,[2] since there is nowhere the least tendency in his teachings to condemn religion. Buddhism is not in its earlier stage a religion, if there can be no religion without a theistic God. If religion is primarily an inner urge to the search for truth and the path of progress and salvation, Buddhism is certainly a religion. If from the psychological point of view religion be taken to mean the total reaction of the self upon itself and the surrounding world, it is definitely a religion. If religion be taken to mean a right endeavour of man to rise above himself and the world, then, too, it is nothing but a religion. If the word signify the worship of a Deity and a *śaraṇāgati*, in that case, too, Buddhism is a religion. Even as stated by its founder, Buddhism was a religious movement with its reforming zeal and the distinct mission of doing good to the many, bringing happiness and solace to the many, to both gods and men, to all men.

Buddhism as a religion upheld *āstikya* and discarded *nāstikya* and scepticism. It had its articles of faith and did not question the existence of the heaven and the earth, the sun and the moon, the revolution of seasons, the world of nature, men and women, gods and angels, domestic, social and other institutions, good and evil, this world and the next, erudition and wisdom, the cosmos with its causal and moral order, bondage and salvation. It prescribed the formula of *śaraṇāgatī*,[3] the moral precepts, the practice of meditation, the cultivation of association with the wise, extolled the objects of worship, the value of renunciation and all acts of piety and merit. It assigned due place to faith and devotion, miracle and mysticism.

Buddhism in its earlier history pursued the career of *Dharmavijaya*, devoting all its energies to the task of elevating human nature and ameliorating man's lot in life.[4] In its later history, it launched upon the career of *Trailokyavijaya*, seeking to sublimate all modes and forms of worship and means of salvation by supplying the best of everything without jeopardizing its central and real position.[5] The *Buddha-upaniṣad* yielded place to Buddha-*Bhāgavatism*, and the latter in its turn to Tantricism,[6] each with its historical importance and deep doctrinal significance.

Nirvāṇa is set out as the supreme goal. The subject has been discussed at length by La Vallée Poussin, Stcherbatsky, Keith, N. Dutt, Shwe Zan Aung, Satkari Mukerjee, B. C. Law and incidentally by other scholars, although it remains as vague as before. Without detaining you over it, I can say that historically the only best way of understanding and appreciating it is to consider how the Buddhist conception agrees with and differs from the general Vedāntic idea of *Brahma-nirvāṇa* when approached from the Yogic, psycho-ethical, ontological, eschatological and paradisaical points of view. Buddha sets forth the dialectic movement of thought leading ultimately to the category of *Nirvāṇa* which the *Upaniṣad* philosophy came to treat as a thing in itself (*nibbānaṃ nibbānato sañjānāti*).[7] There is a Buddhist point of view, looking from which *Nirvāṇa* appears to have just the mathematical value of *N*, all noble efforts and progressive states and experiences of life and mind being approximations to that theoretical perfection. To a Yogin, it is a definite experience. The deeper the mental concentration, the fuller the realization. The real difficulty begins

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[1] Radhakrishnan, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

[2] *Aṅguttara*, i, pp. 188f.; Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, pp. 329f.

[3] *Dhammapada*, verses 188–192; *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, i, pp. 231ff.; *Paramatthajotikā*, i, pp. 16ff.

[4] Barua, *Asoka and His Inscriptions*, Part I, pp. 283ff., 312ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 299ff.

[6] The Mantrayāna, Vajrayāna and Sahajasiddhi were developed in Buddhism in response to the Upaniṣadic Mantrayoga and Rājayoga, the latter consisting in *Vajroli*, *Amaroli* and *Sahajoli*. Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, p. 276.

[7] *Majjhima*, i, pp. 3f.

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when the question is approached from the eschatological point of view, whether or no, there is the continuity of the individual life-process in the case of a person who dies after realizing *Nirvāṇa*. Buddha's position on this point is not clearly stated, although it is expressly mentioned that it is neither that of an eternalist nor that of an annihilationist, nor is it even that of a sceptic. In the later stage of Buddhism, the continuity of the trend of life is distinctly postulated and strongly maintained.[1]

These are some of the salient points I would like to place before you for your consideration. The history of Buddhism must be wholly included in the collective life-movement of India and viewed together with other religions and systems of thought as an integral part and distinct form of the cultural movement which goes by the name of Indo-Aryanism. In the chronological setting of developments of the doctrine and the discipline due place must be assigned to Buddhism in order to understand what went before and after or what was going on at the time, and how it both influenced and was influenced in its turn. Upon the whole, the chronological position of Buddhism as the *Buddha-upaniṣad* in its earlier phase is next to that of the *Veda-upaniṣad* or Older Vedānta.[2] Even viewing the history of Buddhism as a whole it may be premised that Buddhism and Vedānta are the two main currents of Indian thought, the rest being subordinate to one or the other. As a pupil of mine suggests, the half of Indian thought is Buddhism, which is rational, critical, creative, directive and progressive. There is hardly any problem or matter of interest and importance on which we have not commendable findings and guidance from Buddhism. It may be judged both as a philosophy and a religion, even as a form of mysticism, with its negative and positive sides. It has a distinct message of rationality, tolerance, concord and hope for the modern world which is completely gone out of joint and stands exhausted of its resources, spiritual vigour and political wisdom.

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[1] Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, pp. 199ff.

[2] Max Müller, S.B.E., Vol. XV, Introd., p. xxxvi; Radhakrishnan, *op. cit.*, p. 470.

JAINA CANONICAL SŪTRAS (III)

By B. C. LAW

According to Umāsvāti's *Tattvārthādigama sūtra*,[1] right belief (*samyak darśana*), right knowledge (*samyak jñāna*), and right conduct (*samyak cāritra*) constitute the path to liberation. These are called three gems in Jainism. Each of them can be considered in its threefold aspect, e.g. the subject, the object and the means. In right belief there is the believer, that which is believed and the means of believing. In right knowledge there is the knower, the known and the means of knowing. In right conduct there is the pursuer of conduct, conduct itself and the means of conducting. The right belief is the basis upon which the other two rest. It is an essential preliminary to right knowledge. It is the cause and right knowledge is the effect. Right conduct is caused by right knowledge and implies both right knowledge and right belief.

The five kinds of knowledge are:—Knowledge through the instrumentality of sense, knowledge derived from the study of scriptures, direct knowledge of matter within the limits of time and space, direct knowledge of others' thoughts, and perfect knowledge.

The five kinds of conduct[2] are :—Equanimity, recovery of equanimity after a downfall, pure and absolute non-injury, all but entire freedom from passion, and ideal and passionless state.

Right belief, right knowledge, right conduct, and right austerities are called the *ārādhanās*.

The right belief is the belief or conviction in things ascertained as they are.[3] *Samyakdarśana* is of two kinds: (1) belief with attachment, the four signs of which are the following: calmness (*praśama*), fear of mundane existence in five cycles of wanderings (*saṃvega*), substance (*dravya*), place (*kṣetra*), time (*kāla*), thought activity (*bhāva*), and compassion towards all living beings (*anukampā*); and (2) belief without attachment (the purity of the soul itself).

The right belief is attained by intuition, acquisition of knowledge from external sources. It is the result of subsidence (*upaśama*), destruction-subsidence (*kṣayopaśama*) and destruction of right belief deluding *karmas* (*darśana mohanīya karma*).

Right belief is not identical with faith. It is reasoned knowledge. *Adhigama* is knowledge which is derived from intuition, external sources, e.g. precepts and scriptures. It is attained by means of *pramāṇa* and *naya*. *Pramāṇa* is nothing but direct or indirect evidence for testing the knowledge of self and the non-self. *Naya* is nothing but a standpoint which gives partial knowledge of a thing in some of its aspects.

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[1] Umāsvāti's *Tattvarthādigama sūtra* or 'the Manual for the understanding of the true nature of things' is held in high respects both by the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras and is read even now by the Jains in private houses and temples. It deals with logic, psychology, cosmography, ontology and ethics of the Jains.

The author of this *sūtra* is known to the Digambaras as Umāsvāmin and the Śvetāmbaras name him as Umāsvāti. According to some he lived from about 135 to 219 A.D. He must be earlier than Siddhasena Divākara who wrote a commentary on this text. It is a non-canonical *sūtra* according to the Svetāmbaras but the Digambaras regard it as a later canonical work.

This text has been edited with the commentary by Keshavlal Premchand Mody in *Bibliotheca Indica Series*, 1903–1905. There is a Hindi commentary published in 1906. J. L. Jaini's edition of the text with introduction, translation, notes and commentary in English, published at Arrah in 1920, in the Sacred Books of the Jains, Vol. II, is worthy of notice. There is a German translation by H. Jacobi published in Z.D.M.G., Band LX, 1906.

[2] Cf. *Sūtrakritāṅga*, I, 1. 4. 10–13.

[3] Cf. *Uttarādhyayana sūtra*, XXVIII, 28. 29.

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Right knowledge is of five kinds: (1) knowledge through senses—knowledge of the self and the non-self through the agency of the senses and mind; (2) knowledge derived from the study of the scriptures; (3) direct knowledge of matter in various degrees with reference to subject-matter, space, time and quality of the object known; (4) direct knowledge of others' thoughts, simple or complex; and (5) perfect knowledge.

Guṇa-pratyaya is that which is acquired by merit as distinguished from clairvoyance. It is of six kinds: (1) accompanying clairvoyance, that which goes with one to another place; (2) non-accompanying clairvoyance; (3) increasing; (4) decreasing; (5) firm; and (6) changeable. Clairvoyance is of three kinds: partial, high, and full. Partial clairvoyance is fallible, the remaining two are infallible. Thought-reading is of two kinds: (1) simple direct knowledge, (2) complex direct knowledge. Between clairvoyance and thought-reading the differences relate to their purity, place, person of inherence and subject-matter. Thought-reading is purer than clairvoyance. Clairvoyance can extend to the whole world, whereas thought-reading is limited to the world of men. Clairvoyance can be acquired by all beings possessed of mind, and thought-reading can be acquired by saints through supernatural powers. The object of clairvoyance is gross, that of thought-reading, subtle.

Full clairvoyance knows one atom and simple thought-reading knows an infinitesimal part of an atom. Doubt is possible in knowledge derived through the senses but it is not possible in clairvoyance. There may be an error in clairvoyance. Wrong knowledge is due to the confusion of cause and effect.

Six *dravyas* or substances are soul (*jīva*), matter (*pudgala*), motion (*dharma*), rest (*adharma*), space (*ākāśa*), and time (*kāla*).

The nine *padārthas* or nine principal terms of the doctrine are the following:—Life (*jīva*), non-living (*ajīva*), merit (*puṇya*)[1] and demerit (*pāpa*),[1] influx (*āśrava*), bondage (*bandha*), stoppage of influx (*saṃvara*), relinquishment (*nirjarā*) and liberation (*mokṣa*).

The six kinds of embodied souls are:—Earth-bodied, water-bodied, fire-bodied, air-bodied, vegetable-bodied (*vanaspati kāyika*), and mobile (*trasakāyika*).

The six colour affections (*leśyā*)[2] are:—Black (*kṛṣṇa*), blue (*nīla*), grey (*kāpota*), yellow (*padma*), pink (*teja*), and white (*śukla*).

The five categories relating to the reality of substance are:—*Jīva*, *Pudgala*, *Dharma*, *Adharma* and *Ākāśa*. The vows are the following: non-injury, truth, non-stealing, chastity and non-attachment to worldly objects.

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[1] *Puṇya and Pāpa.*—The actions which lead to the good *karma* which brings peace of mind are called *puṇya*. It is of many kinds, *annapuṇya* (merit acquired by giving food to the deserving people); *pānapuṇya* (merit acquired by giving water to the thirsty); *vastrapuṇya* (merit acquired by giving clothes to the poor, especially to the monks); *layana-puṇya* (merit acquired by building or lending a house to a monk); *śayanapuṇya* (merit acquired by providing seats and beds); *manapuṇya* (merit acquired by thinking well of everyone); *kāyapuṇya* (merit acquired by saving a life or rendering service); *vacanapuṇya* (merit acquired by speaking without hurting anybody's feelings); and *namaskārapuṇya* (merit acquired by reverent salutations).

There are various kinds of *pāpa* or sin: *jīva-hiṃsā* (to take any life) is the most heinous of all crimes according to the Jains. Sins are also acquired by speaking falsehood (*asatya* or *mṛṣāvāda*), dishonesty, unchastity, covetousness, anger, conceit, attachment and avarice.

[2] Cf. *Sūtrakritāṅga*, I, 10. 15; *Uttarādhyayana*, XXXIV.

Kṛṣṇa leśyā is the worst of the three bad emotions colouring soul. *Nīla leśyā*—this emotion is less evil than the last. *Kāpota* (grey) *leśyā* may lead men to do evil. A man under its command becomes crooked in thought and deed.

Teja leśyā removes all evil thoughts from the *jīva* under its sway.

Padma leśyā is a good emotion; through its power a man controls anger, pride, deceit and avarice.

Śukla leśyā—when a man is under its influence, love and hatred disappear.

There are three bad emotions and three good emotions—black, blue and grey are the three bad emotions; yellow, pink and white are the three good emotions.

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The five kinds of carefulness are:—Carefulness relating to walking, speech, eating, lifting and laying down and excretion.

The five states of existence are:—Existence as inmates of hell, sub-human beings, celestial beings and liberated beings.

The characteristic of soul is *cetanā* (consciousness). It is of three kinds: (1) *Jñānacetanā* or consciousness of pure knowledge in its full extent, (2) *Karmacetanā* or consciousness of experience of action, and (3) *Karmaphalacetanā* or experience of fruition of *karmas*. *Ajīva* or non-soul is that which is devoid of all these three kinds of consciousness.

By name (*nāma*), representation (*sthāpanā*), privation (*dravya*) and present condition (*bhāva*), their aspects are known. Soul and non-soul can be considered in four aspects (*nikṣepa*): (1) negative aspect (*nāma-nikṣepa*), (2) representative aspect (*sthāpanā-nikṣepa*), (3) privative aspect (*dravya-nikṣepa*), and positive aspect (*bhāva-nikṣepa*).

Jīva can be known in the following ways:—(1) *jīva* exists (*sat*), (2) multiplicity of souls (*saṃkhyā*), (3) soul is found in the whole universe (*kṣetra*), (4) soul touches the whole universe (*sparśana*), (5) eternity of soul (*kāla*), etc.

Indriya is so called because 'Indra' means the soul and the sense-organs are appurtenances of soul.

The soul's thought-activity is of five kinds:—(1) subsidential, i.e. that which rises from the subsidence of a *karma* of the deluding kind; (2) purified, i.e. that which rises from the destruction of *karma*, e.g. *ghātiya*; (3) mixed; (4) operative, i.e. that which rises from the operation, i.e. fruition of *karma*; and (5) natural. *Ghātiya* or destructive *karmas* attack and affect the very nature of soul. *Aghātiya karma* is that which does not affect the nature of soul. *Ghātiya karmas* are four in number, viz. (1) knowledge obscuring (*jñānāvaraṇīya*), (2) belief obscuring (*darśanāvaraṇīya*), (3) deluding (*mohanīya*), which intoxicates soul, and (4) obstructive *karmas*.

Knowledge (*antarāya*),[1] belief, charity, gain, enjoyment, re-enjoyment, power, faith and conduct are the nine kinds of energies (*vīrya*).

Passions (*kaṣāyas*) [2] are four in number: anger, pride, deceit and greed.

Sexes are of three kinds: feminine, masculine and neuter.

Pure *jīvatva* is limited to the *siddhas* (perfected ones).

There are various cycles: space cycle, matter cycle, time cycle, incarnation cycle, human cycle, sub-human cycle, thought cycle, etc.

Mundane souls are of two kinds: rational (those who have mind) and irrational (those who have no mind).

The senses are of two kinds: external senses and internal senses. The external senses have a two-fold formation: (1) the organ itself and (2) its protecting environment. Internal organ means the soul itself which is co-extensive with and of the same form as the organ in which it incarnates. External organ means the material organ which is permeated by the internal organ or the soul.

Internal environment is the matter immediately surrounding the organ. External environment is the matter which is not so immediately situated with reference to the organ.

Sense faculties are of two kinds:—(1) *Labdhi*: It is the attainment of the manifestation of the sense faculty by the partial destruction. (2) *Upayoga*: The conscious attention of the soul directed to that sense.

Touch is of eight kinds, e.g. cold, rough, smooth, etc.

Taste is of five kinds, e.g. pungent, bitter, sweet, etc.

Smell is of two kinds, e.g. sweet smell and bad smell.

Colour is of five kinds.

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[1] Vide Jacobi's note, *Tattvārthādigama sūtra*, Jacobi's Ed., p. 536.

[2] Passions or *kaṣāyas* are the things which tie one down to this world.

In the passage of the soul from one embodiment to another there is only *karmic* body vibration (*karmayoga*).

The bodies are of five kinds: (1) *audārika* (gross), (2) *vaikriyaka* (fluid), (3) *āhāraka* (assimilative), (4) *taijasa* (caloric), and (5) *kārmaṇa* (karmic).

The non-soul extensive substances are *dharma, adharma, ākāśa, pudgala*[1] and *kāya*. *Kāya* means extensive having extent like the body.

The special attributes of jīva-soul are the following:—knowledge (*jñāna*), belief (*darśana*), bliss (*sukha*), energy (*vīrya*), right belief (*samyak darśana*), right conduct (*samyak cāritra*), etc. The special attributes of *pudgala* are the following:—touch, taste, smell, colour, *dharma, adharma, ākāśa* (space) and *kāla* (time). *Samyaktvakriyā* (right directed) is that which strengthens right belief; *mithyārtvakriyā* (wrong directed) is that which strengthens wrong belief; *prayoga-kriyā* is bodily movement; *samādāna-kriyā* is the tendency to neglect vows; *iryāpathakriyā* (actions relating to behaviour) is walking carefully by looking at the ground; tendency to accuse others in anger; a wicked man's readiness to hurt others; weapons of hurtfulness, the thing which may cause mental pain to oneself or others; depriving another of vitalities of age, sense-organs, powers and respiration; infatuated desire to see a pleasing form; frivolous indulgence in touching; inventing new sense-enjoyments; answering calls of nature in a place frequented by men, women and animals; indifference in dropping things or throwing oneself down upon the earth; undertaking to do by one's own hand what should be done by others; admiration of hurtful or unrighteous thing, proclaiming sins of others; misinterpreting the scriptural injunctions which we do not want to follow; disrespect to scriptural injunctions out of vice or laziness; expressing delight in other's misdeeds; trying to persevere in one's attachment to worldly belongings; deceitful disturbance of someone's right knowledge and faith; praising actions due to wrong belief; not renouncing what ought to be renounced.

Karmic matter is due to the following pain-bringing feelings: (1) pain; (2) sorrow; (3) repentance; (4) weeping; (5) depriving of vitality; and (6) piteous moaning to attract compassion.

For the vow against unchastity the following are meditations: (1) not reading or hearing stories exciting attachment to women; (2) not seeing their beautiful bodies; (3) not remembering the past enjoyment of women; (4) not taking exciting drinks; (5) not beautifying one's own body; (6) meditation on *maitrī* (benevolence for

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[1] *Puggala, Attā, Satta* and *Jīva* are the four terms which occur in Buddhism in connection with all discussions relating to individual, individuality, personality, self and soul (*Kathāvatthu*, I, p. 26). The problem of individuality is bound up with the problem of the ego, percipient or internal knower (*vedagū*). As a biological term *Puggala* is nowhere used to deny the existence of an individual being or a living person. The particular individual or individuals are beings that exist in fact, grow in time, and ultimately die. According to the *Milindapañha* individuals are signified by some names arbitrarily fixed. The personal name is only a conventional device to denote an individual and to distinguish him from other individuals. It has no connotation beyond this symbolism. The name is insufficient as a means of forming a complete idea of the individual concerned.

Puggala means an individual or a person as opposed to a group or multitude or class. In later *Abhidhamma* literature it is equal to character or soul. According to the Buddhists an individual has no real existence. The term *Puggala* does not mean anything real. It is only apparent truth as opposed to real truth. Puggalavādin's view is that the person is known in the sense of real and ultimate fact, but he is not known in the same way as other real and ultimate facts are known. He or she is known in the sense of a real and ultimate fact and his or her material quality is also known in the sense of a real and ultimate fact. But it cannot truly be said that the material quality is one thing and the person another, nor can it be truly predicted that the person is related or absolute, conditioned or unconditioned, eternal or temporal, or whether the person has external features or whether he is without any. One who has material quality in the sphere of matter is a person, but it cannot be said that one who experiences desires of sense in the sphere of sense-desire is a person. The genesis of the person is apparent, his passing away and duration are also distinctively apparent, but it cannot be said that the person is conditioned (cf. *Kathāvatthu* on *Puggala*). For a further discussion, see Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, Chap. VII; and Law, *A History of Pali Literature*, Vol. I, pp. 328-329.

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all living beings); (7) delight at the sight of beings; (8) compassion; and (9) indifference.

Householder's life has eleven stages:—

(1) A true Jaina must have perfect and intelligent belief in Jainism. He must have a good knowledge of its doctrines and their applications. He must give up meat, wine and honey. He must have a belief free from defects. He must observe five vows.

(2) He must not destroy life, must not tell a lie; must not make unpermitted use of another man's property; must be chaste; must make a perpetual and daily vow to go in certain directions; must avoid useless talk, must limit the articles of his diet and enjoyment for the day; must worship at fixed times, morning, noon and evening; must give charity for the sake of knowledge, etc. every day; must try not to transgress the last seven vows.

(3) He must meditate faultlessly, regularly and for fixed hours, not less than 48 minutes every time.

(4) He must fast faultlessly on the 8th and 14th day of every lunar fortnight.

(5) He must not take animate vegetable and water.

(6) He must not take or give food or drink at night.

(7) He must give up sexual intercourse even with his wife.

(8) He must give up his means of livelihood, cooking, etc.

(9) He must give up his desire for the worldly objects, and be contented with abandoning all his properties except a few clothes and utensils.

(10) He must not advise on any worldly activity.

(11) He will beg his food and refuse what is specially prepared for him.

A householder must have seven supplementary vows: (1) taking a lifelong vow to limit directions; (2) taking a vow to limit a period of time; (3) taking a vow not to commit purposeless sin; (4) taking a vow to devote so much time every day for spiritual advancement; (5) taking a vow to fast on four days of the month; (6) taking a vow every day limiting one's enjoyment of consumable and non-consumable things; and (7) taking a vow to take one's food after feeding the ascetics with a portion of it.

There are five defects or partial transgressions (*aticārā*) in a man of right belief: (1) doubt, (2) desire of sensual pleasures, (3) disgust, (4) thinking highly of wrong believers, and (5) praising them.

The partial transgressions of the first vow (*ahiṃsā-anuvrata*) are the following:—(1) angrily or carelessly tying up an animal or human being; (2) angrily or carelessly beating an animal or human being; (3) angrily or carelessly mutilating an animal or human being; (4) angrily or carelessly overloading an animal or human being; (5) angrily or carelessly withholding food or drink from an animal or human being. Partial transgressions of the second vow are the following: (1) preaching false doctrines; (2) divulging the secret actions of a man or woman; (3) forgery and perjury (*kuṭalekhakriyā*); (4) unconscientious dealing by means of speech (*nyāsāpahāra*); (5) divulging what one guesses by seeing the behaviour of others.

Partial transgressions of the third vow are the following: abetment of theft, receiving stolen property, illegal traffic, false weight and adulteration.

Partial transgressions of the fourth vow are the following: (1) bringing about the marriage of people who are not of one's own family; (2) intercourse with a married immoral woman; (3) intercourse with an unmarried immoral woman; (4) unnatural sexual intercourse; (5) intense sexual desire. The partial transgressions of the first *guṇavrata* are the following:—

(1) negligence to go higher than one's own limit in the vow;

(2) negligence to go lower than one's own limit in the vow;

(3) negligence to go in the eight directions beyond one's own limit;

(4) negligence to increase in one direction and decrease in another the boundaries;
(5) forgetting the limit in the vow.

The partial transgressions of the second *guṇavrata* are the following:—

(1) sending for something beyond the limit;
(2) sending someone out beyond the limit;
(3) sending one's voice out beyond the limit;
(4) making signs for persons beyond the limit;
(5) throwing some material beyond the limit.

The partial transgressions of the third *guṇavrata* are the following:—

(1) indulging in fun at another;
(2) mischievous practical joking;
(3) garrulity;
(4) overdoing a thing;
(5) keeping too many consumable and non-consumable objects.

The partial transgressions of the first *śikṣāvrata* [1] are the following:—

(1) misdirection of mind;
(2) misdirection of body;
(3) misdirection of speech;
(4) lack of interest;
(5) forgetting due formalities.

The partial transgressions of the second *śikṣāvrata* are the following:—

(1) to excrete in a place without inspecting and cleaning it;
(2) to lay down things in a place without inspecting and cleaning it;
(3) to spread a mat or seat in a place without inspecting and cleaning it;
(4) lack of interest;
(5) forgetting due formalities.

The partial transgressions of the third *śikṣāvrata* are the following:—

(1) taking living things;
(2) taking anything connected with a living thing;
(3) taking a mixture of living and non-living things;
(4) taking exciting food;
(5) taking badly cooked food.

The partial transgressions of the fourth *śikṣāvrata* are the following:—

(1) placing the food on a living thing;
(2) covering it with a living thing;
(3) delegation of host's duties to another person;
(4) lack of respect in giving;
(5) not giving at the proper time.

The partial transgressions of peaceful death are the following:—

(1) desire to prolong one's life;
(2) desire to die soon;
(3) attachment to friends;
(4) repeated remembrance of past enjoyments;
(5) desire of enjoyments in the next world.

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[1] *Śikṣāvratas.*—They are all intended to encourage the laity in the performance of their religious duties.

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The fruition of charity is different according to the difference in manner, thing given, person who gives and the person to whom it is given. The manner of giving is of nine kinds: (1) respectful reception of an ascetic; (2) seating him on an exalted seat; (3) washing his feet; (4) worshipping him; (5) saluting him; (6–8) purity in speech, body and mind; (9) faultless way of giving food. The giver must possess seven qualities: (1) must not wish any gain in this world in its exchange; (2) must give calmly without anger; (3) must be happy at giving; (4) without deceit; (5) without envy; (6) without repentance; and (7) without pride.

The person to whom the thing is given must be one of the three kinds: (1) ascetics, (2) laymen with vows, (3) laymen with right belief but not with vows.

Karuṇādāna is the gift of compassion to anyone who is in need of it. It is of four kinds: (1) food, (2) medicine, (3) knowledge, and (4) removal of the cause of fear.

The causes of bondage (*bandha*) are the following: (1) wrong belief, (2) perverse belief; (3) doubt, scepticism, (4) veneration; (5) wrong belief caused by ignorance, and (6) inborn error.

Vibrations in the soul through mind, body and speech, are the following: true mind, false mind, mixed true and false mind, neither true nor false mind.

The soul which has passion assimilates matter which is fit to form *karma*. This is called bondage. It is of four kinds according to the nature of karmic matter, duration of the attachment of karmic matter to the soul, fruition, number of karmic molecules which attach to the soul.

The relinquishment of karmic matter is caused by austerities (*tapasā nirjarā ca*). Prevention is proper control over mind, speech and body. This is called *Gupti*.[1] *Samitis* [1] are the following:—proper care in walking, speaking, eating, lifting, laying and excreting.

The ten virtues are the following:—(1) forgiveness (*uttamakṣamā*), humility (*uttama mārdava*), honesty (*uttama ārjava*),[2] contentment (*uttama śauca*),[3] truthfulness (*uttama satya*), restraint (*uttama saṃyama*), austerities (*uttama tapa*), renunciation (*uttama tyāga*), selflessness (*uttama ākiñcanya*), and chaste life (*uttama brahmacaryā*).

Twelve meditations are the following:—transitory, helplessness, mundaneness, loneliness, separateness, impurity, inflow, stoppage, relinquishment, universe, rarity of right path and nature of right path.

Twenty-two sufferings are the following:—hunger, thirst, cold, heat, nakedness, insect-bites, dissatisfaction, women, walking too much, sitting, sleeping, abuse, beating, begging, disease, failure to get alms, contact with thorny shrubs, discomfort from dust, respect or disrespect, lack of knowledge, conceit of knowledge and failure to attain supernatural power.

External austerities are the following:—(1) fasting; (2) eating less; (3) taking a mental vow to accept food from a householder, if a certain condition is fulfilled; (4) daily renunciation of one or more of the six kinds of delicacies, e.g. butter, milk,

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[1] Cf. *Uttarādhyayana*, XXX.

Samitis.—The five *samitis* are the ways of arresting the inflow of *karma* with reference to outward behaviour. In order to arrest the inflow of *karma*, one must guard the words of one's mouth. Circumspection must be exercised about all matters connected with eating. An ascetic must be careful to possess only five cloths. Equally important with the five rules of outward behaviour are the rules for controlling the mind, speech and body (*guptis—manogupti*, *vacanagupti* and *kāyagupti*).

[2] *Uttama ārjava.*—*Ārjava* has been understood by some as that simplicity which is opposed to cunningness.

[3] *Uttama śauca.*—Stevenson points out that there is a manifold duty of purity and cleanliness binding on all monks, for an ascetic must keep himself free from all suspicion of dishonesty or thieving; he must also keep his body pure and his soul free from all dark thoughts (*Heart of Jainism*, p. 154).

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curd, sugar, salt, etc. ; (5) sitting and sleeping in a lonely place ; and (6) mortification of the body.

Internal austerities are the following:—expiation, reverence, service to the saints or worthy people, study, concentration, abandonment of attachment to the body.[1]

The nine kinds of expiation are the following:—(1) full and voluntary confession to the head of the Order ; (2) repentance for faults ; (3) doing good ; (4) giving up a much beloved object ; (5) giving up attachment to the body ; (6) penance of a particular kind ; (7) degradation ; (8) rustication for some time ; and (9) fresh readmission.

Reverence is of four kinds:—for right knowledge, right belief, right conduct and for the observance of the proper form of respect (*upacāravinaya*).

Concentration is of four kinds:—painful, righteous, unrighteous and pure.

The distinctions between the possessionless saints should be considered with reference to conduct, scriptural knowledge, signs, colour affections, contemporaries or successors of the *tīrthaṅkaras*, etc.

The liberated soul should be considered with reference to space, time, state of existence, sex, *tīrtha* (*tīrthaṅkara*, teacher), conduct, knowledge, stature, interval, number, quantity, etc.

The liberated state has no signs to characterize it. Liberation takes place only in one time (*kāla*).

From the critical summary of the contents of this *Sūtra* it will be seen that the tenets of primitive Jainism as expounded in the *Āgama* texts were systematized for the first time by Umāsvāti. The outlines of Jainism as a religion and philosophy go to show that the doctrines are yet somewhat crude and the concepts are still vague and indefinite. The Jaina notion of *karma* is undoubtedly of a physical nature. How is it possible for the karmic matter to flow into an individual life to produce a colour effect on soul? How far is such a theory tenable scientifically and metaphysically? These questions are sure to exercise the brains of modern students. In conceiving the soul as a conscious principle co-extensive with the whole of the living organism, the Jaina thinkers made a departure no doubt from the Sāṃkhya idea of *Puruṣa* and the Upaniṣadic idea of *Ātman*. So far as they stood for the innumerability of souls, their position is identical with that of the Sāṃkhya teachers. It is rather unexpected that the Jaina meditations partake more of the nature of superficial mental reflections adapted to the practice of certain austerities than of the meditations according to the time-honoured *yoga* practice. It may be true, as claimed by some, that Mahāvīra could have trances in any posture and at ease. In other words, he was a great *layayogin* but even Umāsvāti's treatise does not throw any clear light on the early Jaina method of *yoga*.

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[1] Cf. *Uttarādhyayana*, XXVIII, 34.

MISCELLANEA

SOME ASPECTS OF VĀNARA CULTURE

Some years ago I contributed a paper on the Vānara tribe in the Tamil Journal *Kalaimagal*, Madras. I maintained that the Vānaras of the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki are not monkeys as has been made out by some scholars, but they were one of the very ancient tribes of South India as were their compatriots the Rākṣasas and Yakṣas in India and the Island of Lankā (Ceylon). These were primitive prehistoric tribes who had their own culture and civilization, and who have become extinct with the march of time. These Vānaras formed a distinct entity and their community was known by the common name Harigaṇa. Hari is another term for Vānara. Apparently their totem was monkey. Hence the allegorical description of these Haris by Vālmīki as monkeys.

Whatever might have been their early life and manners, these Vānaras, at the time of Rāma, the illustrious Ikṣvāku emperor, had adopted Aryan culture and Aryan institutions. To illustrate this, let me take up the chapter dealing with the coronation of Sugrīva as king of the Vānaras. This is the twenty-sixth chapter of the Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍam of the Rāmāyaṇa. During his sojourn at the Daṇḍaka forest with his brother Lakshmaṇa, Rāma was apprised of the fact that the powerful king of Kiṣkindhā, Vāli, had usurped the wife of his brother Sugrīva and had turned him out of the kingdom. Sugrīva was living in the outskirts in a mountain cave along with his faithful ally and minister Hanumān. The learned Hanumān, who was a good student of Sanskrit language and literature, met Rāma and eloquently pleaded on behalf of his master Sugrīva. Prince Rāma saw the injustice perpetuated by the king on his innocent brother and resolved to take up the cause of the younger brother against the elder, the ruling sovereign of the country. Consequently, he entered into an agreement with Sugrīva to restore the kingdom to him by killing Vāli for his grievous offence. In return Sugrīva promised to help Rāma in recovering his wife Sītā by fighting the Rākṣasa host. Message was sent to the important officials of the capital, who are styled Mahāmātras. These met Rāma and gave their approval to have Sugrīva anointed as king according to the śāstric injunctions and the established usages of the country. We have to note the significant line:

शास्त्रदृष्टेन विधिना महर्षिविहितेन च ।

This demonstrates that the Vānaras were observing the Aryan laws and regulations laid down in their śāstras.

The description of the abhiṣecana ceremony falls in line with that of regular Hindu monarchs of old. Elaborate preparations were made to collect the things necessary to a solemn ceremony of that character. Hanumān was the moving spirit of the whole show. Kiṣkindhā, the capital city of the Vānaras, put on a festive appearance with festoons and standards flying aloft and was full of contented people throughout the palace to hail their new Rājā. Above the throne seat were seen the white umbrella and the golden sceptre. Vālmīki goes into raptures in his description. He says everything was made of gold showing thereby the resplendent wealth of the capital city. Gems, white clothes, scented garlands, sandal and perfumes, tiger skin, were among the things, gathered for the coronation.[1] Sixteen damsels[2] took part in it as was the custom in the ceremony of anointing the king-elect. The Brāhmans who attended this function were sumptuously fed and presented with precious gems and clothes. The water for the abhiṣecana was collected from different rivers and oceans in golden pots and in the horns of the bull. The Mahāmātras of whom ten are mentioned in the texts (34–36) did the ceremony according to śāstric injunctions including offerings to Agni, Fire God. It is said that this reminded them of the abhiṣeka of Indra by Vasus in days of old. The Vānaras witnessed this function in tens and thousands.

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[1] तथा सर्वाणि रत्नानि सर्वबीजौषधानि च ।
सक्षीराणां च वृक्षाणां प्ररोहन् कुसुमानि च ॥
चन्दनानि च दिव्यानि गन्धांश्च विविधान् बहून् ।
अक्षतं जातरूपं च प्रियङ्गुमधुसर्पिषी ।

[2] आजग्मुस्तत्र मुदिता वराः कन्याश्च षोडश ॥

Other important aspects of the Vānara polity are indeed important. The prevailing form of monarchy among the Vānaras was the hereditary system (Pitṛ-Paitāmahaṃ rājyaṃ *op. cit.*, 4). It was also the wish of Rāma to crown Aṅgada, the eldest son of Vāli as the Yuvarāja (crown-prince).[1] Sugrīva, who had been installed in the throne, ordered the Yauvarājya-abhiṣecana of Aṅgada. It created a profound impression on the public. For the people of Kiṣkindhā cheered Sugrīva 'Well done'.

From a study of this chapter it is abundantly clear that the Vānaras had become completely Aryanized and their outlook and spirit had become Aryan. When and how this primitive community came under the spell of Aryan influence, we cannot definitely say. But it cannot be contradicted that this metamorphosis has been effected long before the time of Rāma.

This chapter throws further light on the kingdom of Vānaras. It was a mountain kingdom, and the capital was itself built on a hillock. It was full of villages (grāmas) and towns (puras). The Vānaras enjoyed advanced political institutions. Their ministers were named, as already mentioned, Mahāmātras, a term which we meet in Kauṭalya's Arthaśāstra and the inscriptions of Aśoka.[2] The Vānara kingdom enjoyed full independence (swarājya) though it was a feudatory to the imperial Ikṣvākus. For, in an earlier chapter in justification of his action to kill Vāli, Rāma claimed the whole of that territory as belonging to the Ayodhyā empire.

इक्ष्वाकूणामियं भूमिः सशैलवनकानना ।
मृगपक्षिमनुष्याणां निग्रहानुग्रहेष्वपि ॥ 18. 6.

As Vāli had failed in the administration of dharma, Rāma saw he was within his legitimate bounds in executing him.

It is not surprising that their military organization was such that they could invade and defeat a powerful foe like Rāvaṇa of Laṅkā. They were excellent soldiers, though their arms were simple. They had their spy system and ambassadorial system. They had their own laws of war.

Both men and women were learned and well versed in śāstras. The Queen Tārā was a Paṇḍitā. Their women were fair and godfearing. They dressed themselves with good clothes and wore costly jewels (IV. 33 : 22–5). Bracelets, shoulder-bangles, waist bands are some of the jewels they wore.

Again, the engineering skill of the Vānaras is also evident. Nala was the master engineer who could put up a bridge on the sea between the Indian mainland and ancient Ceylon. The Vānaras were also good physicians and had their own system of medicines. They healed the wounded in battle by the use of some medicinal herbs and roots. Viśalyakaraṇi, Suvarṇakaraṇi and Sañjīvikaraṇi were some of

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[1] इममप्यङ्गदं वीर यौवराज्येऽभिषेचय ।
ज्येष्ठस्य स सुतो ज्येष्ठः सदृशो विक्रमेण च ॥
अङ्गदोऽयमदीनात्मा यौवराज्यस्य भाजनम् ॥—26. 12-13.

[2] For instance, *Ar-śās*, Bk. I, Ch. 12: Rock Edicts, V, XII, etc.

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the medicinal herbs which worked a miraculous cure for those fallen in battle unconscious and almost dead (IV. 74. 29–34; 92. 20–27).

The above brief summary is enough to show that the Vānaras were no mere animals but a well-to-do tribe of South India. This tribe was divided into three communities. These were Ṛkṣas, Vānaras and Golāṅgūlas (IV. 35. 21-22). The Ṛkṣas were not bears but a community of the Haris who lived in Ṛkṣa Parvata. Among them the Vānaras were highly civilized and profoundly learned, though they were essentially a forest tribe.

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR.

ADVAITARATNĀKARA

Advaitaratnākara of Anantabhaṭṭa, son of Dādubhaṭṭa, is a work of immense interest. It is a counterblast to the sectarianism of the Purāṇas which propound the superiority of their respective gods. In the work under notice an attempt is made to interpret passages from the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇas in terms of Advaita. A great Mīmāmsaka that he was, the author presses into service several Mīmāmsā Nyāyas in his interpretation. The work was written under the patronage of Maharaja Anup Singhji of Bikaner. Maharaja Anup Singhji had no sectarian bias. He wrote both the Sāmbasadāśivastotra and the Lakṣmīnārāyaṇastotra.

It is usually the works on Dvaita that draw upon the Purāṇas for their thesis; but here is a work which can interpret the Purāṇas in terms of Advaita and in this respect it is of unique interest.

The only known MS. of the work is in the Anup Sanskrit Library (No. 2365). There are 76 folios with 11 lines per page and 36 syllables per line of bold Devanāgarī. The MS. is old, but it is in good condition.

Begins:

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

ब्रह्मादयः सुरगणा यं नत्वा हतविघ्नकाः ।
कार्यसिद्धिं परामापुस्तं नमामि गजाननम् ॥

इह खलु तत्तत्पुराणैकदेशपर्यालोचनया दुरभिमानेन च शिवस्य विष्णोश्च परस्परमुत्कर्षापकर्षं वदन्तः केचन पण्डितम्मन्याः स्वमिवान्यानपि प्रतारयन्तो दृश्यन्ते। अतस्तेषामज्ञाननिराशपूर्वकं समस्तजनानामुद्धाराय सकलकलाचातुरीनिष्णातस्योद्दामदानविजितदातृवर्यस्य द्विजवराशीर्लब्धसकलमनोरथस्य विद्वन्मण्डलीमनोरथपूरकस्य स्वप्रतापविजितसकलरिपुवृन्दस्य नित्यं दानाम्बुधारानिःसृतजलपूरेण दूरीकृतदारिद्र्यदावानलस्य श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीमहाराजानूपसिंहप्रभुवर्यस्याज्ञया मीमांसाशास्त्रपारीणदादूभट्टसूनुनानन्तभट्टेन सकलपुराणतात्पर्यम्पर्यालोच्याद्वैतरत्नाकराख्यो ग्रन्थ आरभ्यते। तत्र केचन शैवाः शिव एव सर्वोत्कृष्ट इतरे गुणभूता इति प्रतिपादयन्ति। तथाहि महाभारते द्रोणपर्वणि जयद्रथवधे सञ्जय उवाच—

कुन्तीपुत्रस्तु तन्मन्त्रं स्मरन्निव धनञ्जयः ।
प्रतिज्ञामात्मनो रक्षन्मुमोहाचिन्त्यविक्रमः ॥

Ends:

एकधा बहुधा चैव दृश्यते जलचन्द्रवत् ।
ब्रह्मा विष्णुर्वृषाङ्कश्च त्रयो देवाः सतां मताः ॥
नामभेदेन भिद्यन्ते भिद्यन्ते नात्मना स्वयम् ।

इत्यादिवचनैरभेदस्यावगमात्तत्रैव सर्वपुराणतात्पर्यमित्यलं बहुना ।

अद्वैतविषये योऽयं पुराणवचसां कृतः ।
सङ्ग्रहस्तेन मे नाथः प्रीयतां विघ्नपूगहा ॥

इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमहाराजानूपसिंहदेवस्याज्ञया मीमांसाशास्त्रपारीणदादृभट्टसूनुनानन्तभट्टेन विरचितेऽद्वैतरत्नाकरेऽद्वैतनिर्णयः सम्पूर्णः । शुभं भवतु । मङ्गलमूर्त्तये गणपतये नमः । सर्वविघ्नविनाशिने नमः ॥

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA.

CHAMBA MONUMENTS

Chamba has yielded an almost uninterrupted series of monuments from the 7th to the 19th century. Have all the preceding vestiges completely disappeared? There are traces of an earlier influx of Hindu civilization into these valleys. The lotus roundels both on the fountain stones of the 11th century and in the still living woodwork tradition of the Brahmor province and of parts of Chamba-Lahul are an echo of the Buddhist and probably also Hinduist chaitya railing of the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. The groundplan of the wooden Sakta hill temples goes obviously back to the Gupta temple type. That the original monuments have disappeared is no wonder, for they must have been of cedar wood like the still existing shrines of Meruvarman. But also the surviving traditions have undergone a complete barbarization to a rural folk art when they reappear in Mediaeval Chamba. In other words, there must be a primitive interval between the art of which they are degenerated remnants, and the new start under Meruvarman. The historical gap between those faint vestiges of an earlier civilization and the reign of Meruvarman, therefore, can neither have been accidental, but must in all probability coincide with a barbarian inter-regnum.

Against such a background, however, it must be regarded as very significant that the whole new civilization at the court of Meruvarman has been foreign, the Sanskrit of his inscriptions as well as the Central Indian Gupta style of the wood sculpture of the Lakshana Devi Temple and of the brass idols of his chief artist Gugga. Meruvarman, therefore, cannot be regarded as some irrelevant rājā whose memory has, by accident, been preserved to us, but must have been a barbarian chieftain who set up for sovereign lord over the surrounding valleys posing as the protagonist of orthodox Hinduism and Hindu civilization. His zeal had been that of the convert, his munificence inspired by the desire to buttress up his new position with the splendour and sanctity of cultural superiority. But who had been these barbarians? The almost complete destruction of the preceding Hindu (Khasa) civilization of the Chamba hills, however fragile it may have been, presupposes a foreign invasion. The very time of the barbarian inter-regnum, i.e. the 6th-7th centuries, and the Gujari connection of the Pahari dialect spoken in Chamba make it probable that these invaders had been Gurjaras. And that Meruvarman had played the same rôle in the history of the Chamba Gurjaras, as Nagabhatta I in Rajputana.

With all these conjectures, however, we are still on debatable ground. For direct evidence cannot be expected from a dynasty interested to obliterate all vestiges of former barbarian origin and claiming descent from the best and most orthodox Kshatriya stock. But in the parallel case of early Mediaeval Europe we can observe that for centuries, after the courts, higher aristocracy and clergy had accepted the late Roman-Byzantine civilization, the masses of the population and even part of the landed aristocracy remained on the original primitive culture level. If this may be regarded as a general phenomenon, the traces of the original Gurjara tradition must be sought outside the Chamba court, in the outlying provinces. Now we know already a quite unique group of monuments, the fountain stones dedicated in the 11th and 12th centuries by the local feudal lords (rājās) of the northern provinces of Churah and Pangi. They reveal a curious mixture of orthodox Hindu and 'popular' art and religion. Whereas the centre of these broad relieve slabs has a high Mediaeval Hindu ornamentation and, as an occasional supplementary filling, the primitive lotus roundels which we have already met with in Brahmor, parts of Lahul and also Kulu, the enclosing border and often also the bands separating the chief representations consist of a duplicated plaitwork decoration not known in India. Dr. Vogel, the discoverer of these fountain stones had regarded this plaitwork ornament as peculiar to this part of the Himalaya, as vestiges of it can be traced also in the wood architecture of Pangi, Bhadrawah, Kulu, Bashahr, etc. But on a closer analysis this opinion cannot be maintained. For the fountain stones of Pangi represent a mere cultural overflow from Churah, and the kindred motifs in the art of the remaining Punjab Himalaya prove to be nothing but late and degenerated offshoots of the Churah tradition belonging to the first cultural revival after the chaos created by the Muslim invasion (15th-16th centuries). The Churah fountain stones, therefore, represent a unique group not characteristic for Himalayan folk art, and the plaitwork ornament on them is likewise unique, characteristic neither for the Himalaya nor for India at all. And yet it is an ornament motif very well known to art historians. For it turns up everywhere in Southern Europe and South-Western Asia immediately after the fall of the Roman Empire, i.e. at a date hardly earlier than the Gurjara invasions into India. It is peculiar to the art of all those migration tribes who had come from the steppes of Southern Russia and South-Western Central Asia, the Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Langobards, Alans and Iranian nomads. The great explorer of Asiatic folk art, J. Strzygowski has classified it under the somewhat debatable, but in principle indubitably justified name 'Saka' art. In other words, the plaitwork ornament of the Churah fountain stones must be a relic of an Iranian nomad art brought into these hills from outside. And in the whole context so far analyzed by us, these nomads can only have been the Gurjaras.

If we approach the problem from the religious side, we arrive at similar results. With the only exception of a few stones the ruling deity of the Churah fountain stones is Varuṇa, represented in a primitive style parallel to that of the Western monuments showing the same plaitwork ornament, and, at his side, occasionally also water nymphs, especially the goddesses of the great Punjab rivers. At the first moment this looks quite natural. For Varuṇa as the god of the waters, and the water goddesses should be the normal tutelary deities of fountains. But this is untenable. For the protective deities of the water in the Himalaya are not Varuṇa and the river goddesses, but the Nāgas. Likewise is Varuṇa here adored not as water god, but as lord of heaven and giver of heavenly bliss to the pious, i.e. in a rôle familiar to the early Vedic period but not to Mediaeval India. And for the few already mentioned exceptions, there are in Churah not the least early vestiges either of the Himalayan Chamunda or Nāga cult, or of orthodox Hinduism. The few orthodox Hindu (Śaiva and Vaishṇava) fountain stones of Naghai near

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Sai, at Sai, and at Salhi in Pangi, however, reveal a more pronounced influence of Mediaeval Hindu court art, and also of the official Sanskrit, and are donations of influential local Bana families in close connection with the court. The few Vishṇu and Gaṇeśa idols found in Churah are contemporary with those stones. It is, therefore, evident that orthodox Hinduism and Hindu court art found their way into Churah only in the course of the 11th-12th centuries; and that the Varuṇa and water nymph cult preceding them must have represented a separate religion alien to the Nāga service of the hills which it had superseded, as well as to the Hinduism from which it had borrowed some names and ideas. The archaic conception of Varuṇa might indicate an introduction from an unorthodox border of Hindu civilization. But even this explanation cannot solve the mystery, for neither Indra nor any other early Indian god is mentioned. And it seems more probable that we have to do with a non-Indian religion slightly adapted by a change of names as it has happened so many times in history. If we be permitted to follow the hint offered by the figure style and plaitwork ornament of these same fountain stones, we might see behind this Varuṇa some popular form of Ormuzd, behind the nymphs an echo of the Anahits, behind the curious and quite out-of-place cult of Gugga or rājā Mandalik which is also found in the same area, Mithra. G. A. Grierson has thought that the Gurjaras had possibly been Iranians from Sistan. This would fit very well to the observations just made, though it must be conceded that much still remains obscure.

There are many other features pointing in the same direction, but not discussed here in detail because they appear only occasionally, e.g. the semi-Iranian costume on the more popular fountain stones without inscriptions, of the 12th century; the Central Asian scroll ornaments on these costumes; 'Scythian' running-animal motifs; the thigh ornaments of horses and other animals, likewise hailing from the sphere of Central Asian nomadic art; 'Gandharan' columns; an expression of line, figure and movement intermediate between Sasano-Iranian and later Rajput art; the first appearance of certain motifs later common in Rajput art, etc.

But so much we may say with certainty that in Churah we are in face of a foreign cultural enclave with pronounced peculiarities pointing towards a nomadic Iranian origin which was Hinduized not before the 11th-12th centuries. As both in Churah and Brahmor the same Pahari dialect, with its close relationship to Gujari, is spoken, we may interpret the historical situation in this sense that the whole of South-Western Chamba (the area of the Ravi and its tributaries) had in the 6th or 7th centuries been conquered by Gurjara clans. In Churah they had preserved their identity up to the high Middle Ages, whereas at Brahmor the process of Hinduization had set in very early, in consequence of the conversion and culturo-political aspirations of Meruvarman.

With our evidence as much strengthened we may perhaps venture to find out at least a few hints of the original home of the Chamba Gurjaras. Probably the two groups of Churah and Brahmor originally have not formed one entity. For until the early 10th century they had been separated by a wedge of aboriginal population as is evident from the preponderance of Nāga worship in the area round Chamba town. It is likewise probable that the Churah group came direct from the Western Punjab whereas the Brahmor group which so quickly adopted Hinduism, may have become susceptible to it by a closer contact with Indian civilization deeper in the interior of India. There are a few clues in such a direction, legendary, but not without value. Meruvarman mentions as the ancestor of his line a certain Mushunavarman whom later folk tradition has surrounded with curious legends of his having been exposed, saved by mice and miraculously recognized as the royal child. Suchlike stories might be brushed aside but for two reasons. First, this type of story is, in primitive folklore, very commonly connected with heroes and dynasty founders. This would mean that Mushunavarman cannot have been some genuine Kshatriya prince, but a tribal chieftain. Second, the Chamba tradition has preserved these legends even after it had forgotten that Mushunavarman had been the founder of Meruvarman's house. In other words, the stories cannot be simply a later invention, but represent a genuine and very old tradition. For in the Chamba Vamśāvalī Mushunavarman is placed into the dark period (of Pratihara or Kashmiri suzerainty?) after Meruvarman's next successors. In his place a rājā Maru, culled from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, is mentioned as the founder of the dynasty which in this way is connected by a long, and no doubt, faked pedigree with the glorious house of the Rāghavas. But why just Maru? Had it been pure fancy to select just this figure as link with the Purānic tradition, or had there existed some, perhaps misunderstood, tradition influencing this selection? For in its present form the Vamśāvalī is very late (end of the 16th century), and probably its detailed Purānic pedigree had been fabricated during this last redaction, elaborating an unspecified claim of Sūryavamśa origin already pronounced by Meruvarman. Nevertheless, already Dr. Vogel has observed that the Vamśāvalī contains many valuable and often trustworthy traditions. May we assume that the descent of the Brahmor dynasty from Maru is such a misunderstood tradition, and that behind the historically impossible rājā Maru there hides the country Maru, i.e. Marwar which just in the 7th century had been the centre of Gurjara power?

As already mentioned, the later conscious obliteration by the Gurjaras of their barbarian origins, makes it impossible, and will probably do so for ever, to elucidate their early history with absolute certainty. But within this limitation I hope to have been able to demonstrate that early Chamba offers us a peep into this obscure period, that in Churah we find, in the local fountain stones, remnants of an alien, apparently nomadic Iranian civilization which with strong reasons may be identified with that of the Gurjaras before their Hinduization, and that in 7th century Brahmor we can follow the process of the Hinduization of another group possibly coming from Marwar.

H. GOETZ.

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10. Devaprasada, Feudatory of Vallapura, and Ajayapala and Indrapala, Feudatories of Chamba.

11. Vogel, *Antiquities*, I, pl. 29*b*, dedicated by Rana Nagapala in 1159/61; Ujfalvy, *Aus dem Westlichen Himalaya*, Leipzic, 1884.

12. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum*, p. 6; Cunningham, *Arch. Survey Report*, XIV, p. 81.

PALÆOGRAPHIC RIDDLES

The inscriptions of the Gupta period present many palæographic riddles. The first was presented by the copperplate inscriptions of the Vākāṭaka prince Pravarasena II. Bühler assigned these plates to the fifth or sixth century A.D. But this is now contradicted by the fact that Devagupta, father of Prabhāvatīgupta, is no other than Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta family. The plates of Pravarasena II, therefore, cannot be later than the fourth century A.D.

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The second riddle that may be considered here is presented by the inscription of Chandragupta II found at Mathura, dated G.E. 61. The characters of this second are practically identical with those of the Kushāṇa epigraphs. In fact it is well-nigh impossible to say that this was a Gupta and not a Kushāṇa record, if it had not contained the name of the Gupta king Chandragupta II. The inscription was edited by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in *E.I.*, Vol. XXI, the facsimile of which faces page 8. Nay, these characteristics are noticeable in the script not only of the Kushāṇa but also of the early Kshatrapa or Nahapāna periods. What is more queer is that at this Mathura has been found a pedestal inscription referring itself to the 14th year of a Kushāṇa king called Kanishka. The typically eastern Gupta forms of *ma*, *sa* and *ha* are found in this record. It is reasonable to understand that Kanishka of this record is Kanishka of the later Great Kushāṇa or the Kushāṇaputra family who most probably originated the Kalachuri era. The year of that inscription, therefore, becomes equivalent to A.D. 263. This brings the record sufficiently close to the time of the rise of the Gupta power. It is indeed exceedingly curious that the Pillar inscription of Chandragupta II, G.E. 61, and the Pedestal inscription of the Kushāṇa year 14 should be found at one and the same place, namely at Mathura. It is still more curious to note that there is the second inscription of Chandragupta II at Mathura. There the characters are neither of the Kushāṇa period nor of the Eastern Gupta variety, but of the Central Indian form of the Gupta alphabet. What is, however, most curious is that an inscription has been found at Gaḍha (Jasdan) in Kāṭhiāwār of the time of the Mahākshatrapa Rudrasēna, dated Śaka 127 to A.D. 205. If we carefully examine the facsimile of this inscription facing page 237 of *E.I.*, Vol. XVI, we note that the letters *ma* and *ha* are engraved sometimes in Eastern Indian and sometimes in Central Indian variety of the Gupta alphabet. It is an enigma how letters of both these Gupta varieties were in existence as early as A.D. 205 to the date of the Jasdan inscription, that is, certainly prior even to the rise of the Gupta power. It would be the height of absurdity to call them Gupta characters at all, and above all to style them, as the Eastern Gupta variety when the Jasdan inscription is not only of the pre-Gupta period but is situated far distant to the south-west of Pāṭaliputra.

JYOTISH CHANDRA GHATAK.

LIFE IN INDIA AS REVEALED IN THE CHĀNDOGYOPANIṢAD

The word *Upaniṣad* is derived from the verb 'up-ni-sad' by adding the suffix 'kvip', which means 'to sit down near some one' for the purpose of removing nescience through secret communication with him. We find that the expression 'iti rahasyam' and 'iti Upaniṣad' are frequently used in the text, in the sense of 'thus says the secret doctrine'. The essential theme of the *Upaniṣads* is how to obtain jñāna. These *Upaniṣads* form the very backbone of all later philosophical literature.

There are over two hundred Upaniṣads or more of which the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* which belongs to the *Sāmaveda* is one of the earliest ones. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar holds that 'nobody doubts that this Upaniṣad was put together in the North of India, especially in the Puñjāb, and the Sanskrit language in which it is composed represents the current speech of the day.' It is written in prose.

According to Śaṅkarācārya it is a characteristic of the *Upaniṣads* to introduce stories for the purpose of making the teaching easily intelligible and also for laying down the procedure by which the teaching is to be imparted and received. Therefore we find here as in other Upaniṣads several stories.

Besides what it teaches, we can also glean out of it a few ideas about the contemporary state of society and its people. I have tried in the present paper to put together all such information from the text.

1. Family life.

Āśramas.—The *Chāndogya* has divided the life of a man into the traditional four *āśramas,* viz. Brahmacarya, Gārhasthya, Vānaprastha and Sannyāsa. About the last two our information is very meagre, because the Upanisads deal with teachings which are given only to the first two classes. The rest do not require the teachings of the Upaniṣads.

Brahmacarya.—The *Brāhmaṇas* have recognized the long period of studentship. Similarly, in the *Chāndogya* it is said that Indra lived with Prajāpati as a pupil no less than one hundred and five years. It appears that generally at the age of twelve a religious student went to the teacher's place to learn the science of Brahman and used to stay there for twelve years. ('स (श्वेतकेतुः) ह द्वादशवर्ष उपेत्य चतुर्विंशतिवर्षः सर्वान्वेदानधीत्य' VI. 2. 1.) Sometimes, the Brahmacārin had to stay even longer according to his capacity.

A Brahmacārin used to go to the teacher's place for learning the secrets of Brahmajñāna and was not merely to pass his days without it. Generally the father or any head of the family sent the Brahmacārin to his teacher's place. As Śvetaketu's father said to him, 'Śvetaketu, live the life of a religious student, for there is none belonging to our family, who has ever been unlearned and hence Brāhmaṇa only in name' (V. 1. 1). But sometimes the boy himself went to the teacher's place. So also the admission of Satyakāma, son of Jābāla to studentship seemed to be his own voluntary choice (IV. 4. 1). It was still often the custom for a son to receive instruction at the hands of his father, as in the case of Śvetaketu, but he often went to other teachers also at the instance of his father.

After the student had learnt the knowledge his face became illumined and he could not conceal it (ब्रह्मविद इव ते मुखं भाति).

The initiation ceremony was performed according to the family to which one belonged as in the case of Satyakāma (IV. 4. 4). But there is one reference where the teaching was granted without initiating the religious students (तान्हानुपनीयैवैतदुवाच V. 11. 7). Usually the religious students approached their teacher in a recognized way that is to say 'with a fuel in the hands as a sign that he is desirous of serving and helping him to maintain his sacred fire' (समित्पाणयः पूर्वाह्णे प्रतिचक्रमिरे V. 11. 7).

The knowledge of Brahman which is the main teaching of the Upaniṣads may be imparted by the father to the eldest son or to a trusted pupil but not to another, whoever he may be, even if the latter gave him the whole of the earth, sorrounded by the waters and filled with treasures. The pupil had to go to the teacher's place to learn the jñāna. Only after repeated entreaty and urging of the pupil, the preceptor should reveal the knowledge to him. This is well illustrated in the story of Virocana and Indra. There we find that Indra and Virocana stayed for thirty-two years with Prajāpati who did not tell them the whole truth at once but gradually, according to the capacity of Indra.

If a Brahmacārin had a mental anguish due to the non-fulfilment of his duties, he did not take his food (बह्व इमेऽस्मिन्पुरुषे कामा नानात्यया व्याधिभिः प्रतिपूर्णोऽस्मि नाशिष्यामीति IV. 10. 1). These religious students used to have discussions among themselves on controversial points as we have in the present day (उद्गीथे वै कुशलाः स्मः हन्त उद्गीथे कथां वदामः I. 8. 1).

Sometimes, the disciple concealed the teachings which he had learnt from other sources, desirous to know more from his own teacher (कोनु मानुशिष्याद्भो एतीह्यायेव निह्नुत IV. 14. 3).

The non-human beings also could speak like the human beings and impart teachings to a religious student. All these have got consciousness and through the mysterious grace of God, they could, in those days, express their knowledge to a deserving student. Cows and aquatic bird (हंसः) taught Satyakāma. Inanimate objects such as fire, with the help of its presiding deity (VI. 3. 2-3), could also speak like a human being and give discourses (IV. 6. 2).

The period of studentship was looked upon not only as a period of learning, but it was also a period of strict discipline. From the story of Upakosala (IV. 10. 1-2) and that of Satyakāma (IV. 4. 5) we learn that no teaching was given for several years after initiating them as disciples, but those appeared to be rare instances. A Brahmacārin had to work for his teacher in the household and field, attending his fires,[1] fetching fuel,[2] taking care of his cattle,[3] and begging alms for him.[4] The religious students were also taught not to cause pain to any living beings except in places specially ordained, throughout his life.[5] Thus, it appears that they did not like to do any Himsā consciously. The pupil studied the Veda 'during the time left after performing his duties' such as those mentioned above to the teacher.[6]

Gārhasthya.—After the period of studentship, the Brahmacārin went to his place to lead a Gārhasthya life (cf. *Śānkarabhāṣya*—अभिसमावृत्य धर्मजिज्ञासां समापयित्वा गुरुकुलान्निवृत्य न्यायतः दारानाहृत्य कुटुम्बे स्थित्वा गार्हस्थ्ये विहिते कर्मणि तिष्ठन्नित्यर्थः VIII. 15. 1).

There were three duties of a householder, viz. (1*a*) Performance of the sacrifice (*yajña*); (1*b*) Study (*adhyayana*); (1*c*) Charity (*dāna*); (2) Austerity (*tapas*); (3) 'The religious student resident in the teacher's house, constantly mortifying himself in the teacher's house' (*Brahmacāryācārya kulavāsi*). He who had performed these duties, would attain the Blessed Regions (II. 23. 1).

Other Āśramas.—In one passage in the *Chāndogya*, there is mention of only the Brahmacārin and the Gṛhastha, while in another passage[7] the *tapas* (asceticism) of the ascetic is mentioned along with these as the third branch of the *āśrama*. 'They are not, however, regarded so much as a progressive series as alternatives.'

Castes.—At the time of the *Chāndogyopaniṣad*, all the four castes, viz. Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra were distinctly recognized. The *Chāndogyopaniṣad* says that Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas or Vaiśyas are all born in accordance with their good or bad deeds, and if they will continue to do their present duties they will attain the same caste in the next birth. If they will have bad character, they would attain birth of a dog, the birth of a hog, or that of a caṇḍāla.[8]

Brāhmaṇa.—The *Chāndogya* makes a clear distinction between a Brāhmaṇa and one who knows also Brahmajñāna. Brāhmaṇas were straightforward by their very nature. When Gautama-Haridrumata asked Satyakāma-Jābāla to what family he belonged, Satyakāma did not conceal all that his mother had told him. Then the teacher said, 'None but a Brāhmaṇa could thus speak out (नैतदब्राह्मणो विवक्तुमर्हति IV. 4. 5).

From the Śruti we know that the Brāhmaṇas are the visible deities ('एते वै देवाः प्रत्यक्षं यद्ब्राह्मणाः'). If these Brāhmaṇas are decried, it means the decrying of the deities. Similarly, we find that at this age Brāhmaṇas were also not decried (ब्राह्मणान्न विंदेत् II. 20. 2).

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[1] अग्नीन् परिचचार IV. 10. 1.

[2] IV. 4. 5.

[3] IV. 4. 5.

[4] परिविष्यमाणौ ब्रह्मचारी बिभिक्षे IV. 3. 5.

[5] अहिंसन्सर्वभूतान्यन्यत्र तीर्थेभ्यः VIII. 15. 1.

[6] कर्मातिशेषेणाभिसमावृत्य VIII. 15. 1.

[7] VIII. 15. 1.

[8] इह रमणीयचरणा अभ्याशो ह यत्ते रमणीयां योनिमापद्येरन् ब्राह्मणयोनिं वा क्षत्रिययोनिं वा वैश्ययोनिं वाथ य इह कपूयचरणा अभ्याशो ह यत्ते कपूयां योनिमापद्येरञ्श्वयोनिं वा सूकरयोनिं वा चण्डालयोनिम्।

The Ācāryas were great householders (महाशालाः V. 2. 3). They were Brāhmaṇas. Whenever they went to any king's place, the king 'offered to them separately with proper rites' (पृथगर्हाणि कारयाञ्चकार V. 2. 5).

The teachers had servants in spite of the Brahmacāris (दत्तास्मै भिक्षामित्यवोचद्भृत्यान् IV. 3. 7). They had many cows with them. They gave some of these cows to their disciples and asked them not to return before the number of the cows went up to twice or more. So we find that these Brahmacāris had to follow these cows for several years (IV. 4. 5).

The Brāhmaṇa knowing Brahman used to live in such places as the bank of a river or in some quiet or lonely places. This has been interpreted by Śaṅkara for *yatra* in the text यत्र ह इति ब्राह्मणस्य अन्वेषणा (IV. 1. 7).

Kinds of Priests.—There were Hotṛ-Priest, Adhvaryu-Priest, Pratihātṛ-Priest, Prastotṛ-Priest and Udgātṛ-Priest. Priests used to settle beforehand their Dakṣiṇā as Uṣasti did with his yajamāna. These priests had to perform sacrifices. The desires of the sacrificer were fulfilled by meditation upon *OM*, the Udgītha. The sacrificial fees were austerity, charity, uprightness, non-violence and truthfulness (तपो दानमार्जवमहिंसा सत्यवचनमिति ता अस्य दक्षिणाः III. 17. 4). Sometimes the ignorant persons also performed the priestly functions. As in the story of Uṣasti we find that the Prastotṛ-Priest, Udgātṛ-Priest and Pratihatṛ-Priest were performing the sacrifices without knowing their respective deities. A good sacrificer used to sleep on a skin or on the ground.[1] Kings used to perform sacrifices (राजासौ यक्षते I. 10. 6).

Wealth and Prosperity of Brāhmaṇas.—Generally these Brāhmaṇas were very poor, but sometimes they had wealth through dakṣiṇā received in the sacrifices. Cows were supposed to be the signs of prosperity as Janaśruti's great-grandson came to Raikva with six hundred cows, but Raikva refused to go to his place till he increased the number of cows to a thousand.

Kṣatriya.—The king belonged to the Kṣatriya caste. He was learned and took interest in the philosophical discussions. Kṣatriyas were also experts in Udgītha. Sometimes they were more learned than the ācārya. As we see that king Pravāhaṇa taught the Pañcāgni to Guru Gautama, the Brāhmaṇa.

One of them Pravāhaṇa-Jaibāli by name said, 'I shall listen to the talk of two Brāhmaṇas conversing.'[2] Śaṅkara says that the term 'two Brāhmaṇas' is indicative of the fact that Pravāhaṇa-Jaibāli was a Kṣatriya and the other two Silaka-Sālāvatya and Caikitāna-Dālbhya were Brāhmaṇas. Thus we find that Kṣatriyas were learned and by nature more forward.

Peculiar as it may sound, the *Chāndogya* says that originally the Kṣatriyas alone had Brahmajñāna which they passed on to the Brāhmaṇa later on.[3] Thus Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya alone were entitled to meditate upon the Self (VIII. 14. 1).

Vaiśya.—Although the text has mentioned the Vaiśyas or Viśas, several times, but we do not gather anything about them.

Śūdra.—A Śūdra was not entitled to acquire jñāna. In the story of Raikva, however, a king though not a Śūdra is addressed as such simply because the latter did not deserve the knowledge of Brahman, under certain circumstances.

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[1] संविशति चर्मणि वा स्थण्डिले V. 2. 7.

[2] भगवन्तावग्रे वदतां ब्राह्मणयोर्वदतोर्वाचं श्रोष्यामीति I. 8. 2.

[3] न प्राक्त्वत्तः पुरा विद्या ब्राह्मणान् गच्छति तस्मादु सर्वेषु लोकेषु क्षत्रस्यैव प्रशासनमभूत् V. 3. 7.

Branches of Learning.—At the time of the *Chāndogya*, the Śāstras which a person could learn were the *Ṛgveda*, the *Yajurveda*, the *Sāmaveda* and the *Atharvaṇa*, the *Itihāsa-Purāṇa* which is considered to be the fifth of the Vedas, Grammar, the Science of Portents, the Science of Treasures, Logic (*Vākovāka*), the Science of Ethics, (*Ekāyana*), the Science of Philology (*Devavidyā*), the Vedic Science (*Brahmavidyā*) the Physical Science (*Bhūtavidyā*), the Science of Snakes (*Sarpavidyā*) and the Science of Celestials (*Devajanavidyā*).

Qualities found in a Man.—People were generally truthful, sympathetic and dutiful. That people were also *Rājasika* is clear from the fact that they were called 'Rudras'.

It appears that a sage could take the remnants of others alone for saving his life when it was in danger of collapsing for want of food, as Uṣasti had done. But just after the *Prāṇa-rakṣā*, he would not take what is contaminated, as for instance, the same Uṣasti refused to drink water, because it was remnant, for he could live without water for the time being.

Position of Women in the Society.—Women were compassionate and sympathetic particularly towards students as in the story of Upakosala. The husband used to take the food first and then he gave to his wife. This fact is found in the story of Uṣasti-Cākrāyaṇa. They were truthful as the mother of Satyakāma.

Marriage.—The sage used to marry and lead the life of a householder. Child-marriage was prevalent at the time of the *Chāndogya*, as Uṣasti had (आटिक्या सह जाययोषस्तिर्ह etc., I. 10. 1).

Duration or Span of Life.—A man could live for a hundred and sixteen years, if he followed the Brahmacarya life (III. 16. 7).

Conception of Birth and Death.—A man lived in this world doing his deeds up to the full-span which was determined by his past actions. The Upaniṣad says that there are hundred and one arteries of a heart of which one goes to the head. The Prāṇa of a Yogin goes out through this single artery (called *Suṣumnā*), who gets *mokṣa* and through other arteries the spirit of ordinary man goes out and he gets the region according to his action.[1]

At the time of the death of a person all his relatives assembled together.[2] In order to determine whether the dying person was alive or dead, the persons around him used to enquire from the dying man often whether he recognized them or not. When a person who had no faith did not give gifts and did not perform sacrifices, expired, the people decked the body of the dead with food wrappings and ornaments.[3] The idea was that they were securing the other world for him. At the time of the death the priest performed obsequies because the dead became absorbed in the deity ensouling the light. After the death of a king the priests took his dead body and burnt him. If the dead body was of an ordinary man, their sons or relatives carried it and burnt it to ashes. It tells us of the custom of burning the dead body prevalent even in those days. At the time of the burning of a dead body, people took the help of a poker (उत्क्रान्तप्राणाञ्छूलेन समासं व्यतिसंदहेत् VII. 15. 2).

When a Brahmajñānin passed away, 'he went to the Bright Fortnight; from the Bright Fortnight to the *Uttarāyaṇa*; from the Months to the Year and from the Year to the Sun; from the Sun to the Moon; from the Moon to the Lightning; and then a person carried him to Brahman.' Thus he did not return to this world. This was known as the Devapatha or the Brahmapatha. And those persons 'who living in villages, had meditated upon sacrifices and works of public utility and charity, passed on to Smoke; from Smoke to Night; from Night to the *Kṛṣṇapakṣa*; from the *Kṛṣṇapakṣa* to the *Dakṣiṇāyana*; from there they do not reach the Year. From the Months to the Region of the Fathers; from there to Ākāśa; from the Ākāśa to the Moon. Having dwelt there till exhaustion, they returned again by the same path as they came to Ākāśa.' This is known as the *Pitṛyānamārga* (V. 10. 2–5).

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[1] शतं चैका च हृदयस्य नाड्यस्तासां मूर्धानमभिनिःसृतैका । तयोर्ध्वमायन्नमृतत्वमेति विष्वङ्ङन्या उत्क्रमणे भवन्त्युत्क्रमणे भवन्ति VIII. 6. 6.

[2] पुरुषं सोम्योतोपतापितं ज्ञातयः पर्युपासते VI. 15. 1.

[3] अद्येहाददानमश्रद्दधानमयजमानमाहुरासुरो बतेत्यसुराणां ह्येषोपनिषत्प्रेतस्य शरीरं भिक्षया वसनेनालंकारेणेति संस्कुर्वन्ति VIII. 8. 5.

System of Naming.—A man was named after the name of his father such as, Prācīnaśālā-Aupamanyava, Satyayajña-Paulsuṣi. That is Prācīnaśālā was the name of the son of Upamanya. Similarly, Satyayajña was the name of the son of Palaṣa. We also find that a man may have two names and may belong to two particular *gotras*, as *Bako Dalbhyo Gālavo vā Maitreya*. He is called a *Dvyāmuṣyāyana* that is born of two families—one by birth and another by adoption. It should not be taken to be mentioning two different names. So says the Smṛti—' द्विनामा द्विगोत्र इत्यादि हि स्मृतिः' ।

One's Relation towards his Elders.—In that age, the people used to respect their elders too much. If any one said harsh word to his father, mother, brother, sister, teacher or a Brāhmaṇa, he was called a father-killer, a mother-killer and so on (VII. 15. 2).

Creatures and Animals.—The *Upaniṣad* mentions the following animals and creatures: wolf, boar, worm, insect, gadflies, mosquitoes, ant, fish and bees, and says that these creatures take birth and rebirth as they are.[1]

Besides, the following domestic animals are also mentioned: ox, monkey, mare, goat, cow, hog, sheep, horse, elephant and mule. It is gathered from the *Upaniṣad* that some of these animals were learned and they could speak in language which human beings could understand and gave discourses to Brahmacārins.

Madg'u, the aquatic bird, and the Flemingo bird could also talk and discuss among themselves about the charitable deeds of persons. The other known bird was heron (*krauncha*).

There were probably locusts which laid waste the fields of the country. In the passage *maṭacī-hateṣu kurusuātikyā saha jāyayā* evidently the devastation of the crops in the Kuru country is spoken of. All the commentators except one have taken *maṭacī* to mean 'hailstones', but one commentator says, *raktavarṇāḥ kṣudrapakṣiviśeṣāḥ* as an alternative equivalent. This shows that these 'red-coloured winged creatures' would have been no other than locusts which laid waste the fields of the Kuru country. This meaning of the commentator is confirmed by the fact that *maṭacī* is a Sanskritized form of the well-known Kanāḍi word *Miḍice* meaning 'a grasshopper, a locust' (cf. Kittel's Dictionary) which is used this day in the Dhārwar District of the Bombay Presidency.

There used to be such fine horse, which uprooted the pegs to which it is tethered (यथा सुहयः पड्वीशशङ्कून् संखिदेत् V. 1. 12).

It appears that people reared birds. They used to tie birds with strings probably as their amusements (यथा शकुनिः सूत्रेण प्रबद्धः VI. 7. 1).

House.—There used to be houses, but we have no account of its structures. The word *parigham* (II. 24. 6) shows that probably they had a knowledge of bolting the doors which they used in their houses for locking purposes.

Ornaments and Decorations.—Niṣka (necklace) was an ornament but we do not know of what shape and of what nature it was made. We find the mention of garlands and perfumes for the purpose of decoration. They used to be well-adorned, well-dressed and well-groomed.[2]

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[1] IV. 9. 2.

[2] अलङ्कृतौ सुवसनौ परिष्कृतौ VIII. 9. 2.

There used to be some sort of *vāsa*. We cannot say that they were made of cotton or not, although cotton was not unknown to them (V. 24. 3).

Food and Drink: Grains.—Vrihī, Kulamāṣa, Syamāka, Yava, Sarpa, were known.

Fruits, Trees, etc.—The fruits known were āmalaka, kola and akṣa. There were *aśvatha* and banyan trees. The lotus was not unknown to them.

Ghee.—It appears that people were drinking milk and eating *ghee* in abundance. They knew that of the curd when it had been churned, the subtlest part rose up to the top and it became *sarpi* (VI. 6. 1).

Wine.—Wine drinking was not unknown to them. But it was looked down by the populace.

Slavery.—Slavery was prevalent at that time. Even the religious teachers used to have slave-girls (Dāsī, V. 13. 2).

Disease.—Itching seems to be an old disease known to them. The other known diseases were 'shattering of the trunk' (संदेहस्ते व्यशीर्यत् V. 15. 2), 'bursting of the bladder' (बस्तिस्ते व्यभेत्स्यद्यत्) and 'fading of feet' (पादौ ते व्यम्लास्येतां V. 17. 2).

Musical Instruments.—The word *Vāditra* shows that there were four kinds of musical instruments: (*a*) Tata (such as Vīṇā, Sairandharī, etc.); (*b*) Anaddha (such as Muraha Paṭaha, etc.); (*c*) Suṣira (such as Vaṁśī, Saṅkha, etc.); (*d*) Ghana (such as Kānsytāla, Jharjhara, etc.). All these musical instruments were known as *Vāditra*.

(Cf. ततं वीणादिकं वाद्यमानद्धं मुरजादिकम् ।
वंश्यादिकन्तु सुषिरङ्कांस्यतालादिकं घनम् ॥
चतुर्विधमिदं वाद्यं वादित्रातोद्यनामकम् ।
—अमरकोष I. 7. 4.)

2. Social life.

Agriculture.—India is an agricultural country from the time immemorial. So at this time also it was a profession of a class of people to plough fields and cultivate all sorts of corn in their proper season.

Season.—For this purpose, probably they had divided a year into five Ṛtus, viz. (*a*) Spring (Vasanta); (*b*) Summer (Grīṣma); (*c*) Rainy (Varṣa); (*d*) Autumn (Śarat); (*e*) Winter (Hemanta). Often failure of harvest was due to the havoc caused by *maṭicī*. There was famine and people had to leave their houses and beg from door to door for their livelihood.

Beneficial Deeds.—Alms were given to the people. Religious students used to beg alms for the teacher. The pious people built rest houses for the poor all round to come and live in. These people also cooked plenty of food in their houses and supplied free of cost to those who lived in their rest houses.

If any one did not perform any beneficial deed and did not believe in the performance of sacrifices, he was called *āsura* (demonical) by the civilized and cultured people (आददानमश्रद्दधानमयजमानमाहुरासुरो VIII. 8. 3).

Industry.—At that time people knew to join gold by salt, silver by gold, tin by silver, lead by tin, iron by lead, wood by iron, and wood by leather.[1] This shows that people could make several of their articles from them. Although we cannot name them from the text except the chariot and the necklace. The chariot seems to be yoked with a pair of mules (अश्वतरीरथं IV. 2. 1). It had wheels. The spokes of the wheel were fastened to a nave (यथा अरा नाभौ समर्पिता VII. 15. 1).

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[1] लवणेन सुवर्णं संदध्यात्सुवर्णेन रजतं रजतेन त्रपु त्रपुणा सीसं सीसेन लोहं लोहेन दारु दारु चर्मणा IV. 17. 7.

They knew to make nail-clippers of iron with which they cleaned their nails (नखनिकृन्तनेन सर्वं कार्ष्णायसं VI. 1. 6).

They had a knowledge of a looking-glass (आदर्शे XIII. 7. 4).

They could also make goblet and cup. These goblets and cups could be easily washed (निर्णिज्य कसं चमसं वा V. 2. 7).

Colours.—We learn that the people had a knowledge of the following colours: Śukla, Nīla, Pīta, Lohita, Kṛṣṇa and Kapiśa.

Medical Knowledge.—According to this *Upaniṣad*, the food eaten has been divided into three parts, viz. 'its grossest matter becomes faeces; the middling part, flesh and the subtlest part, mind. Water, drunk has been divided into three parts, that is, its grossest matter becomes urine; the middling matter becomes blood and the subtlest matter becomes the life-breath. And fire eaten in the form of oil, clarified butter and the rest has been divided into threefold, viz. 'the grossest matter becomes bone, the middling matter becomes marrow, and the subtlest matter becomes speech.' This shows that by the use of *ghee* and oil one could improve his speech which was well practised in those days. Thus we find that they had a good knowledge of the structure of the body. It is also found that a man could live for 15 days without taking food, but he could not live without water (VI. 5. 1–3).

Who were the Patitas?—A person who had stolen gold belonging to the Brāhmaṇa, one who had killed a Brāhmaṇa, one who had dishonoured the teacher's bed and one who had associated himself with these—all of them were regarded as a *patita* (i.e. fallen from the status of the social order).

Crimes: Gambling and Theft.—Gambling was not unknown. It appears to be one of the important indoor games (IV. 1. 4).

That the art of stealing was known to them is clear from the fact that if a man was suspected that he had taken another's property, the king's officers held him and gave him a heated axe. If he had really committed the theft, he was burnt and later on, killed by the officers. If not, he was not burnt and later on, released. This was a terrible ordeal for finding out the truth. The culprit was killed for telling a lie, a harsh treatment indeed.[1]

There were robbers who brought men from the Gandhāra regions with their eyes bound up and left them in desolate places such as forests. It shows that the North-West Frontier was not safe. There used to be some officers who often liberated these men and directed them to their country (VI. 14. 2).

Dreams.—If a sacrificer had seen a woman in the dream he knew that his business would succeed.[2] Thus we see that they had faith in dreams.

Minstrel.—There was a class of people called *kṣatṛ* (bard) who attended the king with prayers, etc. when he woke up in the early morning.

3. Political life.

The King.—A king was called aśvapati, Rājā, and so on. It was a monarchical age. He used to punish the offenders. Subjects were loyal to their king. They went to those places where their king ordered them to go without any hesitation.[3]

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[1] VI. 16. 2. Some people doubt about the date of this particular passage, but there is no justification.

[2] स्त्रियं स्वप्नेषु पश्यति समृद्धिं तत्र जानीयात्तस्मिन्स्वप्ननिदर्शने V. 2. 8.

[3] यथा ह्येवेह प्रजा अन्वाविशन्ति यथानुशासनं यं यमन्तमभिकामा भवन्ति यं जनपदं यं क्षेत्रभागं तं तमेवोपजीवन्ति VIII. 1. 5.

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Political Organization: City.—A city was called a *janapada.* It appears that the country was divided into many *janapadas.* We know only one city of Brahman, viz. *aparājita* (the unconquered) by name. There is also mention of the Gandhāra regions and the Pañcālas.

There were villages. One village was connected with the other by roads. These roads were sometimes too long.

Rivers, Lakes, etc.—There were two oceans, 'Ara' and 'Nya' in the third heaven and there was Airammadīya lake. At several places the word 'river' is mentioned but we cannot say which rivers they referred to. We do not gather much geographical information from this *Upaniṣad.*

Assembly.—The king used to have an assembly. He took keen interest in discussions. The king held intellectual tournaments with debates and discussions to thrash out the truth in these assemblies. They were thus a potent factor in stimulating thought and diffusing knowledge.

Assembly halls and palaces might have been constructed with materials like tin, iron, wood, and so on. We have a reference to the palace on the roof of which the king used to sit and discuss.

Means of Warfare.—We have no reference to the war and the means of warfare except the mention of the bow in I. 3. 5.

4. Moral and spiritual life.

Gods and Image Worship.—No mention of image worship is found in the *Chāndogya,* but that they believed in Saguṇopāsanā is clear from the fact that *Udgītha, OM,* etc. have been mentioned as objects of meditation. And image worship is nothing but a kind of Saguṇopāsanā. This developed into image worship later on.

Even gods and *asuras* had to pass through asceticism and they had to clear off all their impurities. As we find that God Indra and Virocana, an *asura,* had to go to Prajāpati to learn Brahman.

The other deities known were Brahmā, Āditya, Vasu, Maruta, Varuṇa, Rudra, Skanda and Savitṛ, the progenitor of all beings.

From the above we may conclude that the period was a very prosperous one. It appears that the kingdoms were also very prosperous and well-governed, and the people were left free to pursue the arts of peace. At the same time, too much stress should not be laid on such a vain boast as that of Aśvapati Kekaya, who, according to the *Chāndogya,* claims that he had cleared his kingdom of all thieves, drunkards, debauchees and illiterate men.[1] From the reference it may be said that crimes like drinking, debauchery, etc. were also known in those days. Illiteracy was also not unknown to them. This is in brief what we can glean out of this *Upaniṣad.*

VIJAYAKANTA MISHRA.

THE DOCTRINE OF KARMA IN JAINISM[2]

The doctrine of action which Mahāvīra taught went to make men conscious of their responsibility for all their acts, mental, vocal or bodily. The same also awakened the consciousness that salvation was not a gift of favour but an attainment within human possibility. In Jainism *karma* may be worked off by austerity, service rendered to ascetics, or to the poor, the helpless and the suffering by giving them food, water, shelter or clothing. *Karma* does not mean a deed or some invisible mystical force. It is nothing but a complexity of a very subtle matter which is super-sensuous and which pervades the whole world. The word *karma* is derived from the verb *Kṛ*, meaning to do. The Jains believe it to be the result of actions arising out of four sources: (1) the first source of *karma* is attachment to worldly things such as food, raiment, dwelling place, women, etc., (2) *karma* is produced by uniting one's body, mind and speech with worldly things, (3) *karma* is engendered by giving the rein to anger, pride, deceit or greed. It should be borne in mind [1] that a man's action becomes an obstacle to the progress of soul if greatly influenced by such *kaṣāyas* as anger, pride, deceit or greed or any of their sixteen divisions or the nine *Nokaṣāya*,[2] and (4) lastly false belief is a fruitful source of *karma*.

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[1] Cf. न मे स्तेनो जनपदे न कदर्यो न मद्यपः ।
नानाहिताग्निर्न चाविद्वान्न स्वैरी स्वैरिणी कुतः ॥ IV. 11. 5.

[2] An amplification of writer's *Jain view of karma* published in *Bhāratīya Vidyā,* Vol. VI, Nos. 7 and 8, pp. 145–147. This article has been written mainly based on the books included in the Jain *Aṅgas* and *Upāṅgas* which are the only reliable sources of information.

In Hinduism we find that God inflicts punishment for evil *karma* whereas in Jainism *karma* accumulates energy and automatically works it off without any outside intervention. The Hindus think of *karma* as formless while the Jains think of it as having form. According to the popular Hindu belief *karma* is a sum total of man's action in a previous birth, determining his future destiny which is unalterable. Its effect remains until it is exhausted through suffering or enjoyment.

In Buddhism *karma* is ultimately reduced to the psychological factor of volition. Volition is the unique determination of will. Will exercise has its power over its co-existent mental properties and physical qualities. In fact all our activities in deed, word or thought are due to its influence. The doctrine of *karma* according to the Buddhists is inseparably bound up with that of renewed existence. The world exists through *karma* and people live through *karma*. (*kammanā vattati loko, kammanā vattati pajā*).

Karma plays an important part in Jain metaphysics. The Jains divide *karma* according to its nature, duration, essence and content. *Karma* is intimately bound up with the soul. According to the Jains there are eight kinds of karma: the first kind hides knowledge from us (*jñānāvaraṇīya karma*), the second kind prevents us from beholding the true faith (*darśanāvaraṇīya*), the third kind causes us to experience either the sweetness of happiness or the bitterness of misery (*vedanīya karma*), the fourth kind which is known as the *mohanīya karma* bemuses all the human faculties. It results from worldly attachments and indulgence of the passions. The fifth kind determines the length of time which a *jīva* must spend in the form with which his karma has endowed him (*āyu karma*), the sixth *karma* known as *nāma-karma* decides, which of the four states or conditions shall be our particular *gati*. There are many divisions of *nāma-karma*. The seventh kind is *gotra-karma*. It is the *gotra* or the caste which determines a man's life, his occupation, the locality in which he may live, his marriage, his religious observances and even his food.[3] There are two chief divisions of this *karma*. It decides whether a living being shall be born in a high or in a low caste family. The last and the eighth kind is the *antarāya karma*, the *karma* which always stands as an obstacle, e.g. lābhāntarāya, bhogāntarāya, upabhogāntarāya and vīryāntarāya.[4] The totality of *karma* amalgamated by a soul induces on it a transcendental colour, a kind of complexion, which cannot be perceived by our eyes.

The Jains hold that the soul while on the first step (*mithyātvaguṇasthānaka*) is completely under the influence of *karma* and knows nothing of the truth.[5] The soul whirling round and round in the cycle of rebirth loses some of its crudeness and attains to the state which enables it to distinguish between what is false and what is true. A soul remains in an uncertain condition, one moment knowing the truth and the next doubting it. A man has either through the influence of his past good deeds or by the teachings of his *guru* obtained true faith. He then realizes the great importance of conduct and can take the twelve vows. The Jains believe that as soon as a man reaches the state of an *Ayogikevalīguṇasthānaka*, all his *karma* is purged away and he proceeds at once to *mokṣa* as a *siddha*.

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[1] In the Agrahāyaṇa issue of the *Bhāratavarṣa*, a Bengali monthly, Mr. Shamsukha has misunderstood it.

[2] Mrs. S. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 174.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 182.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 183.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 185. Here first step means first stage.

According to the Pāli *Nikāyas* an ancient householder teacher of India was the first expounder of the doctrine of action.[1] The Jaina *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* speaks of various types of *kriyāvāda* then current in India (I. 6. 27; I. 10. 17). Buddhism was promulgated as a form of *kriyāvāda* or *karmavāda*. According to Mahāvīra *kriyāvāda* of Jainism is shortly distinguished from *akriyāvāda* (doctrine of non-action), *ajñānavāda* (scepticism) and *vinayavāda* (formalism), precisely as in the word of the Buddha. Kriyāvāda of Buddhism is distinguished from *satkāyadṛṣṭi* involving various types of akriyā, vicikitsā (scepticism) and sīlavrata-parāmarśa (Pāli *sīlabbataparāmāsa*, formalism).[2] The Vinayavāda may be supposed to have been the same doctrine as *sīlabbataparāmāsa* in Pāli.[3] To arrive at a correct understanding of the doctrinal significance of kriyāvāda of Jainism it is necessary not only to see how it has been distinguished from akriyāvāda, ajñānavāda and vinayavāda but also from other types of kriyāvāda.

According to the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* the types of *akriyāvāda* are as follows:—

(1) On the dissolution of the five elements, e.g. earth, water, fire, wind and air, living beings cease to exist. On the dissolution of the body the individual ceases to be. Everybody has an individual soul. The soul exists as long as the body exists; but after death it is no more.

(2) When a man acts or causes another to act, it is not his soul which acts or causes to act.[4]

(3) There are five elements and the soul is a sixth substance. These six substances are imperishable and eternal by their very nature (*Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 1. 1. 15-16).

(4) Pleasure, pain, and final beatitude are not caused by the souls themselves, but the individual souls experience them. It is the lot assigned to them by destiny.

(5) The world has been created or is governed by the gods. It is produced from chaos.[5] It has been created or is governed by Brahman or by Īśvara. It has been produced from the primeval egg and Brahman created the things.

(6) The world is boundless and eternal, it exists from eternity and does not perish.

(7) *Ātman*, the self, appears under various forms as the universe.[6]

All these views are reduced to four main types that correspond to those associated in the Pāli *Nikāyas* with four leading thinkers of the time, e.g. atheism like that of Ajita, eternalism like that of Kātyāyana, absolutism like that of Kāśyapa and fatalism like that of Gośāla.

The *ātman* is a living individual, a biological entity. The whole self does not outlast the destruction of the body. With the body ends life. No soul exists apart from the body. The five substances with the soul as the sixth are not created directly or indirectly. They are without beginning and end. They are independent

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[1] *Majjhima Nikaya*, I, p. 483.

[2] *Khuddakapāṭha*, p. 5; cf. *Suttanipāta*, v. 231.

[3] In the Agrahāyaṇa number of the *Bhāratavarṣa*, Mr. Shamsukha has failed to understand the true meaning of this term. In order to study Jainism he should be thoroughly acquainted with Buddhism. I must draw his attention to my *Mahāvīra: His Life and Teachings*, for a correct idea.

[4] Cf. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 1. 1. 13.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, 1. 3. 5–8.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, 1. 1. 9.

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of a directing cause. They are eternal. From nothing comes nothing. All things have the *ātman*, self or ego, for their cause and object, they are produced by the self, they are manifested by the self, they are intimately connected with the self, and they are bound up in the self. One man admits action, and another man does not admit action. Both men are alike, their case is the same because they are actuated by the same force, i.e. by fate. It is their destiny that all beings come to have a body to undergo the vicissitudes of life and to experience pleasure and pain. Each of these types stands as an example of *akriyāvāda*, inasmuch as it fails to inspire moral and pious action, or to make an individual responsible for an action, or to make an individual responsible for an action and its consequences.[1]

According to the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* the inefficiency of knowledge is the real upshot of *ajñānavāda*. In the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* the upholders of *ajñānavāda* are represented as those thinkers, who pretending to be clever, reason incoherently, and do not get beyond the confusion of their ideas.[2] The *vinayavāda* may be supposed to have been the same doctrine as *sīlabbataparāmāsa* in Buddhism. The *sīlabbataparāmāsa* is a view of those who hold that the purity of oneself may be reached through the observance of certain moral precepts or by means of keeping certain prescribed vows. The upholders of *vinayavāda* assert that the goal of religious life is realized by confirmation to the rules of discipline.[3]

The types of Kriyāvāda that do not come up to the standard of Jainism are the following:—

(1) The soul of a man who is pure will become free from bad *karma* on reaching beatitude but in that state it will again become defiled through pleasant excitement or hatred.

(2) If a man with the intention of killing a baby hurts a gourd mistaking it for a baby, he will be guilty of murder. If a man with the intention of roasting a gourd roasts a baby, mistaking him for a gourd, he will not be guilty of murder.

According to Mahāvīra the painful condition of the self is brought about by one's own action, and not by any other cause (fate, chance, creator or the like). Pleasure and pain are brought about by one's own action. Individually a man is born, individually he dies, individually he falls and individually he rises. His passions, consciousness, intellect, perceptions and impressions belong to the individual exclusively. All living beings owe their present form of existences to their own *karma*. The sinners cannot annihilate work by new works, the pious annihilate their works by abstention from works.[4] The Jaina doctrine of nine terms (*navatattva*) [5] developed from the necessity for a systematic exposition of *kriyāvāda* which is in its essential feature only a theory of soul and *karma*. *Karma* consists of acts, intentional and unintentional, that produce effects on the nature of soul. It must be admitted that soul is susceptible to the influences of *karma*. The soul is not passive in the sense that it remains untouched or unaffected by what a person does for the sake of some interests. The categories of merit and demerit comprehend all acts, pious and sinful, which keep the soul bound to the circle of births and deaths. *Nirjarā* [6] consists in the wearing out of accumulated effects of *karma* on the soul by the practice of austerities.

In short Mahāvīra's great message to mankind is that birth is nothing, that caste is nothing, and that *karma* is everything, and on the destruction of *karma* the future happiness depends. *Karma* is the deed of the soul. It is a material

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[1] Cf. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* II, 1. 5–34.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, 12. 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, 12. 4.

[4] Cf. *Ibid.*, I, 12. 15.

[5] Mr. Shamsukha should read my *Mahāvīra: His Life and Teachings*, pp. 69, 89ff.

[6] Cf. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, XXVIII, 11.

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forming a subtle bond of extremely refined karmic matter which keeps the soul confined to its place of origin, or the natural abode of full knowledge and everlasting peace. There are four kinds of destructive *karma* (*ghātiyakarma*) which retain the soul in mundane existence. They are as follows: (1) knowledge-obscuring *karma*, (2) faith-obscuring *karma*, (3) *karma* which obstructs the progress or success of the soul, and (4) *karma* which infatuates or deludes the soul.[1] Jainism as a practical religion teaches us to purge ourselves of impurities arising from *karma*. But it must be admitted that in Buddhism the doctrine of *karma* reaches its climax and assumes a unique character.

B. C. LAW.

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[1] B. C. Law, *Mahāvīra: His Life and Teachings*, p. 104.

REVIEWS

GORAKHPUR-JANAPADA AUR USKĪ KṢATRIYA JĀTIYOṂ KĀ ITIHĀSA. By Dr. Raj Bali Pandey, M.A., D.Litt., Lecturer in History, Benares Hindu University, 1946.

It is one of the best works on Indian history written in Hindi language. The author has traced the history of Gorakhpur from the earliest times down to the present age. He has taken much care to collect relevant materials from Sanskrit, Prakrit, Pali and Chinese literature as well as inscriptions and coins and sifted them with considerable ability. He has not neglected the modern literature on the subject. His treatment is lucid and scientific. He has exhaustively dealt with the name, location, people, language, literature, social, religious and political history, art, architecture, etc. of Gorakhpur-janapada. The work under review has been ably prepared and well documented. It surely repays perusal. The first Appendix contains a good Hindi translation of the Pali Text of the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya.* The bibliography is useful. The author ought to have supplied a serviceable index at the end.

B. C. LAW.

THE HERITAGE OF KARNĀṬAKA (IN RELATION TO INDIA). By R. S. Mugali, M.A., B.T. Published by Satyasodhana Publishing House, Bangalore City. Pp. 232. Price Rs.4 (Paper cover). 1946.

Karnāṭaka, the land of Kannaḍa people, which extended at one time over the wide area between the Cauvery and the Godavari, produced a rich and varied as well as distinctive culture in the course of the centuries of its long and eventful history. In the work under notice the author has attempted with marked success to present a concise account of 'the heritage of Karnāṭaka in relation to India . . . Its indebtedness as well as contribution to Indian culture as a whole.' Written in a clear style and with a commendable sanity of judgment, his book is very welcome as a notable contribution to our knowledge of the past achievements of a people numbering more than one and a half crores and inhabiting nearly 80,000 square miles of territory at the present day.

In the first part of this work somewhat inaccurately called 'Ancient Karnāṭaka', the author deals with what may be called the early traditional history of the land. The second part bearing the title 'Historical Karnāṭaka', passes successively in review the later history of the land under the heads 'Political History', 'Administration', 'Social Life', 'Religious conditions', 'Literature' and 'Art'. A short chapter at the end, which might have been profitably extended to a greater length, sums up the achievements of the Kannaḍa people in the varied fields of poetry, short stories, prose fiction, drama and essay-writing in recent times.

We may make a few remarks. The emergence of Karnāṭaka as a distinct entity, the author thinks, started before 300 B.C. and was complete by 100 B.C. (p. 10). It is difficult to reconcile this statement with the author's view (p. 26) based on a comparison of the three sister-languages, viz. that Kannaḍa separated from the Proto-Dravidian linguistic group after Telugu, for nobody seriously contends that the beginnings of Telugu are prior to 300 B.C. The author, however, is on the right track when he rejects (pp. 16f) some recent views claiming to push back the antiquity of Kannaḍa to Vedic, or even Mohenjo-Daro times. On the ground that the vocabulary and structure of Kannaḍa are more influenced by Sanskrit than Tamiḻ, the author opines (p. 29) that Kannaḍa was less developed than Tamiḻ at the time of the Aryan impact. But could a less developed organism have emerged out of the parent stock? The true explanation is suggested by the quite reasonable conclusion drawn by the author elsewhere (p. 32) from the legend of Agastya and from the definition of the northern limits of Tamiḻ land in the earliest Tamiḻ literature: viz. that 'the first Aryan contact must have been established with the Kannaḍa-speaking Dravidians', and not with those speaking Tamiḻ.

The value of the present work would have been greatly enhanced by the addition of maps and a select bibliography. A select list of illustrations of the typical specimens of Karnāṭaka architecture and sculpture would also have been very welcome.

U. N. GHOSHAL.

BUDDHAGHOSA. By Dr. Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt., Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Monograph No. 1. Pp. viii and 147.

This work, although it has been preceded by a life of Buddhaghosa by the same author may be looked upon as a new and thoroughgoing exposition of the subject. The bibliography shows how, during the last 20 years, our sources of knowledge have increased, and in this respect Dr. Law's own achievements are prominent. Buddhaghosa, as he tells us in his summing up, studied Buddhism thoroughly and dealt with the subject carefully, he enriched Buddhist literature by drawing new materials from other sources, he ably studied the literature of Ceylon, and was one of the greatest celebrities of the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura. He was undoubtedly a great writer and an exponent of Buddhism. But this is far from giving an idea of the fullness and interest of Dr. Law's researches.

As is often the case when a scholar's fame becomes wide-spread, many legends have clustered round his name, and there is much to disentangle. Hence two biographical chapters have been necessary, in one of which his life and legends have been given and in the other his personal history, which means a sorting out of the purely legendary part and a critical attempt to reach the solid biographical matter. One of the results of a work like this, which analyzes and classifies the traditions, is that it raises still further questions. The whole investigation is thus advanced and the fact that new questions are raised is a mark of the progress made, as when Dr. Law suggests looking for the *Ñāṇodaya,* a last work of Buddhaghosa, in Thailand. Perhaps he will some day be able to tell us more about 'a volume of Parables in Burmese language' also attributed to him. It would also help if it were explained how the Andhakas, who are mentioned on page 34 as a non-Aryan people with a Milakkhabhāsā are related to the Andhakas on page 27 where they are one of the later sects.

In the case of a scholar like Buddhaghosa the really important question is what is the work that he achieved, and to this five chapters are devoted. First we have two chapters on his predecessors and successors. This portion was necessary in order to give a picture of the literary surroundings in which the work of Buddhaghosa was placed, and they become much clearer when it is seen that besides the great Buddhaghosa there were two others of that name. These chapters are extremely interesting and full of penetrating points of view and enlightening suggestions. The whole is full of great literary perspicacity, and much light is thrown on the question of the other authors of commentaries and on such problems as the different recensions of the *Jātaka* and possible relations with Mahāyāna and the orthodox Hindu philosophies.

The last three chapters deal with Buddhaghosa's works, his textual and doctrinal expositions and his philosophy. They are the most original part of the book and also the most significant, for the most fundamental questions of Buddhist philosophy are there discussed, that is to say, Buddhism in the latest and most developed form which it assumed as against the independent development of Mahāyāna. The whole book is an invitation and an aid to further study.

E. J. THOMAS.

OBITUARY

The Late Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyengar

Indian historical scholarship has indeed become poorer in the death of Dr. S. K. Aiyengar. Born on the 15th of April, 1871, in the village of Sakkottai, in Tanjore District, Professor Aiyengar underwent his collegiate career in the Central College, Bangalore. He took his M.A. degree in History in 1899. From this year he cultivated the acquaintance of the late lamented epigraphist V. Venkayya and also took to the study of ancient Tamil literature with avidity. In 1900 he published two papers on the Chola ascendancy and the Chola administration which evoked praise from Dr. Hultzsch. The next important paper was on the Augustan Age in Tamil literature in which he assigned the chief Sangam classics to the second and third centuries of the Christian era. This won the appreciation of the late Dr. Fleet and Sir Richard Temple. Encouraged by such eminent orientalists, Professor Aiyengar, while he continued to be on the staff of the Central College, Bangalore, continued his research studies which attracted the notice of leading men in Madras like Sir S. Subramania Aiyar. In the meantime he co-operated with F. J. Richards and Rev. Fr. Tabard in founding the Mythic Society, Bangalore.

In 1914, the University of Madras created a chair of Indian History and Archaeology, and Professor Aiyengar was appointed. As the University Professor, he continued to maintain the dignity of the chair till he retired in 1929. During this period of fifteen years, Dr. Aiyengar devoted mainly to the study of South Indian history and published books, monographs and articles on the various periods of South Indian history such as the Pallavas, the Cholas and Vijayanagar. In his 'South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders', in the words of Sir S. A. Khan, 'he has reconstructed the history of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries India and removed numerous misunderstandings and misconceptions.' His latest publications are two volumes on the History of Tirupati. While he was Professor, he officially trained a number of research students and Fellows, and unofficially a number of lecturers and professors met him and took his guidance. In other words, he built up a South Indian school of research on strong foundations. His pupils will continue to burn the torch of learning so brilliantly lit up by him.

His name and fame were not confined to South India. Twenty-five years ago the Calcutta University invited him to deliver the Readership lectures and honoured him with an Honorary Doctorate. He was elected President of the All-India Oriental Conference and also of the Indian History Congress. He was appointed a full-member of the Indian Historical Records Commission and one of the Honorary correspondents of the Archaeological Survey of India. He was for some time connected with the Oriental Institute, Tirupati. He was the associate editor of the *Indian Antiquary* and the editor of the *Journal of Indian History* for several years. Scholars all over India honoured him by presenting a commemoration volume in 1936. The collected works of Dr. Aiyengar were published in two volumes and presented on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. The Government conferred on him the title of Dewan Bahadur in recognition of his services to the cause of university education. He was for many years a member of the Senate, Academic Council and Syndicate, not only of Madras but also of Mysore University. Very recently the Mysore University honoured him with the Honorary Degree of Letters. He died full of age and full of honours. But his name will long be remembered as the pioneer in the field of historical research.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

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The Late Dr. Lakshman Sarup

We are sorry to hear about the sad and untimely death of Dr. Lakshman Sarup, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxford), Principal, Oriental College, Lahore, and University Professor of Sanskrit. He wrote several thoughtful articles for our Journal. His invaluable services to the cause of Sanskrit literature and Indic studies will immortalize his name in the world of scholarship. He was a sound scholar of critical acumen. His great work on the *Nirukta and Rigveda* amply bears testimony to his unrivalled knowledge of Vedic literature. May his soul rest in peace!

B. C. Law.

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AŚVAGHOṢA AND ALAṂKĀRA

By E. J. THOMAS

Dr. B. C. Law in his valuable monograph on Aśvaghoṣa mentions as one of his works the *Sūtrālaṃkāra*. As a whole it now exists only in a Chinese version, and it appears to have been first noticed by S. Beal in his *Abstract of four lectures on Buddhist literature in China* (1882). He there gives a list of the contents, and translates six of what he calls 'sermons'.

S. Lévi took up the subject again in his *Notes sur les Indo-Scythes* (*Journ. As.*, 1897), and as he knew it only from the Chinese he appeared to think that it was a poem of Aśvaghoṣa's similar to the *Buddhacarita*. But the later investigations of S. Lévi himself and of Huber have led to a more correct view. Huber pointed out three portions of it in Sanskrit in the *Divyāvadāna* (*BEFEO.*, Vols. IV, VI). There are in fact four *avadānas* in that work due to Aśvaghoṣa and Przyluski (*La légende de l'empereur Açoka*, Paris, 1923) has shown that they are in the Aśokāvadāna, of which there are two Chinese versions.

It is not my intention here to examine the somewhat complicated problem of the original form of Aśvaghoṣa's work as a whole, but only to consider his literary method as seen in the surviving Sanskrit portions and to notice the extension of the same kind of literary activity in other works.

It is now clear that the *Sūtrālaṃkāra* was not a poem, but exactly what its title says, 'an adornment of the *sūtras*', i.e. a work which largely preserved the exact language of the *sūtras*, but added highly stylized introductions, and turned many passages into verse. The verses do not generally replace the prose, but repeat it in more elegant language, and we can thus see how the *alaṃkāra* has been added. Verses also occasionally occur which appear to be the free invention of Aśvaghoṣa. It is easy to see that the verses are not canonical, for very elaborate forms are used, such as *vasantatilaka*, *puṣpitāgra* and *śārdūlavikrīḍita*. Occasionally verses that may have belonged to the original *avadāna* appear to be preserved. These are mostly in *śloka* or *triṣṭubh*. Thus the somewhat surprising fact that portions of a composition attributed to Aśvaghoṣa should be found in a canonical work is explained. The basis is still the canonical *avadāna*, and Aśvaghoṣa's share in it is only the literary adornment.

Before entering into details it will be well to consider what *avadāna* here means. The term is not found in the list of the ninefold *aṅgas* of the Scriptures, either in Pāli or in Mahāyāna works that preserve the list of nine.[1] It is in the list of 12 in *Mahāvyutpatti*, 65, and it is in Sarvāstivādin works where we find it as a distinct literary type. As a tale of some notable or heroic act it includes two other forms that occur separately in the ninefold division, *jātaka*, in which Buddha tells a tale of one of his previous births, and *vyākaraṇa*, in which he prophesies the future destiny of an individual. Such tales useful for popular preaching were formed into collections of *avadānas* by the Sarvāstivādins, who included the three types of tales, while the Theravādins with the same intention made the large collection known as *Jātaka*, and confined it to tales of the Bodhisattva.

The *avadānas* in the *Divyāvadāna* are mostly taken from the Sarvāstivāda commentary on the *Vinaya* and S. Lévi has shown that 29 out of 38 in that work come from the *Vinaya* of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins. Aśvaghoṣa did not draw directly on the *Vinaya*, but on collections of *Vinaya* tales after they had been incorporated in collections of *avadānas*. The four *avadānas* with which we are concerned are Nos. 26–29. All four deal with the story of Aśoka, and the fourth is called *Aśokāvadāna*, but there can be little doubt that this name was originally the title of the whole series of tales, which have been selected and arbitrarily cut up by the compiler of the Divyāvadāna. The first, No. 26 is the *Pāṃśupradāna*, and is a good example of a *vyākaraṇa*. Buddha staying at Mathurā prophesies that 100 years after his Nirvāṇa there will be a vihāra, a forest-sanctuary, Naṭabhatikā, where Upagupta will become a great teacher. Upagupta's life as the son of a perfume-seller is then given, his conversion, and his subduing and converting of Māra. Then a new introduction follows and another *vyākaraṇa*. Buddha sees two boys playing. One of them having nothing else to give, puts a handful of dust into Buddha's bowl (hence the title of the *avadāna*). Buddha prophesies that 100 years after his Nirvāṇa the boy through this root of merit will become a king Aśoka. This is really the beginning of the story of Aśoka. It is followed by the account of his descent from Bimbisāra, his life as prince and king, down to his erecting the 84,000 relic-shrines. Then comes the *Kuṇālāvadāna*, the pathetic tale of Aśoka's son, Kuṇāla, which is quite continuous with No. 26, and seems to have been separated, like the following *avadānas*, for convenience of recitation. No. 28 is the *Vītaśokāvadāna*, the story of the conversion and final destiny of Aśoka's brother Vītaśoka. No. 29, the *Aśokāvadāna*, tells of Aśoka's gifts to the Order, which through the devices of the uparāja Sampadī were gradually reduced to half an *āmalaka* fruit, his death, and the list of his successors down to Puṣyamitra and the end of the Maurya race.

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[1] *Majjhima*, i. 133; variant lists in *Lotus*, ch. 2, p. 46, *Dharmasaṃgraha*, 62; *Kāraṇḍavyūha* has lists of 10 (p. 86) and 11 (p. 81) but no *avadāna*.

It is clear that these four *avadānas* are in a very different style from the rest. There is a formal introduction, beginning with a stanza that concludes by asking the good to listen to what is now being spoken as being well cleaned or polished:

Saṃmārjitaṃ śṛṇuta sāṃpratabhāṣyamānam.

This mention of polishing appears to indicate what Aśvaghoṣa intends his share of the work to be. But it is followed immediately by the words: *evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye Bhagavāñ chrāvastyāṃ viharatīti*. This is not the beginning of the tale, for with the *iti* it is given as a quotation, and it is followed by the words, *sūtraṃ vaktavyam*. The tale has nothing to do with Śrāvastī, and we appear to have here an instruction to the reciter to introduce the tale with such a phrase. Then the real introduction begins with a long sentence, the upshot of which is that we are going to give a story (*dharmyāṃ kathāṃ samanusmariṣyāmaḥ*) about the Sthavira Upagupta of great *ṛddhi*. The rest of the sentence consists of epithets of enormous length describing the qualities of Upagupta. Then the tale, on which the worthy are to meditate, begins: *evam anuśrūyate*.

The Lord tells how Upagupta will be born '100 years after my attaining Nirvāṇa', and proceeds without any ornament until the episode of Vāsavadattā. Here Aśvaghoṣa begins to adorn the tale. Vāsavadattā was a courtesan, who tried to make love to Upagupta. He refused to see her until he heard that she had been mutilated and left in a cemetery. He thinks, 'before now for sensual reasons she wanted to see me, but now that her hands, feet, ears, and nose have been cut off, now is the time to see her'. Then he expresses the same thought in verse (*jagatī* and *āryā*). Here we have the characteristic way in which the original prose was versified. He goes with a boy to find her, and she says, *pranaṣṭaśobhāṃ duḥkhārttām* . . 'When he sees me with my beauty destroyed, suffering pain, lying on the ground, and stained with blood, how can he have any lust or passion?' This is a verse which might have stood in the original *avadāna*. It is a simple *śloka*, and very like the occasional verses found in the plain narratives.

When Upagupta appears she asks him in prose why he has come now, and then (*āha ca*) puts the same question in verse. Upagupta replies in a speech of ten verses, some of which may belong to the original *avadāna*, but he goes on (*api ca bhaginī*) in verses which include *śārdūlavikrīḍita* and are evidently Aśvaghoṣa's composition. After receiving an *anupūrvikā kathā* she says:

Tavānubhāvāt pihitaḥ sughoro
hy apāyamārgo bahudoṣayuktaḥ
apāvṛtā svargagatiḥ supuṇyā
nirvāṇamārgaś ca mayopalabdhaḥ

This is certainly not due to Aśvaghoṣa, for it is a commonplace which occurs several times in the *Divyāvadāna* as well as in the *Avadānaśataka*, and may have stood in the original form of this *avadāna*. She then utters the threefold *śaraṇagamana*, and directly afterwards repeats the substance of it in *āryā* verse, which is evidently the work of Aśvaghoṣa, and the story ends with her death.

Next follows the entry of Upagupta into the Order and the tale of his subduing and converting Māra. The tale was translated by Huber from the *Sūtrālaṃkāra* (*BEFEO.*, 1904) and shows some differences, which may be due to the compiler of the *Avadāna*. According to Huber it begins with *evaṃ mayā śrutam*, but in the *Divyāvadāna* it is continuous with what precedes. It is longer and even more elaborate in its versification than the previous tale. Then follows a new tale and a new introduction. This is the story of Aśoka.

This introduction has been made continuous with what precedes, but there can be no doubt that it once formed an independent beginning like the tale of Upagupta, and it introduces the tale with the same words, *evam anuśrūyate*. It has the same heaping up of long epithets as in the previous introduction.

As before it begins with a *vyākaraṇa*. Buddha was at Rājagṛha, and he is described in the usual way as setting out for alms. Then comes a verse describing his gait, which is introduced by the words *vakṣyati ca*. But no one has been speaking. The only speaker is the reciter, and the words appear to be an instruction to the reciter to introduce the verse in its proper place. These words (or *vakṣyati hi*) continue to occur frequently before a verse passage throughout the rest of the narrative. The words *āha ca* also occur, and it is clear in some cases that the only person who says or will say is the reciter.

A stock passage follows, describing the wonders that take place when Buddha sets foot in a city, and a verse describes the effect on the earth of Buddha's footstep. Then come other verses introduced by *vakṣyati ca* and *āha ca*. He comes on to the high road and smiles. Again there is another long stock passage describing the nature of Buddha's smile when he is about to prophesy. It is because he has seen two boys playing with the dust, and the incident of the handful of dust and the prophecy that the boy will become Aśoka is recorded. There is no verse here, and the plain prose continues until we come to the story of Aśoka's torture-chamber known as the *ramaṇīyakaṃ bandhanam*. So far it is plain prose *avadāna*, until Aśvaghoṣa again intervenes in the stories of the torture-chamber, Aśoka's conversion, and his erecting the 84,000 relic-shrines. The same style of *alaṃkāra* continues throughout the *avadānas* to the end, but the final passage giving the successors of Aśvaghoṣa was doubtless in the original *avadāna* and shows no trace of Aśvaghoṣa's hand.

There can be no doubt that the Sarvāstivāda *avadāna* and the Pāli *jātaka* as a literary form were developed from the folk-tale. They had become in their most characteristic form what Oldenberg called 'the *ākhyāna* type'. It was a type 'wherein inside a general frame-work of prose, there appear in emphasized passages, especially in the more important speeches and replies, verses'. (*The Ākhyāna type and the Jātakas, J.P.T.S*, 1910-2.) It is needless to inquire whether all *jātakas* show this form. There are enough *jātakas* and *avadānas* to show that this type existed, and was recognized as a literary form, and the fact that such tales were used in public preaching was a stimulus to the production of further literary efforts.

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They would easily lead the way to further embellishment, and this appears to be what Aśvaghoṣa has done.

The *Divyāvadāna* itself (p. 356) illustrates the popular use of such tales, where it describes Upagupta's first intention to preach. He meditates and reflects how the Tathāgata taught the doctrine and found that having the assembly seated before him in a semicircle, he first gave a *pūrvakālakaraṇīyā kathā*, which would be a tale of former times, and then a *satyasamprakāśanā*, an exposition of the Truths. This is no doubt based on the practice of the time. The preaching began with an instructive story, meant to attract the attention of the hearers and dispose them to listen to the essential doctrine. Everything was thus ready for a literary development. There were the literary forms and audiences ready to hear, and the literary activity of the age of Aśvaghoṣa. We know that the development took place. There is an instance in the last tale of the *Divyāvadāna*, the tale of Mittavindaka, which occurs in a simple form in the Pāli *Jātaka* and the *Avadānaśataka*. It has much literary adornment, but the style and method are quite unlike that of Aśvaghoṣa. The development went on with the remodelling of the *avadānas* into complete poems, as we find them in the *Avadānakalpalatā* of Kṣemendra. There is also a somewhat isolated instance of this development in the *Jātaka* itself, the *Kuṇāla-jātaka*, No. 536.[1] It begins, almost in the words of Aśvaghoṣa: *Evam akkhāyati, evam anusūyati.* Then follows an introduction full of enormous descriptive epithets, even outdoing the style of Aśvaghoṣa. The *alaṃkāra*, however, is not continued in the tale itself, but the features suggest that the motive of *alaṃkāra* adornment had spread as far as the literary circle of Buddhaghoṣa.

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[1] It may be noted in passing that the name of the *Jātaka* has only an accidental connexion with the Kuṇāla in the *Avadāna*. In the *Jātaka* the story is of a bird, and Aśoka's son was so named because he had lovely eyes like a Kuṇāla bird.

JAINA CANONICAL SŪTRAS (IV)

By B. C. LAW

The Antagaḍa-dasāo (Antakṛta-daśāṅga) is known as the eighth *aṅga* of the Śvetāmbara Canon. It consists of eight *vaggas* or divisions, each forming a group of a certain number of lessons. The number of lessons is ten in the first, fourth, and eighth divisions; eight in the second; thirteen in the third and seventh, and sixteen in the sixth. Each lesson is conveyed through an appropriate personal story of a legendary character. The stories are those of 'the end-winners', meaning the persons who died either attaining liberation with death or being assured of it at the time of death. The stories placed in a group appear to be more or less of the same pattern as regards the nature of the end attained. The *aṅga* took its name from the stories of 'the end-winners' narrating their *antagaḍa-dasā* or happy ends. The stories of such achievements on the part of different persons, men and women, are related with reference to the dispensation of the two Tīrthaṅkaras, Ariṭṭhanemi (Ariṣṭanemi) the twenty-second Jina and Mahāvīra the last Jina. Accordingly the divisions with the stories and lessons mark on the whole two stages in the continuation of the main dialogue, namely, pre-Mahāvīra and Mahāvīra. The earlier stage is covered by the career of Ariṭṭhanemi and the reign of Kaṇha Vāsudeva of Western India, and the later stage by the career of Mahāvīra and the reign of king Seṇiya of Rāyagiha (Rājagṛha). The text as a whole is presented in the shape and form of a dialogue between the Ārya Sudharman, the only *Gaṇadhara* or leading disciple who survived Mahāvīra, and his pupil the Ārya Jambu. The scene of action is laid in the city of Campā, at the shrine of (the Yakkha) Puṇṇabhadda. It was translated for the first time into English by Dr. L. D. Barnett, and subsequently by Mr. M. C. Modi, M.A., LL.B., with the help of the commentary written by Abhayadeva.

There is enough of ingenuity and looseness in the invention or narration of the legendary tales, though it is not without a method or purpose. The succession of the divisions follows apparently a mechanical plan, the logical sequence of thought being not easily understandable, and the beauty of the narratives is often marred by textual abridgements or cross references. As Mr. Modi points out, the first five divisions contain semi-legendary stories of the heroes related to Kaṇha Vāsudeva with Ariṭṭhanemi as the living Tīrthaṅkara, the *vaggas* six and seven narrate the stories of Mahāvīra's disciples, the eighth *vagga* contains the theological details of ten penances, while the *vaggas* seven and eight are concerned with the narratives of the queens of king Seṇiya.

The first division contains the stories of ten princes, Gotama, Samudra, Sāgara, Gambhīra, Stimita, Acala, Kāmpilya, Akṣobhya, Prasenajit (Paseṇai, Pali Pasenadi), and Viṣṇu, all born in the royal house of the king Andhakavṛṣṇī of Dvāravatī (Dvārakā) and the queen Dhāriṇī. It is fittingly introduced with a description of the city of Dvāravatī, 12 *yojanas* in length and 9 *yojanas* in breadth, built by the genius of Kubera, the Lord of Wealth. With its gold ramparts, five-coloured cornices of various jewels, and beauty and glory, grandeur and happiness, it resembled Alakā, the capital city of Kubera. The Mt. Revata or Raivata stood at its north-eastern gate, bearing on its summit a garden called Nandanavana, the grove of Nandana. There was an old abode (shrine) of the Yakṣa Surapriya in a fine *Asoka* tree in the midst of a woodland. In this very city dwelt king Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva (Kaṇha Vāsudeva) holding lordship over ten princely nobles headed by Samudravijaya, over five great warriors headed by Baladeva, over three and a half crores of princes headed by Pradyumna (Pajjuṇṇa), over sixty thousand fighters headed by

Sāmba, over fifty-six thousand mighty men headed by Mahāsena, over twenty-one thousand warriors headed by Vīrasena, over sixty thousand monarchs headed by Ugrasena, over sixteen thousand queens headed by Rukmiṇī (Ruppiṇī), over many thousands of courtezans headed by Anaṅgasenā, and the like. Thus Dvāravatī was both the seat of the imperial power of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva as well as the capital of the kingdom of Dvāravatī with Andhakavṛṣṇī as its king and Dhāriṇī as its queen.

The model story is that of Prince Gotama who renounced the world and placed himself as a Jaina recluse under the guidance of Ariṭṭhanemi when the latter visited Dvāravatī, attended by the four grades of gods. His life of effort lasted for a period of twelve years, during which he studied the *sāmāyika* and other yogic postures and practices[1] along with the eleven *aṅgas* (to the exclusion of the twelfth called Dṛṣtivāda). He fulfilled the twelve avowed ways of a mendicant *bhikkhupaḍimāo* miscalled 'monastic standards'[2] along with the *guṇaratna* austerity for sixteen months. He took at last farewell, and climbed up Mt. Śatruñjaya (Settuñja), on the summit of which he bravely met his end by a month's starvation, obtaining *siddhi*.

There are inter-allusions to the story of Meghakumāra which is fully narrated in the *Nāyadhammakahā*, and to that of Mahadbala in the *Bhagavatī Sūtra* or *Vyākhyā-prajñapti*.

The remaining nine stories and lessons are of the same type.

The second division contains the stories of eight Yādava princes, Akṣobhya, Sāgara, Samudra, Himavat, Acala, Dhāraṇa, Pūraṇa, and Abhicandra, to the exclusion of Stimita and Viṣṇu. These narratives agree substantially with those in the first division. As for the two points of difference, the text wants us to understand that here *guṇaratna* is the single form of austerity, and that the period of effort is sixteen years instead of twelve. This second list of the princes born in the family of Andhakavṛṣṇī and Dhāriṇī differs in respect of three names from the first. As known to the commentator Abhayadeva, Kuntī and Mādrī were the two younger sisters to Prince Viṣṇu.

The third division consists of the stories and examples of thirteen persons, Anita, Anantasena, Ajitasena, Anīghacarita, Devasena, Śatrusena, Sāraṇa, Gaja, Sumukha, Dummukha, Kupaṇa, Dāruka, and Anādṛṣti.

The story of Anita is introduced with a description of the city of Bhaddilapura which was the capital of king Jitaśatru. There was a beautiful garden by the name of Śrīvana on its south-east side. In that city Anita was born to Nāga, a rich banker, by his wife Sulasā. He was brought up in the midst of enormous wealth. He was placed in his eighth year under a tutor for training in sciences and arts. When he had passed his boyhood his parents made him take the hands of thirty-two daughters of wealthy bankers within a day. This is followed by an exaggerated account of the wedding presents received by him. It was at the garden of Śrīvana that he happened to meet Ariṭṭhanemi. The sequel of the story is similar to the story of Prince Gotama. The two points of difference to be noted are: (1) that he studied the fourteen *Pūrvas* instead of the eleven *aṅgas*, and (2) that his period was twenty years.

The five stories that follow are of the same pattern. The seventh story concerning Sāraṇa, a son of Vāsudeva and Dhāriṇī, reads almost like that of Prince Gotama. Here Sāraṇa studies the fourteen *Pūrvas* that are traditionally known to have been incorporated into the twelfth *aṅga* called *Dṛṣtivāda*. In the same category we are to place all the remaining stories but that of Gaja Sukumāra. Strangely enough, Prince Sumukha is described as a son of king Baladeva of Dvāravatī by his queen Dhāriṇī, whereas in the case of the remaining princes the parents are Vāsudeva and Dhāriṇī. Dāruka who is mentioned in the Great Epic as the charioteer of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva is counted here among the sons of Vāsudeva and Dhāriṇī.

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[1] *Sāmāyika*, *cauvisattha*, *vaṃdanaka*, *pratikramaṇa*, *kāyotsarga*, and *pratyākhyāna*—these six practices constituted a Jaina *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* which is a substitute for the *aṣṭāṅgayoga* connected with *haṭhayoga*. Barnett's interpretation of *sāmāyika* is quoted by Modi, *op. cit.*, pp. 99ff.

[2] Modi, *op. cit.*, pp. 100ff.

Turning at last to the story of Prince Gaja, we notice that he is introduced as the eighth or last son of Devakī, mother of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva, who was born in her womb. According to the Pali *Ghata Jātaka,* Devagabbhā gave birth to ten sons including Kaṇha Vāsudeva and Baladeva. The Jaina legend gives an altogether different account of the circumstances under which Devakī's earlier-born seven sons were stealthily taken away from her by the god Harinaigameṣī and brought up in the house of Nāga and Sulasā. She gave birth to six or seven sons, exactly resembling Nalakubera, in fulfilment of a prediction made to this effect by the Jaina recluse Atimukta. All but Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva renounced the world and moved about in the country as disciples of Ariṭṭhanemi. Devakī, too, is represented as a queen of Vāsudeva, king of Dvāravatī. Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva tried in vain to keep his brother Gaja in the world, and his mistake was that he had brought in Somā a handsome daughter of the Brahmin Saumila, to be his brother's wife. The Brahmin was awfully angry with Gaja that he had renounced the world to pass as a recluse abandoning his daughter. On seeing the latter passing one evening by the burning ground of Mahākāla, the Brahmin took a piece of a broken pot from a burning pyre and threw it on his head. The princely recluse bore calmly the pain without any wrathful feeling towards the oppressor. In that blissful mood of soul he obtained the supreme knowledge and vision and passed away. The great teacher Ariṭṭhanemi exhorted Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva not to bear wrath against Saumila who even by spiteful action lent indirectly an aid to his younger brother Gaja.

The fourth division sets forth ten glaring examples of the Jaina virtue based on the personal stories of Jāli, Mātali, Upatāli, Puruṣasena, Vārisena, Pradyumna, Sāmba, Aniruddha, Satyanemi, and Dṛḍhanemi. These stories are in many respects similar to that of Prince Gotama; the two main points of difference lie in the study of the twelve *aṅgas* and the period of sixteen years. Here Jāli, Mātali, Upatāli, Puruṣasena, and Vārisena are described as the sons of Vāsudeva and Dhāriṇī, Pradyumna as the son of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva and Rukmiṇī, Sāmba as the son of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva and Jāmbavatī, Aniruddha as the son of Pradyumna and Vaidarbhī, and Satyanemi and Dṛḍhanemi as the sons of Samudravijaya and Śivā.

In the fifth division we have ten lessons imparted through the personal stories and examples of the eight wives of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva : Padmāvatī, Gaurī, Gāndhārī, Lakṣmanā, Suṣamā, Jāmbavatī, Satyabhāmā, and Rukmiṇī, and of the two wives of Prince Sāmba.

The queen Padmāvatī became interested like her mother-in-law the queen Devakī in the worship of Ariṭṭhanemi when the great teacher came to Dvāravatī and preached his noble doctrine before her husband Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva. Kṛṣṇa was anxious to know the factors by which the delightful and prosperous city of Dvāravatī would be destroyed. The saint mentioned wine, fire, and Dvaipāyana as the three destroying factors. Kṛṣṇa at this moment thought that blessed were those princes of the blood, Jāli, Mātali, and the rest who betook themselves to religious life. The great teacher clearly perceived the trend of the sad thought which arose in the mind of Kṛṣṇa. Thereafter Kṛṣṇa became curious to know how his own death would come about and where he would be reborn. Ariṭṭhanemi's reply was that after the destruction of the city of Dvāravatī by the wrath of Dvaipāyana, the action of fire and the drunkenness of the Vāsudevas (i.e. Yādavas), Kṛṣṇa would be sent forth with Rāma Baladeva (Balarāma) to Pāṇḍu-Mathurā on the south where he would meet the sons of king Pāṇḍu, Yudhiṣṭhira and others, and there in the presence of the Pāṇḍava brothers, in the Kuśāmba forest, and under an excellent banian tree, he would remain on a slab of stone with his body covered with a yellow robe, when he would be pierced in his left foot by a sharp arrow released from the bow by Jarā-kumāra. Thus he would come to death and would be reborn in hell. Thereafter he would be reborn in the continent of Jambudvīpa, in the country of Bhāratavarṣa, in the land of Puṇḍra, in the city of Śatadvāra, where he would be the twelfth Jina in the next era of progress, finding himself for many years in the status of a *Kevalin*. It is said that this prophesy made Kṛṣṇa glad.

In view of the impending calamity of the city of Dvāravatī Kṛṣṇa asked all persons to renounce the world and lead the mendicant life in the religious order of Ariṭṭhanemi. Under this persuasion his queens headed by Padmāvatī, and the two wives of Prince Sāmba became nuns, studied the eleven *aṅgas*, observed religious practices, and then passed away obtaining the final liberation.

Here we have a very curious Jaina version of the Kṛṣṇa legend having a few points of similarity with the Brahmanical and Buddhist versions. The obvious purpose of the Jaina narratives was to gain popularity for the Jaina faith in Western India by making the local people believe that the whole of the Yādava race attained salvation under the benign influence and guidance of Ariṭṭhanemi, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara. The Jaina inventor of the legends would purposely ignore the fact that Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva's teacher was Ghora Āṅgirasa. According to the Upaniṣad tradition Kṛṣṇa following the instruction of Ghora Āṅgirasa became free from all worldly attachments. According to the Jaina legend he could aspire to become a Jina. These were the current legends accounting for the destruction of the Andhakavṛṣṇis.

It is no less important to note that the Jaina legends connect the sons of Pāṇḍu with the Pāṇḍya country of the south with Mathurā (modern Madourā) as its capital. Dr. Barnett rightly observes: 'The Pāṇḍiyans however were not Pāṇḍavas, and the Jaina identification of the two dynasties is probably based on popular etymology. A like attempt to connect the two families occurs in the Tamil chronicle given in Taylor's *Oriental Historical MSS*. (Vol. I, pp. 195ff.) which states that Madurā at the time of the Bhārata war was ruled by Babhruvāhana, the son of Arjuna, by the daughter of the Pāṇḍiyan king of Madurā. The *Mahābhārata*, on the other hand, makes Babhruvāhana the son of Arjuna, by Chitrāṅgadā, daughter of Chitravāhana, the king of Maṇipura.'

Megasthenes knew an Indian legend associating the Pāṇḍyas and Heracles with the country of Śūrasena with Mathurā (Northern Mathurā—modern Muttra) as its capital city. In the Pali chronicles of Ceylon the Pāṇḍyas are invariably represented as Pāṇḍus. In the Jātakas the five sons of Pāṇḍu are nowhere connected with the Kuru country. Arjuna of the Yudhiṣṭhira line, who is represented in the *Kurudhamma Jātaka* (No. 276), as the ideal king of the Kurus is evidently different from Arjuna the third son of Pāṇḍu. Thus there still lies a mystery about the relationship of the Pāṇḍavas with Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva.

From the sixth division begins the second stage of the main dialogue. This division is important for the short stories of Makāti Kinkama, Mudgarapāṇi, Kāśyapa, Kṣemaka, Dhṛtihara, Kailāsa, Harichandana, Dvāratraya, Sudarśana, Pūrubhadra, Sumaṅabhadra, Supratiṣṭha, Megha, Atimukha and others. Makāti was a rich householder of Rājagṛha who renounced the world after he had met and waited upon Mahāvīra at the shrine of Guṇaśila. He studied the eleven *aṅgas* and the *sāmāyika* and other religious practices. He practised the *guṇaratna* form of self-mortification. He died on Mt. Satruñjaya, obtaining liberation. Kinkama whose personal story is similar to that of Makāti attained *siddhi* on Mt. Vipula which guarded the city of Rājagṛha on one side. Among the remaining persons, all of whom passed away on the same Mt. Vipula, Mudgarapāṇi was a garland-maker in Rājagṛha. The rich householders Dvāratraya and Megha, too, belonged to the same city, while Kṣemaka and Dhṛtihara were citizens of Kākandī, Kailāsa and Harichandana of Sāketa, Sudarśana and Pūrṇabhadra of Vaṇijagrāma (Paṇyagrāma?), and Sumanabhadra and Supratiṣṭha of Śrāvastī. Atimukha was a prince born in the royal house of king Vijaya who reigned in the city of Palāsapura, and Anakṣya was a king of Benares who renounced the world like king Udayana (of Vatsa). The two model stories and examples are those of Mudgarapāṇi and Prince Atimukta.

During the reign of king Śreṇika, Arjunaka was a rich garland-maker in the city of Rājagṛha and Bandhumatī was his wife. He had a big flower garden outside the city, and far from it was his family shrine built and dedicated to the Yakṣa Mudgarapāṇi. In it the statue of the Yakṣa stood. Arjunaka became a devotee of this demi-god from his very childhood. When a festival was announced in the city of Rājagṛha, Arjunaka went out with his wife to his flower garden. After gathering the flowers the husband and wife walked towards their family shrine when they were entrapped by some wicked men. He afterwards killed them with an iron mace.

A pious Jaina householder named Sudarśana was going to pay his homage to Mahāvīra; he was attacked on the road by Arjunaka Mudgarapāṇi, but no harm was done to him on account of his virtue and spiritual strength. Arjunaka took the vow of a Jaina mendicant under the guidance of Mahāvīra and proved himself to be a completely reformed man. When he wandered about in the city of Rājagṛha for alms the angry crowd of men and women harshly treated him, but he patiently endured suffering with equanimity. With the kind permission of Mahāvīra he passed away by starving for a half-month.

There is nothing striking in the story of Prince Atimukta save and except that he became a Jaina mendicant in his early life, when he was a mere boy. 'You are a child, my son', said his father, 'and have no understanding. What do you know of the doctrine?' The reply is given in the form of a riddle, 'What I know, I do not know, and what I do not know, I know'. By this he meant that he knew that one who is born must die, but he did not know how death would take place and exactly when. The riddle does not exhibit much of a literary art, nor does its explanation go to prove a great philosophic insight. We have better examples of such riddles in Pali *Aṅgulimāla Sutta* [1] and *Mahā-ummagga Jātaka* (No. 546).

In the seventh division we have the personal stories of the thirteen wives of king Śreṇika of Rājagṛha, all of whom renounced the world and fared well at death as the Jaina nuns. They are named Nandā, Nandavatī, Nanduttarā, Nandiśreṇikā, Mārutā, Sumārutā, Mahāmārutā, Marudevā, Bhadrā, Subhadrā, Sujātā and Bhūtadattā.

The eighth or concluding division is devoted to the stories of ten Jaina nuns who studied the eleven *aṅgas*, the *sāmāyika* and other religious practices, and led a rigorous religious life under the guidance of the Āryā Candanā, the leading Jaina Therī of the age. Kālī, Sukālī, Mahākalī, Kṛṣṇā, Sukṛṣṇā, Mahākṛṣṇā, Vīrakṛṣṇā, Rāmakṛṣṇā, Pitṛsenakṛṣṇā, and Mahāsenakṛṣṇā are suggested as their names.

Here we have a description of the ten kinds of penances (*tavokamma*) observed by the ten nuns who were previously the wives of king Śreṇika. These are known as *ratnāvalī*, *kanakāvalī*, *muktāvalī*, *kṣudraka* (*lesser*) *siṃhanikrīḍita*, *mahallaka* (*greater*) *siṃhanikrīḍita*, *sapta-saptaniya* to *daśa-daśamya*, *kṣudraka sarvatobhadra*, *mahallaka sarvatobhadra*, *bhadrottara-pratima*, and *ācambit-vardhamāna* (*āyaṃbila-vaḍḍhamāna*). The technical explanation of each involves a mathematical arrangement of numbers expressive of the number of meals and fast days in different permutations and combinations, for all of which the reader may be referred to Abhayadeva's commentary on the text of the *Antagaḍa-dasāo*.

The *Aṇuttarovovāiyadasāo* (*Anuttara-aupapātikadasāṅga*) is the 9th *aṅga* which deals with the lives of persons who after their death were reborn as gods. They would therefrom descend to this world, attain human birth and achieve final emancipation. It treats of the *ekāvatārins*, or the once-returners (Pali *sakadāgāmins*), most of whom are the sons of king Śreṇika. The stories are mostly abbreviated. The *aṅga* consists of 3 *vaggas* or divisions; the first containing ten lessons, the second,

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[1] Majjhima Nikāya, II, pp. 97–105.

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thirteen and the third, ten, and three together, thirty-three lessons. In Jacobi's opinion the descriptions are very tedious and they consist mostly of endless enumerations.

Though this text is placed in the list of the *aṅgas*, its contents go to show that it presupposes other works of the Jain Canon, particularly the *Aupapātika Sūtra*. The list of persons whose examples are set forth in each division is given in verse precisely as in the *Antagaḍa-dasāo* to which the 9th *aṅga* stands no more than a supplement or sequel.

In the Jaina cosmography the middle place is occupied by the world of men. Above this stand the three grades of gods, one above the other, the highest being the *Vaimānikas* or gods dwelling in their respective lofty mansions. Below them are the *Gaiveyyakas* and the lowest are known as the *Kalpas*. The *Gaiveyyakas* too are provided with mansions of their own.

This *aṅga* too is presented in the form of a dialogue put into the mouth of Sudharman and his pupil Jambu. The scene of action is laid in the city of Rājagṛha.

In the first division all but Vehalla and Vehayasa are mentioned as the sons of king Śreṇika by his queen Dhāriṇī and the rest including Abhaya as princes whose mother was the queen Cellanā. It may be noted that the name of Prince Abhaya is met with in the *Pāli Nikāyas* particularly in the *Abhayarājakumāra Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (Vol. I, pp. 392–396). The thirteen fortunate men whose examples are set forth in the second division are also represented as princes born to king Śreṇika by his queen Dhāriṇī.

The model story in the third division is that of *Dhaṇva*. Sunakṣatra who finds mention in the *Pāli Nikāyas* as a Licchavi prince and lay supporter of the Jaina order is included here in the list of ten persons. *Dhaṇva* is described as a prince born in the royal house of king Jitaśatru of Kākandī. He became a Jain monk and he strictly observed the religious practices and rules of life. The real interest of the story lies in the graphic description of the personal condition of the aspirant, while he was going through the hardship of the penances. It may be pointed out that a similar description of the penances is found in the Pali *Mahādukkhakkhandha Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (Vol. I, pp. 83–90). The forms of austerity described in the Pali discourse are the penances observed by the Buddha previous to his enlightenment. These are found fruitless by him as means of salvation.

The *Dasaveyāliya Sutta* [1] (*Daśavaikālika Sūtra*) is one of the 4 *mūlasūtras* of the Śvetāmbara *Āgama*. Sejjambhava is said to have been the author of this book which contains in a nutshell all the principal tenets of Jainism. This text was originally compiled in order to give his son Mānaka the chance of grasping the essence of Jainism within a short period of six months at the end of which he was to die.[2] Sejjambhava (Śreyaṃbhava) was the pupil of Prabhava who was the pupil of Jambu. Jambu was the pupil of Sudharman who was Mahāvīra's immediate disciple. The year 98 after the death of Mahāvīra may be counted as the date when the *Dasaveyāliya Sutta* was written.[3] The gist of the *Āgama* teaching which it gives was thoroughly mastered by Sejjambhava together with the traditional expositions and interpretations. This sūtra enunciates the noblest principles of the Jaina faith which emphasizes with equal force right knowledge and right conduct as its constituents. Some of the sayings regarding the monastic life contained in this sutta remind us of the sayings in the Buddhist *Dhammapada* and the Mokṣadharma section of the Śāntiparva of the *Mahābhārata*. This text is divided into ten *ajjhayanas*. The Chapters I–III, V–VIII and X are written entirely in verse. The topics discussed are the following: Flowers, monkhood, conduct, six groups of living beings, search for food, exposition of *dharma*, purity of speech, restriction to conduct, devotion to discipline and saintship.

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[1] *Vide* K. V. Abhyankar, *Dasaveyāliya Sutta with the Niryukti*, 1932; Prof. A. M. Ghatage, *Parallel passages in the Daśavaikālika* and the *Ācārāṅga* (*New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, No. 2, May 1938); W. Schubring, *Dasaveyāliya Sutta*..

[2] Sejjambhava was enlightened by the apparition of a picture of the Jina and left his house when his wife was pregnant. She gave birth to a son named Mānaka. When the boy was 8 years old, he enquired of his father and when he came to know that he became an ascetic, he went forth to seek him and became his pupil. As the father knew that his son had only six months more to live, he taught him the *Dasaveyāliya* within that period. (Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, II, pp. 470-471.)

[3] Weber, *Indische Studien*, 17, 77.

In the first chapter we find that religion which is the highest bliss is made up of non-injury, self-restraint and penance. In the second chapter a person can be said to have renounced the world who casts away enjoyments and renounces pleasures which are entirely his own. A monk should control his passion regarding a woman. He should mortify himself, abandon all idea of delicacy, overcome desires, cut off the feeling of hatred and control passion. In the third chapter the following are the improper things not to be observed by the sages who are free from the ties of the world and who have made themselves firm in self-restraint:—

(1) a thing done purposely for the monk;
(2) a thing purchased for the monk;
(3) a thing brought for the monk from a distant place;
(4) dinner at night;
(5) scents, flowers, fan, shampooing;
(6) playing at counters;
(7) playing at dice;
(8) bearing the umbrella when not required;
(9) wearing shoes;
(10) kindling fire;
(11) cleaning the limbs;
(12) service of householders;
(13) remembrance of past pleasures when ill;
(14) ginger, sugarcane which is not ripe, sea salt, purgative, collyrium, painting the teeth, decoration of the body, etc.

All these things should not be practised by the sages. The monks who are free from worldly ties are acquainted with the five ways of the influx of *karma*, who are well-restrained in the six classes of living beings, who have controlled the five senses and who are courageous. The self-restrained monks, who are full of contentment, are uncovered in cold seasons, heat themselves in hot seasons, etc.

In the fourth chapter we find the question of non-violence which requires a thorough examination of the presence of life in the various things of the world. Life exists wherever growth and movement are noticed. A monk ought to see that no violence of any kind is done to any living thing, however small or great. The six great vows are enunciated in this chapter:

(1) On the knowledge of life and non-life depends the chain of successive higher steps of spiritual progress made up of the knowledge of the various resulting future conditions;
(2) The knowledge of freedom and bondage;
(3) Disgust with worldly life;
(4) Abandonment of enjoyment;
(5) Homelessness;
(6) Self-restraint;
(7) Removal of the *karma* dirt;
(8) Right knowledge and faith;
(9) Knowledge of the world and emptiness;
(10) Motionless condition of the body;
(11) Annihilation of *karma*; and
(12) The perfected condition.

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In the fifth chapter we find that a monk, moving about for alms in a village or a town, should go about slowly without any mental agitation with his mind perfectly undisturbed. He should walk about avoiding living beings, water, earth, pits and uneven surfaces. He should not move in the vicinity of the houses of prostitutes. He should avoid a dog and a recently delivered cow on the road. Moving for alms in all families without any distinction, he should not walk fast nor engage himself in talking or laughing. He should not closely look at windows. He should avoid from a distance the private houses of kings, householders and policemen. While moving for alms he should not check attendance to calls of nature. He should avoid a room where there are scattered flowers or seeds. He should stand within the permissible area looking at the ground. He should avoid the sight of bathrooms or privies. He should not desire to accept food although offered with unsoiled hand or spoon or pot. He should avoid bulbs, roots or palm fruits. He should reject costly food or drink or water of brown sugar pots, or water of flour or rice. He should invite with permission from his preceptor other monks with a cheerful mind in the prescribed order, and if some of them so desire, he should eat his food with them. He should move about at a proper time and return at a proper time. Moving about for alms he should not anywhere sit or begin to relate any religious story. A self-restrained monk moving about for alms should not stand reclining upon the fastening bar or against the panels of the door. He should not desire even in mind to have the wood apple or the citron fruit. Undejected he should seek alms.

A wise monk should never be depressed. A self-restrained monk should not be angry if a householder does not offer bed, seat, garment, etc. A monk should not beg of a woman or of a man, or of a young person or of an old person who has saluted him. A monk who hankers after name and fame incurs much sin. A wise monk avoids rich oils and ghee, and desists from taking intoxicating liquors.

In the sixth chapter falsehood is always condemned by the monks in this world. A monk should avoid lies completely. He should not indulge in sexual intercourse. A restrained monk does not accept anything not even a tooth-brush without begging it of householders. Restrained monks possess a garment, a pot or a blanket or a duster without any attachment. A self-restrained monk never injures in any of the three ways, viz. by self, by others or by consent given to others. A monk should observe self-restraint avoiding the four things declared unfit for use, viz. food, residence, garment and the pot. Monks leading a religious life and free from worldly ties with their mind fixed on self-restraint should avoid food and drink meant for them as also the things purchased for them from a distance. A monk should not take food and drink in bronze cups or earthen jugs. Noble monks should not sleep or sit on chairs, cots, stools and arm-chairs. If a monk moving for alms prefers to sit in the householder's place he is thereby susceptible to an improper behaviour. A monk if he is very old or ill or wishes to practise penances should sit in a householder's house. If a monk were to take bath if he be ill or healthy, his monkhood becomes endangered. He should not use sandal ointment for anointing the body. Monks purify their soul and remove sins with a vision free from delusion, devoted to penances, full of self-restraint and straight-forwardness.

In the seventh chapter, a monk should not speak what is not true, what is partly true and partly false, what is false, and what is not practised by the enlightened monks. He should not utter a speech which is neither true nor false. He should avoid harsh or harmful speech. He should not speak with definiteness when he does not know the thing. He should not address a woman as fool. He should not talk about cows fit to be milched. He should rather say that he has much water or very deep water while describing them. A wise monk should not address a householder in any of the following ways: 'sit down, come, go, etc.' One who is endowed with right knowledge and conduct and who is devoted to self-restraint and penance is called a monk. A wise monk should always speak what is conducive to benefit.

In the eighth chapter a monk should not sit on a seat full of dust. He should not take cold water, ice or hailstone. A self-restraint monk should take hot water which is made lifeless by fully boiling it. He should neither kindle nor stir nor extinguish burning fire. He should not place his foot on seeds, fungus or moss. He should not cut grass. He should note down eight subtle things, water-life, flour-life, subtle germs, subtle insects, subtle moss-life, subtle seed-life, subtle plant-life and subtle egg-life. A self-restraint monk, vigilant and well-composed in all his senses, should exert himself with all his mental powers. He should always clean the begging bowl, the blanket, the place of residence, the spot for attending calls of nature, his bed sheets and his seat.

In the ninth chapter, he should not despise others, nor should he be puffed up. Anger puts an end to love, conceit destroys humility, deceit destroys friendship, while avarice destroys everything. One should destroy anger by calmness, conquer conceit by softness, deceit by straightforwardness and avarice by contentment. A monk should behave modestly before other monks of superior religious merit. He should not show fondness for sleep. He should not find delight in secret talks. He should always devote his activities to the practice of monkhood. He should ask his learned preceptor the true meaning in case of doubt. He should sit near him by keeping in a proper position his hands, feet and body with senses well controlled. He should not sit placing his leg upon his thigh. A self-controlled monk should speak in a language which is perfect, distinct and unambiguous. He should not laugh at a sage who is possessed of the practice and knowledge of monkhood. A monk should not talk to a householder about astrology, dream significance, etc. A monk should not narrate any story to women in a solitary place, nor should he gaze at a woman who is well adorned. To a monk seeking the benefit of his soul, decoration, contact with women, rich food are like a deadly poison. He should not feel attachment for lovely things. He should not ponder over bodily stature or the sweet talk and glance of women. Sin committed in previous births disappears in a monk who is devoted to religious study and good meditation, who is engaged in penance and who is not sinful. He should not show disrespect to his preceptor out of his family pride or anger or deception. The displeasure of the learned preceptor leads to the mental delusion of the pupil with no hope of release. Sense of shame, compassion, self-restraint and celebacy are the causes that lead to the purification of the soul. The preceptors are the great oceans of learning pursuing liberation possessed of equanimity of mind, character, and intellect. Obedience is the root of the tree of religion and liberation is the highest result. It is by obedience that one gets quickly fame and learning. An ignorant man who is proud, deceitful and bad-tongued, is driven down the current of worldly life like a log of wood in a stream. A monk should have lower beds than those of his preceptor. He should adore his feet with humility. Touching the preceptor's body or garments, he should say 'forgive me for my fault, I will not commit it again'. A wise man should hear his preceptor getting up from his seat. A monk should not blame anybody in his absence. He should not use painful language in the presence of another. A monk who neither blames nor disdains a young or old person, monk or householder, and abandons self-conceit and anger is really a worthy one. A wise monk on hearing the excellent precepts of the worthy preceptors should move about devoted to the five vows, guarded in the three protections, and free from four passions, viz. anger, pride, deceit and avarice.

In the tenth or the concluding chapter the four items of spiritual ecstacy are the following: modesty as understood by the old monks—spiritual ecstacy from modesty, spiritual ecstacy from the study of scriptures, spiritual ecstacy from penances and spiritual ecstacy from conduct. Under spiritual ecstacy from modesty are found listening attentively to instructions, understanding the instructions thoroughly, conforming to spiritual learning and freedom from self-conceit. A monk should not practise penances for securing an interest in this world. He should

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do it for the destruction of his *karma*. He should also observe the rules of conduct prescribed for the monks for stopping the influx of *karma*. He should remain in this world without property, gold and silver and must have right faith. A real monk is one who takes up a motionless position on the cremation ground, who is not afraid of any dreadful sight, who is absolutely regardless of the body, being devoted to the practice of penances. He is a real monk who knows birth and death to be real dangers and who exercises control over hands, feet, tongue and senses and knows the true meaning of the Holy Scriptures. He remains without greed, who does not care for his life, and remains steady and undeceitful. A characterless monk should not be respected. A real monk is not proud of caste, nor of form, nor of gain, nor of learning and who devotes himself to religious meditation.

A householder's life is attended with many troubles and sins. People certainly despise the fallen monk who is devoid of spiritual glory. A monk after having enjoyed much with a licentious mind and led a life of no self-control goes after death to a condition which cannot be described. A monk should try to avoid crowded places and places where he is likely to be insulted. He should try to have food or drink that is brought from a near place which is visible. He should not do service to householders. He should always think of himself in the first and last watches of the night. Self is always to be protected with all the senses kept well within bounds.

EARLY BENGALIS IN ORISSA AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

By NALININATH DASGUPTA

A searching study of the epigraphical and literary sources of India, and Greater India, too, reveals the names of a good many Bengalis who migrated, mostly during the Pāla and Sena periods, to different parts of India, and even in certain cases beyond the limits of the subcontinent, and their activities in those lands go to constitute a highly interesting chapter of the early history of Bengal. The available evidences show that those Bengalis represented both the denominations, viz. the Buddhists and the Hindus, that were predominant in those days in Bengal. Some of them are found to make pious donations either to a temple or to a *saṅghārāma* in countries which they adopted as places of their residence right in the true spirit of a cosmopolitan, while some had the distinction of being employed in royal courts of different dynasties either as composers of royal inscriptions or as scribing artists. Again, some Brahmins of Bengal were made to settle in different lands by donations of land and money by the kings thereof with the set purpose of obtaining spiritual bliss for themselves as also for their deceased parents in the next world, and no king would manifestly induce himself to make such a grant unless he was fully satisfied that the recipient of the grant was a Brahmin who led an extremely pious and orthodox life and was noted for his proficiency in the scriptures. Still more important, from the national point of view of Bengal, are the instances of Bengali scholars who were appointed as *Rāja-kavis* or court-poets in different royal courts, and of Bengali Brahmins and Buddhists who were destined to become *Rāja-gurus* or spiritual guides of monarchs belonging to different States. The regions whereto a large number of early Bengalis are hitherto known to have gone and won distinction and honour include, besides the names of Kāmarūpa and Magadha just to the east and west of Bengal, those of Kāśmīra and Rājputanā, Pañcāla and Central India, Mālava and Western India, Central Provinces and Orangal, Ceylon and Java, Nepal and Tibet, and even China. There is no doubt that some more names of countries will, in course of time, be added to this list. There is also no doubt that with the passing of time when new historical materials will be forthcoming, we shall know of the glorious parts played in olden times by some other illustrious sons of Bengal, whose names are now buried under the dèbris of oblivion, in different and remote parts of India, as also beyond the ranges of high mountains and the zones of wavy oceans that form her boundary lines. It is perfectly true that men like Atīśa Dīpaṅkara, or Viśveśvara Śambhu, or Iśāna Śiva, or Rāmacandra Kavibhāratī, or *Rāja-guru* Madana, or *Rājaguru* Kumāraghosa, or *Rāja-kavi* Śrīharṣa are not born in every age and in every clime, but it is equally true that the amount of contribution to the domain of learning and culture, art and *dharma* in different lands made by the Bengalis of less celebrity, whose names are already known, is anything but meagre, in spite of that we shall never know the details of their personal history that made them what they were and claim the meed of honour bestowed upon them.

The indebtedness of Orissa to Bengal, which culminated in the days of Caitanya, set in, so far as our present knowledge goes, since the days of Śaśāṅka, whose empire extended as far south as to Koṅgada (Central Orissa) at least. In the Ganjam copper-plate inscription, dated 619 A.D., of Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarmā, a feudatory chief of Koṅgada, he acknowledges the suzerainty of Mahārājādhirāja Śaśāṅka,[1] and it is important to note that the inscription is incised in the alphabet current in North-Eastern India of the time. As the late R. D. Banerjee observed, 'The introduction of the North-Eastern alphabet, into the Northern Sircars, was also probably due to this prince'[2] (i.e. Śaśāṅka). This would explain why about

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two decades later Hiuen Tsang had found the language and mode of pronunciation of the people of Koṅgada quite different from, but their written characters much akin to, those of Mid-India.[3]

With the establishment of the Somavaṁśī kings of Southern Kośala and Orissa inaugurated a period of accelerated progress in those parts of the country. The famous Liṅgarāja temple of Bhuvaneśvara is the creation of this dynasty and stands as a witness to their zeal and heartiness for the religious and artistic advancement of their subjects. Likewise for the propagation of Sanskritic culture and civilization in their kingdom they granted land to learned and holy Brahmins from outside, so that they might perpetually settle in their territory, and this is attested to by about a dozen of copper-plate charters issued by them. Only a careful and comparative study of these charters discloses that in the majority of cases the grantees are Bengali Brahmins.

Mahābhavagupta I, *alias* Janamejaya, the first historical [4] as against traditional name of this dynasty, gave the village of Vakratentalī to Bhaṭṭaputra Jātarūpa, who is distinctly said to have been an immigrant to Orissa from Rāḍha (*Rāḍhyāyāṅ valli-kandara-vinirgata*).[5] Jātarūpa was the son of Bhaṭṭaputra Śrīvaccha (Śrīvasta), and belonged to the Kauṇḍinya *gotra* and the Chāndoga *caraṇa*, his *pravaras* being Maitrāvaruṇa and Vaśiṣṭha. In the thirty-first year of his reign the same prince issued three charters of land-grant from his camp at Ārāma, by which he granted four villages to one and the same person, the Mahattama Sādhāraṇa, son of Bhaṭṭa Śobhana, belonging to Bhāradvāja *gotra*, with the *pravaras* of Bārhaspatya and Āṅgirasa, and a student of Vājasaneya *śākhā*.[6] The grantee, Sādhāraṇa, was his chief minister, too, and Ṭakāri (Ṭṭakāri) was the place from which, we are told, he was an immigrant.

Again, Mahāśivagupta I, *alias* Yayāti, son of Mahābhavagupta I, granted in his ninth regnal year a village to Śaṅkhapāṇi, son of Dinakara and grandson of Ananta, 'belonging to the Ṭakkāra Bhāradvāja *gotra* with the *pravaras* of Āṅgirasa, Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja, and who was the student of Chāndoga-Kauthuma *śākhā*'.[7] The expression that he belonged to the Ṭakkāra-Bhāradvāja *gotra* evidently means that he belonged to (a branch of) the Bhāradvāja *gotra* which was formerly settled at Ṭakkāra.[8]

This Ṭakkāra is no doubt the same as the Ṭakāri of the former three charters of Mahābhavagupta I. Śaṅkhapāṇi and Mahattama Sādhāraṇa, therefore, belonged originally to the same village. Since there is no specification of the *bhukti* or *viṣaya* or *maṇḍala* in which the village lay, it must have been a well-known village of the time, just as the Tarkārikā of Varendra had been, as is evinced by the Silimpur stone-slab inscription of Prahāsa [9] of the 11th century. This inscription describes Takāri or Tarkāri as *par excellence* a seat of Vedic culture, 'where the columns of smoke rising up from the *homa* of Brāhmaṇas practising oblations, frequently repeated in the sacrificial (*vaitāna*) and domestic (*gārhya*) rites which had grown out of (their) acquaintance with the Vedas and *smṛtis*, glittered dark in the sky, white with their fame, like massed lines of moss playfully floating on an ocean of milk'. That this is exactly the village alluded to in the above inscriptions admits of no shred of doubt, for Śaṅkhapāṇi, who belonged to the Ṭakkāra Bhāradvāja *gotra*, was an immigrant from Bālagrāma (represented as Vallagrāma), and according to the Silimpur inscription, Bālagrāma was derived from Tarkāri, i.e. was an offshoot of Tarkāri.[10] Moreover, we are distinctly told in the second verse of the inscription of Prahāsa that the Brahmins 'who had their descent from Āṅgirasa and who belonged to the same *gotra* with Bhāradvāja had their home in a place called Tarkāri', and we are to take note in this connection of the *gotra* and *pravara* of Mahattama Sādhāraṇa, too.

Again, Tarkāri was situated, as the Silimpur inscription of Prahāsa adds, within the limits of Śrāvastī,[11] while the same king Mahāśivagupta I granted in the 24th and 28th years of his reign two villages to one and the same person, Mahodadhi, son of Siddheśvara and grandson of Parameśvara, and who was an immigrant from

Kāsilī in the Śrāvastī-*maṇḍala*.[12] This Śrāvastī may, without any great risk of error, be identified with the Śrāvastī of Varendra. One Mahodadhi, it may be noted here, is quoted in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* of the Bengali Śrīdharadāsa (1205 A.D.). Mahābhavagupta II, *alias* Bhīmaratha, son and successor of Mahāśivagupta I, granted in his third regnal year a village also to an immigrant from the same Kāsilī (*Kāsīllībhaṭṭa grāma*) in Śrāvastī-*maṇḍala*, by name Raccho, the Rāṇaka, son of Bhaṭṭa Vaśiṣṭha and grandson of Bhaṭṭa Parameśvara.[13] It may not improbably be that Bhaṭṭa Parameśvara, grandfather of Mahodadhi, and Bhaṭṭa Parameśvara, grandfather of Raccho, are identical, Siddheśvara and Vaśiṣṭha being his two sons.

Mahābhavagupta II's feudatory, Puñja, made a grant of the village of Loisarā to Bhaṭṭaputra Nārāyaṇa, son of Janārdana, and an immigrant from Hastipada.[14] Hastipada is the name of a village from which Kṛṣṇāditya Śarman, the grantee of the Bāṇgaḍ copper-plate of Mahīpāla I of Bengal, immigrated.[15]

It would appear curious the Orissa tradition makes Yayāti settle 10,000 Brahmins in Orissa from Kanauj,[16] while the evidence of inscriptions is that all whom he made to settle in Orissa hailed from Bengal. One reason that might have prevailed upon Yayāti and other Somavaṁśī kings to prefer Bengali Brahmins settle in Mahākośala and Orissa is that they themselves claimed to have come from East Bengal, Vaṅga. Thus in the Jatesinga-Dungri inscription, Mahāśivagupta I, *alias* Yayāti, lord of Trikaliṅga, has been described as 'the full-moon in the sky of Vaṅga' and his family is called *Vaṅgānvaya*.[17] But at the same time Yayāti is said in the inscription to have seized Gauḍa and Rāḍha, i.e. North and West Bengal, and yet he and others of his family selected Brahmins from North and West Bengal as grantees of their charters.

Not only the Somavaṁsī kings but also other dynasties of Orissa bore high regard for the Bengali *paṇḍits* and granted them lands. The Śaiva king, Gayāḍatuṅga, who claims descent from the Tuṅga dynasty of Rohitāgiri (Lālmāi Hills in the Tipperah district of East Bengal?) but was a king of the Talcher region in Orissa, probably in the 11th century, granted a village to a number of Brahmins, of whom Manorava and Devaśarmā, sons of Pauma (Paduma), received one-twelfth *māla*.[18] The name of Devaśarmā, son of Paduma and grandson of Dhanaśarmā, occurs in another copper-plate inscription of the same king, where he is distinctly said to have emigrated from a village of Varendra-*maṇḍala*.[19] Again, the Baripada (Mayurbhanj State) Plate of Devānandadeva reads that from Jayapura the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahā-sāmantādhipati* Devānandadeva, who was born in the Nandodbhava family, grants the village Lambeva or Lambeda, situated in the *viṣaya* of Potoḍā in the Airāvata-*maṇḍala* to one Bhaṭṭa Brahmadhara, son of Śaktidhara and grandson of Ādityadhara, who belonged to the Kāṇva-*śākhā* of the White Yajurveda and to the Kṛṣṇātreya *gotra*, and was a member of the Bhaṭṭa community of Jambama-Nārāyaṇapura, originally hailing from Puṇḍravardhana (*Puṇḍravardhana-vinirgata-Jambama - Nārāyaṇapura-Bhaṭṭa-sāmānya-Kāṇva-śākhā - Yajurvedi - Kṛṣṇātreya - gotrāya . . . . Ādityadhara - sutasya Śaktidharasya sutāya Brahmadhara - bhaṭṭāya* . . .).[20] The plate is dated in the year 293, which, if referred to the Harṣa era, would correspond to 899 A.D.

To Brahmins of Bengal lands were granted also by the early Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga. The Indian Museum Plates (probably from Ganjam) of Gaṅga Devendravarman, son of Mahārāja Rājendravarman, issued in the year 308 (802 A.D.?) from Kaliṅga-nagara, record the gift of a village to one Govindaśarman, son of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa. The donee is described to be a resident of a place in Uttara-Rāḍhā, a member of the Vatsa *gotra*, and a follower of the Yajurveda and the Kaṭha *caraṇa*.[21] In the 397th year of the Gāṅgeya era, *Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara, Parama-Māheśvara* the illustrious Devendravarman, son of the illustrious Bhupendravarman, granted Sividi *pradeśa* in the village of Kandalivāda, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, to Ādityabhaṭṭa, Yajubhaṭṭa, Sendidevarabhaṭṭa (?) and others, who were of Vaṅga, and who observe *Gojadīkṣā* in the Sividi village, who are of Bhāradvāja *gotra*

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with the *pravara* of Āṅgirasa, Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja, who are eager in performing sacrifices and studying the Vedas, who are residents of the Sividi village, who are well-versed in Vedas and Vedāṅgas, and who always practise Dharma as prescribed in the Śrutis and Smṛtis (*veda-vedāṅga-vedina śruti-smṛt(yu)ditam dharmamanisam paryupāsat tebhya Ādityabhaṭṭa Yajñubhaṭṭa Khandidevabhaṭṭa pramukhebhyaḥ Sividi grāmārjita Gojādīkṣita Vaṅgajebhya* . . . . .).[22]

The *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Svapneśvara, whose sister was married to Rājarāja, son of Anantavarma Coḍagaṅga, the conqueror of Orissa (12th century), had built the large temple of Megheśvara in Orissa. The Megheśvara temple inscription,[23] in the form of an eulogy, was composed at Svapneśvara's command by the poet, Udayana, who is, to all appearance, identifiable with Udayana the pupil of Govardhanācārya who composed the *Āryāsaptaśatī*.[24] The hymns of the *praśasti* are said to be 'ever delightful to the learned in consequence of their sweet collocation of words and plentiful figures of speech' (v. 33), while the characters employed in the inscription are Bengali of the Kuṭila type. Bengali characters of the Kuṭila type continued to be used in the grants of the Gaṅga kings, Nṛsiṁhadeva II [25] (1295 A.D.) and Nṛsiṁhadeva IV,[26] and it was after the 14th century that the modern cursive Oriya script was developed out of the Bengali Kuṭila characters.[27]

Incidentally, I take here the opportunity of stating that a village *Tarkāri*, with its variant readings *Tarkāyikā*, *Takāri* and *Ḍhakāri*, makes a figure in some of the Central Indian inscriptions of the Candellas. Thus, in 998, 1050 and 1134 A.D., Dhaṅga, Devavarmadeva and Madanavarmadeva granted the villages of Yullī (?), Kaṭhadhai and Ramūraḍā to Rudra Śrī Yaśodhara, Abhimanyu and Rābhala Śarmā, immigrants from Tarkāyikā, Takāri and Ḍhakāri, respectively.[28] Rudra Śrī Yaśodhara, the donee of Dhaṅgadeva's grant was doubtless, as is pointed out,[29] the same person with the Tārkārika Yaśodhara mentioned as the prime minister of Dhaṅga in the Khajuraho stone inscription of the same king of 988 A.D., which was renewed in 1117 A.D. by Jayavarmadeva.[30] This inscription, again was written in the time of Jayavarman by the *Kāyastha* Jayapāla of the Gauḍa country.[31] The Khajuraho stone inscription, dated in 954 A.D., of Yaśovarman, father of Dhaṅga, was also written by a Bengali, Jaddha by name, son of Jayaguṇa (?) of Gauḍa.[32] The Baṭeśvara (near Agra) stone inscription of the Candella Paramardideva, incised in 1195 A.D. was, again, composed by Devadhara, son of Gadādhara and grandson of Lakṣmīdhara, 'the unique ornament of the Gauḍa family' (*Gauḍ = ānvayaika-tilaka*).[33] It was Devadhara's younger brother, Dharmadhara, 'a young poet', whose services were requisitioned for writing that inscription.[34] It has also been suggested that Kṛṣṇamiśra, the well-known author of the *Prabodha-candrodaya*, a metaphysical and allegorical drama representing the influence of sin on the conduct of man, and who enjoyed the patronage of the Candella king, Kīrtivarman I (1049–1100 A.D.), was of Bengal extraction.[35] Besides, an inscription at Ajaigarh, in the fort, dated in 1281 A.D., 'gives the names of the Candella rulers from Kīrttivarman down to Vīravarman, and also a line of officers connected with these rulers'. These hereditary officers, comprising as they did several consecutive generations, were 'born in the Gauḍa family'.[36]

Central India was, indeed, one of the favourite resorts of immigrants from Bengal in all ages of the Hindu period. Even amongst the monks and nuns and others of Buddhist denomination who took part in the donations to the gateway of the Sāñci Stūpa (No. 1), we find one Dhamatā[37] (Dharmdatta ?), probably a lay female member of the Buddhist sect, who hailed from Puñavaḍhana (Puṇyavardhana), which is doubtless Puṇḍravardhana in North Bengal. Another Bengali, Isinadana (Ṛṣinandana), who, too, was an inhabitant of Puñavaḍhana, was also amongst the donors of a Sāñci gateway.[38] On the other hand, again, an epigraph of 1170 A.D. records various donations to the temple of Pārśvanātha on the bank of the Revā by certain persons, amongst whom were Gauḍa Soniga and Vāsudeva, residents of the village Khaduṁvarā, who donated one piece of rent-free land (*ḍohālikā*).[39] Two dated pilgrim's records were discovered in the temple of Siddhanātha at Nemawar, on the river Narmada, in the Indore State. The first inscription, dated V.S. 1253 (A.D. 1196-97), records the visit of one Deveśvara, son of Ṭhakura Kāyastha Vijadhara (Vidyādhara), who was a Kāyastha of the Gauḍa family. The second inscription, dated in V.S. 1281 (A.D. 1224-5), also records the visit of another Kāyastha of the Gauḍa family, named Raja, son of Sihada.[40] Only a few years later, in 1247 A.D., was made a grant, according to a copper-plate found at Kureṭha in the Gwalior State, by Nṛivarman, brother of Malayavarman of the Pratīhāra dynasty to one Vatsa, a Gauḍa Brahmin.[41]

In view of the preponderance of these circumstantial evidences, it is only tempting to suggest that the village Tarkāri, referred to in the Candella inscriptions, is the Tarkāri of North Bengal rather than the Ṭakkārikābhaṭṭagrāma of Madhyadeśa.[42] In other words, the donees, Rudra Śrī Yaśodhara, Abhimanyu and Rābhala Śarmā, who, it should be noted, were all of Bhāradvāja *gotra* with the three *pravaras* of Āṅgirasa, Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja, appear likely to have been Bengali Brahmins. The Khajuraho inscription of Dhaṅga, put up after his death in 1002 A.D., was composed by Rāma, son of Balabhadra and grandson of Nandana of the Sābara *gotra*, who originally hailed from Tarkārikā.[43] There is hardly anything improbable or unwarrantable as to this Tarkārikā, too, being the village of that name in North Bengal, from which had migrated so many Brahmins, as noticed before, to Orissa and the neighbourhood.

REFERENCES.

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, VII, pp. 142-43.
[2] *Origin of the Bengali Script*, p. 41.
[3] Beal, *Records*, II, p. 206.
[4] Janamejaya is placed in the last decade of the 9th century A.D., cf. *JBORS.*, XVII, Pt. I, pp. 9–14. For another view, see *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, pp. 227–30.
[5] *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 94.
[6] *Ibid.*, III, p. 350f.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 353-54.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 354, f.n. 14.
[9] *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 292, v. 3.
[10] *Ibid.*, v. 4; 'but parted therefrom from Sakaṭī'. Commenting upon 'Śakaṭī', Dr. R. G. Basak says that it was 'probably the name of a river or of a place'; and sometimes it is regarded as the name of a river rather than that of a place. But that *Śakaṭi* was the name of a village is definitely known from that the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa quotes from one 'Savara of Śakaṭī'.
[11] *Ibid.*, v. 2.
[12] *JASB.*, Vol. I, N.S., pp. 18, 20-21.
[13] *Ep. Ind.*, III, pp. 358-59.
[14] *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 254ff.
[15] *Gauḍalekha-mālā*, p. 97; *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 330.
[16] *Ind. Ant.*, II, p. 68.
[17] *JBORS.*, II, pp. 52ff.
[18] *JASB.*, V, N.S., p. 350.
[19] *Ibid.*, XII, N.S., pp. 293-94.
[20] *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, pp. 74ff.
[21] *Ibid.*, XXIII, p. 77.
[22] *Journ. Andhra Res. Soc.*, II, pp. 146ff.
[23] *JASB.*, LXVI, Pt. I, pp. 11ff.
[24] Cf. *JASB.*, Vol. II, N.S., p. 159.
[25] *Ibid.*, LXV, Pt. I, p. 231.
[26] *Ibid.*, LXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 133–44.
[27] *Origin of the Bengali Script*, R. D. Banerji, p. 6.
[28] Three Chandella Copper-plate Grants, *Ind. Ant.*, XVI, pp. 201–210.
[29] *JASB.*, 1878, p. 81.
[30] *Ep. Ind.*, I, pp. 137–47, text l. 29.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 147.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 135, v. 48.
[33] *JASB.*, 1881, p. 20.
[34] *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 214.

[35] *Bhāratavarṣa*, 1326 B.S., pp. 805-6.

[36] *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1935-36, p. 91.

[37] *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 108, No. 102.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 380, No. 217.

[39] *Ibid.*, XXVI, p. 112.

[40] *Pr. Rep. Arch. Surv. Western Circle*, for the year ending in 1921, p. 55.

[41] *Ibid.*, for 1916, p. 59.

[42] *Ind. Ant.*, XVII, p. 121; *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 118; there was yet another Takkārikā, referred to in the Tidgundi plate of king Muñja, found near Bijapur in the district of Kalādgi and identified with Ṭakalki near the findspot of the plate.

[43] *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 140.

BUDDHA'S DOCTRINE OF THE MEAN

By B. M. BARUA

There is hardly any student of Buddhism who is not familiar with the Buddha's Doctrine of the Middle Path, but a very few of them have seriously questioned as yet its *raison d'être* or commonly accepted connotation and implication. It often seems somewhat strange to me whenever and wherever any unwary scholar or popular speaker freely talks about the Buddha's Doctrine of the Mean (*Majjha, Madhya*) in terms of the Middle Path. He bases undoubtedly his statement or argument on the authority of the Benares Discourse. There is every reason for doubting the authenticity of the tradition representing the Benares Discourse as the Buddha's First Sermon in the shape and form in which it comes down to us in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, *Lalitavistara*, and *Mahāvastu*. Its mechanical character, looseness of form, and exegetical nicety arouse nothing but suspicion. In the opinion of Professor Rhys Davids the very title of the First Discourse, *Dhammacakkappavattana*, variously rendered in English—'Turning of the Wheel of the Law', 'Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness'—resulted from a poetical imagery, which the early Buddhist so often borrowed from the previous poets of Vedic literature.[1] A critical examination of the textual position of Buddha's First Discourse by Dr. B. C. Law led him to observe: 'The traditional First Discourse, as we now have it, would seem to be a later got-up thing with some romantic appendages. We get in it that form in which it might be treated, and as a matter of fact was used in the Buddhist community as a *Paritta* or *Samāgama*, i.e. as a sacred text fit to be chanted in the presence of a concourse of the gods invoked for the well-being of the audience.'[2] Dr. Law's main textual argument is based on the disparity which exists between the *Ariyapariyesana* or *Pāsarāsi Sutta* on the one hand, presenting as it does an autobiographical account of the Buddha's going forth in quest of the Truth, his two-fold discovery and first successful ministration to the five ascetics at the Deer Park of Isipatana (Sārnāth) and the *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta* in its extant form on the other. The *Ariyapariyesana Sutta* does not introduce the famous discourse on the topic of the Middle Path and Four Noble Truths. It has nothing to say about the two extremes.[3]

We have the use of *majjha* as a substantive in the *Jātaka* dictum *anumajjhaṃ samācare,*[4] one 'should properly give effect to the felt mean', and the Aśokan exhortation *majhaṃ paṭipādayema,*[5] 'We will fulfil the mean'. We get the adverbial use of the word in the Buddha's expression *majjhena dhammaṃ desemi,*[6] 'I present the doctrine by way of the mean'. The adjectival form *majjhimā*, 'middle', is employed in the Pali Benares Discourse, and that in the term *majjhimā paṭipadā*, while the Sanskrit form *madhyamā* in *pratipatsu madhyamā* is employed by Nāgārjuna in his *Vigraha-vyāvartanī*.

The Jātaka word *anumajjha*, explained in the gloss as meaning *anubhūta majjha* or 'felt mean', is significant. It shows that the mean aimed at cannot be logically defined, but it can be felt by each person individually, which is to say, that here the Buddhist 'mean' comes very near to Aristotle's 'mean', 'the happy mean' 'the proper mean', or 'the golden mean'. If with Aristotle virtue be the mean between two extremes, the questions arise: 'What is the criterion here? Who is to judge?

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[1] *Buddhist Suttas*, S.B.E., p. 141.

[2] *J.R.A.S.*, Bombay Branch, New Series, Vol. XV, 1939, p. 74.

[3] B. C. Law, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[4] *Jātaka*, IV, p. 192.

[5] S.R.E., I.

[6] *Saṃyutta*, II, p. 77; III, p. 15; *Aṅguttara*, I, p. 173; III, p. 440.

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How are we to know what is the proper mean in any matter?' The reply is: 'Mathematical analogies will not help us. It is not a case of drawing a straight line from one extreme to the other, and finding the middle point by bisection. And Aristotle refuses to lay down any rule of thumb in the matter. There is no golden rule by virtue of which we can tell where the proper mean is. It all depends on circumstances, and on the person involved. What is the proper mean in one case is not the proper mean in another. What is moderate for one man is immoderate for his neighbour. Hence the matter must be left to the good judgment of the individual. A sort of fine tact, good sense, is required to know the mean, which Aristotle calls insight.'[1]

That this is precisely the case with the Buddha's 'mean' may be realized from the fact that in the *Culla-vedalla Sutta*[2] the Bhikkhuṇī Dhammadinnā makes use of the term *avijjā*, meaning 'the unrecognizable', 'the indefinable', to signify the mean between, or *tertium quid* of the two extremes or opposites, namely, the pleasurable or agreeable feeling *sukha* and the painful or disagreeable feeling *dukkha*. The mean or *tertium quid* is the feeling called *adukkha-asukha* 'neither painful nor pleasurable, neither disagreeable nor agreeable' which goes also by the name of *upekkhā*. It remains unrecognized so long as it is not brought into clear recognition, we are not mentally aware of it, and it becomes *vijjā* or recognized when it is brought into clear recognition, we become mentally aware of it. Proceeding in the line of this 'mean' between the two opposite feelings or states of feeling, the contemplative comes to develop *tatra-majjhattatā*, a balanced state of mind which is the *sine qua non* of equanimity. According to the Pali scholiast, 'the mean', i.e. *upekkhā*, is termed here *avijjā* because it is difficult to define it, it remaining covered by darkness (*andhakārābhibhūtā duddīpanā*).[3]

And yet in the matter of the ethical ideal of life Aristotle's 'mean' is not precisely the Buddha's 'mean'. The Aristotelian doctrine stands almost on a par with the Kauṭiliyan, not to say, peculiarly Brahmanistic. With Aristotle 'virtue means that the appetites must be brought under control, not that they must be eradicated. Hence there are two extremes to be avoided. It is extreme, on the one hand, to attempt to uproot the passions; and it is extreme, on the other, to allow them to run riot. Virtue means moderation. It consists in hitting the happy mean as regards the passions, in not allowing them to get the upper hand of reason, and yet in not being quite passionless and apathetic . . . Every virtue lies between two vices, which are the excess and defect of appetite respectively.'[4] Kauṭilya enjoins in the case of his ideal king, that he should not go without worldly enjoyment; he should enjoy the pleasures of the sense, though not inconsistently with the principles of equity and advantage.[5]

Both Aristotle and Kauṭilya kept evidently in view the regulation of secular life, the normal course of life in human society. Even with regard to secular life the Buddha's doctrine of the mean did not accord a positive sanction to the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense. He had nevertheless no grudge against it, a point which is clearly brought out by Aśvaghoṣa in his *Life of The Buddha*.[6] The hankering for happiness in the sense of enjoyment of the pleasures of sense was to him a general biological principle which guided the course of life in the order of nature—*sukha-kāmāni bhūtāni*.[7] The same principle guided also the normal course of life in human society. Taking this for granted, he would dwell on charity and virtue serving (*dāna-kathā*, *sīla-kathā*) as means of enjoying the abundance of happiness in an anthropomorphic heaven or paradise—a *sagga* which is the ordinary mortal's dreamland of *vipula sukha*.[8] He would not advise any man or woman to marry, but if they approached him as a married couple, he would gladly acquaint them with his conception of the ideal and non-ideal of conjugal life. If they were indulging in sexual enjoyment without a grudge, he would extol to them the virtue of loyalty, moderation and the like. As to the householder, the labourer, the cultivator, the trader, the banker, the ruler, the teacher, the learner, his interest lay in giving them the best possible advice and guidance to proceed along the path of duty, piety, virtue, and progress. Even when certain Buddhist teachers or sects came to accord sanction to sex-indulgence or marriage, they did so on an ethical or ideal ground, and not surely on the Brahmanist's biological ground and principle of sexual congress with wife for the sake of progeny only, using it as the tangible means of ensuring the immortality of the self through the continuity of the family line and the perpetuity of the race and cultural tradition. In other words, the Buddha's ethical idealism was really behind this positive sanction.[1]

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[1] W. T. Stace, *A Critical History of Greek Philosophy*, Macmillan, 1946, p. 318.

[2] *Majjhima*, I, p. 304.

[3] *Papañca-sūdanī*, II, p. 370.

[4] Stace, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

[5] *Arthaśāstra*, I, 7: *Na nissukhaḥ syāt. Dharmārthāvirodhena kāmaṃ seveta.*

[6] *Buddhacarita*, IV, 70–86; B. C. Law, *Aśvaghoṣa*, p. 79.

[7] *Dhammapada*, 131.

[8] *Ibid.*, 27.

With Aśoka the mean is an ideal of administration to be fulfilled or achieved—*majhaṃ paṭipādayema*—by avoiding the two extremes, the ideal in which the well-established rule is that not a single person should suffer from sudden arrest, coercion, or imprisonment, on the one hand, and that all people, officers and citizens, should be active and energetic in the matter of promoting sufficiently the cause of piety and virtue, the education of men and the elevation of human nature. Fulfilment or achievement carries with it and necessarily implies the idea of some definite means, and so far as Aśoka's official agents were concerned, the definite means consisted in the instructions issued or communicated to them for translating them into action in letter and spirit. The two extremes to be avoided were two sets of unwholesome mental dispositions, malignity, cruelty, and oppressiveness, on the one hand, and non-application, lethargy, and weariness for exertion, on the other. Winsome cordiality and diligence are the two traits of character that are behind the balanced state of mind or judgment which is compatible with the dynamic of conduct.[2]

The *Jātaka* doctrine of the felt mean, too, insists on the avoidance of the two extremes in administration, the drastic or despotic method, on the one hand, and the gentle or lenient method, on the other. The argument advanced in support of this is:

Paribhūto mudu hoti, atitikkho ti veravā,
etañ ca ubhayaṃ ñatvā anumajjhaṃ samācare.[3]

'Disregarded is the ruler who follows too mild a method; he who follows too severe a method provokes hostility. Knowing these two to be such, he should give effect to that which is the felt mean.'

Kauṭilya advances the very same argument against these two extremes, and that in virtually the same language. But in his opinion wisdom between the two lies in meting out punishment as deserved.[4] It involves the policy of 'Tit for Tat', of 'paying a man in his own coin' (*upakāra-apakārayor dṛṣṭapratikārī*). Kauṭilya's is the Kosala king's or the Great Epic's policy of 'matching severe with severe and mild with mild':

Dalhaṃ dalhassa khipati mudussa mudunā muduṃ[5]
Tīkṣṇakāle bhavet tīkṣṇaḥ, mṛdukāle mṛdur bhavet.[6]

Thus it falls short of the ethical standard of the Benares king's policy of 'conquering the wicked by goodness'—*asādhuṃ sādhunā jine*—which is extolled in the Pali *Rājovāda Jātaka*. There may be circumstances, as Aśoka observes, in which drastic action on the part of a State, even resorting to conquest by the force of arms;

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[1] *Kathāvatthu*, XXIII, 1: *ekādhippāyo methuno dhammo paṭisevitabbo*. 'With united resolve sex may be indulged in.' See Commentary. Cf. the Sarvāstivāda argument in favour of marriage which the *Lalitavistara*, Chap. VII, puts into the mouth of the Bodhisattva.

[2] Barua, *Asoka and His Inscriptions*, Pt. I, pp. 252ff.

[3] *Jātaka*, IV, p. 192.

[4] *Arthaśāstra*, I, 4: *yathārha-daṇḍaḥ pūjyaḥ*. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, XII, 56, 40-41.

[5] *Rājovāda Jātaka*, No. 151.

[6] *Mahābhārata*, XII, 140-65.

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is unavoidable, but he would give sanction to either of them with reluctance and precaution against excess (R.E., XIII).

Now, viewing the matter from the standpoint of mendicant or recluse life, we are to understand by *Majjhimā Paṭipadā* of the Benares Discourse not so much the Middle Path or *Via Media* as the means, method, or process for the fulfilment of the doctrine or ideal of the mean. The adjectival interpretation 'middle' goes to objectify an abstract idea of the means, method or process. I am painfully aware of the difficulty of getting rid of the concrete imagery of path, course, or way (*paṭipadā, magga, ayana*), such as in the expressions *ākarāvatī paṭipadā*[1] (formulated path), *ariyo aṭṭhaṅgika-maggo*[2] (noble eightfold path), *ujumaggo* (straight path), and *ekāyana*[3] (one way). The same difficulty lies with the interpretation of *sammādiṭṭhi*, etc., whether it means the view of the right or the rightness of the view. This difficulty may be obviated if we understand by either, the *samyak* and rightness, just completeness or comprehensiveness with a dialectic movement of thought and a dynamic of action.

The Buddha's ideal of the mean to be realized by means or method of the *samyak* insists indeed on the avoidance of the two extremes (*dve antā*)—*ete te ubhe ante anupagamma*. But these extremes do not necessarily imply a contrast or antagonism between household life and ascetic life, as generally supposed. The contrast is to be historically interpreted in one and the same context of the life of those who have run away from household life—the *pabbajitas*. The contrast is drawn between two *anuyogas* or yogic modes, the *rājayoga* and the *haṭhayoga*,[4] one through the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense and the other through self-mortification (*atta-kilamatha, dukkara-kārikā*); one having for its maxim: *Sukhena sukhaṃ adhigantabbaṃ*—through delight to delight, and the other: *Dukkhena sukhaṃ adhigantabbaṃ*—through hardship to bliss.[5] The first maxim means that through the experience and enjoyment of delight in the pleasures of life and in everything of the world the *yogin* comes to experience and enjoy the delight in beatitude. The second maxim means that the *yogin* or aspirant must undergo all manner of hardship, penances and austerities in order to realize the blissful nature of soul, the tranquil state of the self, the purity and spirituality of internal nature, the supreme condition of consciousness. In the Buddha's opinion, the five pleasures of sense are the noose (*pāsa*) that binds us to things mundane,[6] and self-mortification is useless as means[7] of enlightenment and internal purity. The *yoga* method on the basis of *samyak*, in its all-embracing character, is dignified, rational, effective, and progressive.[8]

At the same time the Buddha is not without sincere appreciation for 'a person who appears clad in a raiment made of rags, and who has become lean and emaciated while meditating alone in the wood'.[9] And against Māra's invitation to the regulated life of a man of the world offering oblations to fire and acquiring much merit instead of following the difficult mode of mental exertion through penances and privations, his definite reply is that he would rather prefer the latter as the means of obtaining the supreme experience:

Tassa m'evaṃ viharato pattass'uttamavedanaṃ.[10]

The Pali *anuyoga* as employed in the Benares Discourse is a term of the Buddha's yogic phraseology, meaning as it does an inner or internal application of mind. It stands for the third step or stage in the yogic method or process, the previous two steps or stages being represented by *ātappa* (strenuousness in exercise, rather physical or physiological) and *padhāna* (strengthening of the will towards the aim): *sammā ātappaṃ anvāya, padhānaṃ anvāya, anuyogaṃ anvāya*.[11]

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[1] *Majjhima*, II, p. 35.

[2] *Dhammapada*, 273.

[3] *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*: *ekāyano ayaṃ bhikkhave maggo sattānaṃ visuddhiyā*.

[4] *Yogatattva Upaniṣad*, 23; Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, p. 270.

[5] *Majjhima*, I, p. 93; B. C. Law, *Mahāvīra: His Life and Teachings*, pp. 66f.

[6] *Majjhima*, I, p. 173.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 85ff.

[8] Cf. *Dhammapada*, vs. 141-142.

[9] *Dhammapada*, V, 395.

[10] *Padhāna Sutta*, v. 11.

[11] *Dīgha*, I, p. 13.

In the realm of thought, too, whether it be ontological, logical or ethical, the Buddha's doctrine of the mean is indispensable as complement to his doctrine of the *samyak* or synthetic, and *vice versa*. Here, too, his doctrine of the mean avoids the two extremes while his doctrine of the synthetic proceeds with its own mode of thinking and with its own outlook on life and things to synthesize them in the sense of making them significant in essence or spirit. His is not the way of the dogmatist tenaciously adhering to one or the other extreme position, nor is it that of the eclectic admitting both the extremes, each in its own sense, on its own ground, and from its own standpoint, nor even that of the sceptic avoiding the issues.[1] Nowhere commitment is made to any of the four positions in the Laws of Thought (*catuṣkoṭi*). It is not that the Buddha discourages the metaphysical speculation or is afraid of facing the issue; he does not simply admit the validity of the form in which the problem is stated,[2] whereas the sceptic admits the problem as stated but suspends his judgment thereon.

In the Buddha's case, his doctrine of the *samyak* demands that the extremes must be synthesized in their true spirit in such a manner that they will acquire their best meaning and value in an independent mode of thinking and judgment.[3]

The two extremes to be avoided in the Buddha's doctrine of the mean as to the ontological thought consist of these two antagonistic axioms:

(i) That all exists—*sabbaṃ atthīti*—an eternalistic thesis;
(ii) That nothing exists—*sabbaṃ n'atthīti*—an annihilationistic thesis.[4]

As to the logical thought, the two extremes are:

(i) That all things are pre-determined by a cause, single efficient cause, God, Fate, Time, or the like—*sabbe pubbekatahetu*—a determinist thesis.[5]
(ii) That all things emerge without a cause, proximate or remote—*sabbe ahetu-appaccayā*—a fortuist thesis.[6]

And as to the ethical thought, they stand for these two axioms:

(i) That the happiness and misery are one's own creation—*sukhadukkhaṃ sayaṃkataṃ*;
(ii) That the happiness and misery are created by an agent or cause other than the self—*sukhadukkhaṃ paraṃkataṃ*.[7]

The Buddha's doctrine of the *samyak* seeks to meet all the three thought-situations by his doctrine of *paṭiccasamuppāda* or *pratīyasamutpāda* as viewed from an intuitional or objective, a conceptual or subjective, a doctrinal, logico-architectonic or psycho-ethical standpoint.

Historically viewed, each doctrine of the mean appears as a synthetic landmark, while between any pair of the extremes we are to witness centuries of evolution, whether of thoughts, or of beliefs, or of ideals, or of modes and ways.[8] The result which followed therefrom differed from time to time. The synthesis reached, for instance, in the *Īśa Upaniṣad*, a text of the Vājasaneya school, as between the two extremes, the opinion that the immortality of the self is possible only through *avidyā* implying the continuity of the family-line through progeny, on the one hand, and the opinion that it is possible only through *vidyā* implying a life of renunciation and lonely meditation, on the other, came to serve as a philosophic foundation of the Brahmanist scheme of self-training through four *āśramas* or stages of life. The

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 27; Barua, *A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, p. 329.
[2] *Majjhima*, I, pp. 7f.
[3] *Aṅguttara*, V, p. 119; Miss I. B. Horner's comment in her article—Gotama and the other sects, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 64, No. 4, 1946, p. 284.
[4] *Saṃyutta*, II, p. 17; III, p. 135.
[5],[6] *Aṅguttara*, I, p. 173; *Majjhima*, II, p. 217.
[7] *Saṃyutta*, II, p. 19; Cf. *Digha*, III, p. 137.
[8] Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 405ff.

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Vājasaneyas opined that after overcoming death in the sense of the discontinuity of the family-line through *avidyā*, one realizes the immortality of soul through *vidyā:*

Avidyayā mṛtyuṃ tīrtvā vidyayāmṛtam aśnute.[1]

The synthetic landmark reached through Nāgārjuna's doctrine of the mean came to suggest two different view-points of truth, namely, conventional or scientific (*sāṃvṛtika*) and transcendental (*pāramārthika*).[2] Nāgārjuna wanted to maintain that although the Sarvāstivāda or Abhidharma position as to the concepts being the handy ideal symbols or mental counterparts of the facts of experience was untenable when tested by the transcendental dialectic of *śūnyatā*, its validity was not challengeable when seen and judged from the conventional or scientific standpoint.

If so, it will not be correct to maintain: 'The philosophy of India, as we understand it, has not been the result of accumulation of thoughts and ideas, promulgated by different philosophers at different periods of history. It is like the organic growth of a full-grown tree into its branches, foliage and fruits from the power of a seed which merely unfolds itself by inner growth and differentiation and not by external accretion.'[3] The propounder of the view is evidently inspired and guided by the *Chāndogya* poetical imagery of a huge banyan tree as given in its germinal form in a tiny seed. Even apart from other considerations, the synthetic landmarks themselves must have to be taken as definite and distinct chronological landmarks in the development of Indian thought.

Here I am not arguing certainly for the applicability of Hegel's triple dialectic method of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis to the process of development of thoughts which forms the subject matter of a history of philosophy. But if one of the two extremes be regarded as the thesis and the other the anti-thesis, we may certainly expect to reach somewhere in a subsequent thought, a synthesis of the two, which means some kind of transcendence including both what is affirmed and what is denied. In the dialectic of history the partisans of the extremes are either different individual thinkers, or schools, or even trends of thought, and at the stage of synthesis there may emerge different kinds or types with different bearings on contemporary and subsequent trends of thought.

The question arises: If the Buddha's doctrine of the mean insists on the avoidance of the two extremes judged as errors (*micchā*), how is it possible for his doctrine of the *samyak* to include them in a new synthetic development of thought? With the Buddha, precisely as with Hegel, the *micchādiṭṭhi* implies just an one-sided view (*ekaṅgadassana*), a partial truth, and not an erroneous view. Its defect is its inadequacy, incompleteness or incomprehensiveness. If thus the case of a *micchādiṭṭhika* be like that of a blind man describing correctly an elephant in terms of the likeness of a particular limb of the animal touched and felt by him, and if all the individual descriptions taken together refer to the animal as a whole,[4] the Buddha's position cannot be differentiated from the eclectic's way of perceiving and appreciating truth in all affirmations and denials. Here the parable of the blind man and the elephant is inapt. The fact of the case is that the Buddha's own mode of thinking proceeds on a fluxional view of reality, and not on a static view. If it is seen to proceed occasionally on a static basis, it is just by the way. Here the extremes remain and die in the background as parent ideas or contributory factors, while the *samyak* or synthetic emerges as the offspring with its own growth, movement, and development.

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[1] Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 354ff.

[2] These two view-points were readily accepted also in Theravāda Buddhism (*Papañcasūdanī*, II, p. 203; B. C. Law, *Buddhaghosa*, p. 85), and Advaita Vedānta.

[3] H. M. Bhattacharyya, *The Principles of Philosophy*, 1944, p. 10.

[4] *Udāna*, pp. 61ff.

METRES IN THE *JĀTAKAS* (I)

By DEVAPRASAD GUHA

In this paper I have tried to make a brief metrical analysis of the *gāthās* forming the nuclei of the Jātakas. The *Jātaka* commentary groups the Jātakas in 22 *nipātas* or sections, the Ekanipāta alone comprising the first 150 Jātakas with which we are concerned here.

Here I have made use of Arnold's *Vedic Metre,* and have employed such of his terminology as necessary. For comparison with epic metres I have relied on Hopkins' *Great Epic of India,* pp. 191–362.

Pali metres have got two distinct units, viz. foot or verse and stanza. Generally a foot consists either of 8 syllables when it is distinguished as a *dimeter* verse, or of 11 or 12 syllables, both of which are included in the *trimeter* class. It should be pointed out that the number of syllables in a verse is not quite rigidly prescribed. There are dimeter verses which contain 7 syllables when they are termed *heptasyllabic.* Similarly trimeter verses, which contain 10 syllables, are known as *decasyllabic.*

The most typical forms of stanzas in the *Jātaka* are the *Anuṣṭubh* which consists of 4 dimeter verses, the *Triṣṭubh* consisting of 4 trimeter verses each of 11 syllables, and the *Jagatī* comprising 4 trimeter feet of 12 syllables each.

Stanzas may contain more or less feet than 4. Thus *Gāyatrī* consists of 3, *Paṅkti* of 5, *Mahāpaṅkti* of 6 dimeter verses, while *Virāj* of 3 triṣṭubh feet and *Dvipadā Virāj* of 2 decasyllabic *pādas.*

Some take anuṣṭubh and mahāpaṅkti stanzas as belonging to the general class called *śloka.* Stanzas may also consist of combination of dimeter and trimeter feet. All metres of this type are grouped under the general name of *lyric metres.* The rare combination of feet of 8 and 11 syllables in a stanza gives the *uneven lyric metres.*

A dimeter foot is divided into two parts each consisting of 4 syllables. These parts are distinguished as the *opening* and the *cadence* or *vipulā.* Sometimes the anuṣṭubh stanza consists of 2 pairs of dimeter verses, in each of which the cadence of the first foot and the opening of the second approximate to the rhythm ⏓——⏓. To this particular variety of the anuṣṭubh Arnold gives the name of *epic anuṣṭubh.* In some anuṣṭubh stanzas again the epic nature is noticeable only in either half. One may treat such a stanza as *irregular epic anuṣṭubh* stanza.

In our text out of the 151 stanzas 36 are pure anuṣṭubh, 16 epic anuṣṭubh, 56 irregular epic anuṣṭubh, 7 mahāpaṅkti, 15 triṣṭubh, 3 jagatī, 1 triṣṭubh-jagatī, 7 lyric, 2 uneven lyric, 1 virāj and 7 miscellaneous.

Dimeter verses:

For the sake of convenience I have divided the anuṣṭubh verses into two classes, viz. (i) the *general* comprising the pure anuṣṭubh and mahāpaṅkti stanzas, and (ii) the *epic* consisting of the pure epic and irregular epic stanzas.

Odd pādas:

I append herewith two analytical tables of the odd feet of the two classes mentioned above. Table A gives the analysis of the general class and Table B of the epic.

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Table A : Odd feet of pure Anuṣṭubh and Mahāpaṅkti stanzas.

Opening / Cadence	––––	–––⏑	⏑–––	⏑––⏑	⏑–⏑–	⏑–⏑⏑	–⏑––	–⏑–⏑	⏑⏑––	⏑⏑–⏑	––⏑–	––⏑⏑	–⏑⏑–	–⏑⏑⏑	⏑⏑⏑–	⏑⏑⏑⏑		
Gr. I ––––		1	2	5													8	37
–⏑––			2	6	1	1	1								2	1	14	
––⏑–	2	1	2	4									3		2	1	15	
Gr. II ⏑–––		1		3			1										5	20
⏑⏑––			3	1													4	
⏑–⏑–			1	3									5		2		11	
Gr. III –––⏑			3	1													4	18
–⏑–⏑			4	5													9	
––⏑⏑			4	1													5	
Gr. IV ⏑––⏑				2													2	4
⏑⏑–⏑			2														2	
⏑–⏑⏑																		
Gr. V –⏑⏑–				1	1												2	
⏑⏑⏑–																		
–⏑⏑⏑																		
⏑⏑⏑⏑																		
	2	3	23	32	2	1	2						8		6	2	81	

Opening :

A glance at the above table will show that the first group, comprising the rhythms ––––, –⏑–– and ––⏑–, is the most predominant. The second and third groups respectively differ from the first in having the initial and final syllables short and stand next in frequence with a slight preference for the former. The fourth group, which differs from the second in having the last syllable short, is rare while the last group (comprising rhythms with short second and third syllables) is the least favoured.

The most popular openings are the *iambic* ⏓–⏑–, the normal ⏓––– and the syncopated ⏓⏑––. Of these, the first is the commonest; it comprises about one-third of the total opening. The normal form is half as common as the iambic while the syncopated stands midway between the two. Of the other forms –⏑–⏑ is the most predominant. The irregular forms, ⏑⏑⏑–, –⏑⏑⏑ and ⏑⏑⏑⏑, as also the form ⏑–⏑⏑ are absent in our text. The remaining forms, such as, –––⏑, ––⏑⏑, ⏑––⏑, ⏑⏑–⏑, and –⏑⏑– may be considered as rare. It is also interesting to note that the openings with initial syllable long have a marked preference.

Cadence :

As to the cadence or the latter half of the foot we may dismiss at the very outset the forms ⏑⏑––, ––⏑–, –⏑–⏑, ⏑⏑–⏑, ––⏑⏑ and –⏑⏑⏑ which are absent in our text. The rare *vipulās* or cadences are ––––, –––⏑, ⏑–⏑–, ⏑–⏑⏑, –⏑–– and ⏑⏑⏑⏑, the commonest of which appears only thrice. The most frequently used *vipulās* are ⏑––– and ⏑––⏑, the latter having a marked preference. These two together form about 70% of the total cadence. The other common *vipulās* are –⏑⏑– and ⏑⏑⏑–, both of which are almost of equal frequence.

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Table B : Odd feet of pure epic and irregular epic stanzas.

Opening \ Cadence	– – – –	– – – ⏑	⏑ – – –	⏑ – – ⏑	⏑ – ⏑ –	⏑ – ⏑ ⏑	– ⏑ – –	– ⏑ – ⏑	⏑ ⏑ – –	⏑ ⏑ – ⏑	– – ⏑ –	– – ⏑ ⏑	– ⏑ ⏑ –	– ⏑ ⏑ ⏑	⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –	⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑		
Gr. I – – – –	1	1	9	11	1										3		26	69
– ⏑ – –		1	5	13			1								1		21	
– – ⏑ –	4	2	5	8				1							1	1	22	
Gr. II ⏑ – – –		1	7	1	1												10	24
⏑ ⏑ – –			2	1						1							4	
⏑ – ⏑ –			3	3	1		1						2				10	
Gr. III – – – ⏑	1		10	4													15	29
– ⏑ – ⏑			5	4									1				10	
– ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑			1	2		1											4	
Gr. IV ⏑ – – ⏑			2	3											1		6	12
⏑ ⏑ – ⏑				1													1	
⏑ – ⏑ ⏑	1		2	2													5	
Gr. V – ⏑ ⏑ –																1	1	
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –				1													1	
– ⏑ ⏑ ⏑																		
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑			1														1	
	7	5	52	54	3	1	2	1		1			3		6	2	137	

Opening:

Here again the most predominant is the first group. The second and third are almost equal with a slight preference for the latter. Gr. IV is half as common as Gr. II while the last group is the least favoured.

The most popular forms of opening are the normal, iambic and syncopated arranged according to the order of frequence. Of these, the first claims more than 25% of the total. It should be noted that these forms have changed the order here. Whereas in the general class the normal form is the least common it is the commonest in the epic group. The iambic form, which is the most prevalent in the previous group stands midway between the normal and the syncopated here. Of the remaining forms – – – ⏑ and – ⏑ – ⏑ are the most frequent. Next stand ⏑ – – ⏑, ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ and – – ⏑ ⏑ arranged according to the order of frequence. The rare forms are ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑, – ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – and ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, each of which appears only once. The irregular form – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ is absent here also. It should be noted that the opening has got much greater freedom in this class than in the general.

Cadence:

Like the opening the cadence of the epic class is more varied than that in the general. Like the general class the epic has no such *vipulās* as ⏑ ⏑ – –, – – ⏑ –, – – ⏑ ⏑ and – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑. The most frequently used *vipulā* is ⏑ – – ⏓; it comprises about 75% of the total. All the other forms are rare but – ⏑ – –, ⏑ – ⏑ –, – ⏑ ⏑ –, – ⏑ – ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑, ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ and ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ are the rarest.

Even pādas:

Like the odd feet I append two analytical tables of the even feet. Table C deals with the even *pādas* of the general anuṣṭubh while Table D with those of the epic ones.

Table C : Even feet of pure Anuṣṭubh and Mahāpaṅkti stanzas.

Opening	Cadence	⏑–⏑–	⏑–⏑⏑		
Gr. I	––––	4	2	6	29
	–⏑––	14	7	21	
	––⏑–	2		2	
Gr. II	⏑–––	3	3	6	18
	⏑⏑––	10	2	12	
	⏑–⏑–				
Gr. III	–––⏑	2	1	3	29
	–⏑–⏑	11	4	15	
	––⏑⏑	10	1	11	
Gr. IV	⏑––⏑	2		2	14
	⏑⏑–⏑	2		2	
	⏑–⏑⏑	7	3	10	
Gr. V	–⏑⏑–				
	⏑⏑⏑–				
	–⏑⏑⏑				
	⏑⏑⏑⏑				
		67	23	90	

Table D : Even feet of pure epic and irregular epic stanzas.

Opening	Cadence	⏑–––	––⏑–	⏑–⏑–	⏑–⏑⏑		
Gr. I	––––	2		18	11	31	41
	–⏑––			5	5	10	
	––⏑–						
Gr. II	⏑–––	2		20	8	30	37
	⏑⏑––			6	1	7	
	⏑–⏑–						
Gr. III	–––⏑	1		15	9	25	41
	–⏑–⏑			3	5	8	
	––⏑⏑			5	3	8	
Gr. IV	⏑––⏑			6	6	12	17
	⏑⏑–⏑		1	1	1	3	
	⏑–⏑⏑			2		2	
Gr. V	–⏑⏑–				1	1	
	⏑⏑⏑–			1		1	
	–⏑⏑⏑						
	⏑⏑⏑⏑						
		5	1	82	50	138	

Opening :

In the opening Groups I and III are the most popular in both the classes of anuṣṭubh. Group II stands next. In the epic class it is almost as frequent as Groups I and III but in the general class is only half as common as them. Next stands Group IV in both the varieties. Group V has no example in the general class and only 2 in the epic.

The syncopated opening is the most predominant form in the general class in which it has about 40% of the total number of verses. The normal is only one-third as common as the syncopated. The iambic is very rare and occurs only twice in the general class. The other common forms of rhythm are –⏑–⏑, ⏑⏑––, ––⏑⏑ and ⏑–⏑⏑ all of which are in equal frequence excepting the first which is a bit more favoured.

In the epic class the normal form ⏓––– is the most predominant and claims about 45% of the total. –––⏑ and ⏑––⏑ are the next popular forms, the former being twice as common as the latter. Next stand –⏑–– and –⏑–⏑. ⏑⏑–⏑ and ⏑–⏑⏑ are rare. It is interesting to note that the iambic form ⏓–⏑–, which is so common in the odd verses, is rare in the even feet.

Cadence :

In the even feet of pure anuṣṭubh and mahāpaṅkti stanzas only iambic rhythm is found in the cadence. Of the iambic forms ⏑–⏑– is thrice as common as ⏑–⏑⏑. In the epic verses, too, iambic is virtually the only rhythm in the even cadence. Here again ⏑–⏑– is more than 1½ times as frequent as ⏑–⏑⏑. The other forms found in the cadence of the even feet are ⏑––– and ––⏑–. Of these the former occurs 5 times. The latter, which occurs only once, seems to be due to chance. It is interesting to note that the normal rhythm, which predominates in the cadence of the odd feet, appears only in 2% cases in that of the even feet.

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From the foregoing dissertation we can make the following general observations about the dimeter verses:

(1) The quantities of the first and last syllables of a verse are indifferent. But they are more often long than short.
(2) The fifth syllables are mostly short, while the sixth mostly long. The seventh syllables are more often short than long, while the second and third are just the reverse.
(3) In the opening there is a preference for long syllables, in the cadence for short ones.
(4) If the fourth syllable is short the fifth must usually be short also.
(5) A succession of 4 iambs or 4 trochees is very rare, there being only one instance of the former in the whole book of Eka-nipāta, and none of the latter.
(6) Even the succession of 3 iambs or 3 trochees is very rare. There are 6 examples of the former and only 1 of the latter.
(7) The combination of all long or all short syllables in a foot also is very rare. There is only one instance of the former and none of the latter.
(8) If the sixth and seventh syllables of a verse are either both long or both short the fifth is then usually of a different quantity.

Hypermetric lines:

There are 29 hypermetric lines in the dimeter verses in our book. Of these 2, *viz.* 58*a* and 59*c*, are catalectic and 26 hypercatalectic; one, *viz.* 116*a*, has got 2 syllables in excess. Of the 26 hypercatalectic lines 17 are prefixed with a short syllable and the rest with a long. The even *pādas* are less often hypermetric than the odd ones. The hypermetric nature is found mostly in the third feet and the least in the fourth. The observations made above regarding the anuṣṭubh verses apply generally to these hypermetric lines.

Trimeter verses:

A trimeter verse may be divided into 3 members, viz.: (i) the *opening* which consists of the first 4 syllables; (ii) the *break* consisting of the next 3 syllables, and (iii) the *cadence* which includes the remaining syllables beginning with the eighth. The *caesura*, a natural pause corresponding to the taking of the breath in recitation, is the most dominant feature in the trimeter verse. It is distinguished as *early* when the pause is after the fourth syllable, or *late* when it is after the fifth.

Triṣṭubh:

There are altogether 15 triṣṭubh stanzas. Of the 60 feet 2 are catalectic and 6 hypercatalectic.

Rhythm of the opening:

In the opening a general iambic rhythm predominates. In our text the iambic forms, ––⏑– and ⏑–⏑–, occur 32 and 19 times respectively. Here too we notice a preference for an initial long. If the caesura be early most of the openings fall within the formula ⏓–⏓–. In the odd lines the caesura is mostly late. Now if the caesura is late there is a marked preference for a short third and a long fifth giving the normal form ⏓–⏑–– which is identical with the usual form of the *pentad* in the dvipadā virāj verse of the *Ṛgveda*. Normal and syncopated openings, ⏑––– and –⏑––, are rare and are mostly found in the odd verses.

Rhythm of the break:

The rhythm of the break depends directly upon the caesura. The normal form of break, when the caesura is early, is ‖–⏑⏑, or –‖⏑⏑ when it is late. The

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subnormal form after an early caesura is ||–⏑– which is half as common as the normal form. With a late caesura the only subnormal form is ⏑||⏑– which again is half as common as ||–⏑–. Other forms found after an early caesura are ||– –⏑, ||⏑–⏑ and ||⏑⏑–, and after a late one –||–⏑, ⏑||⏑⏑, ⏑||–⏑ and ⏑||– –.

Rhythm of the cadence:

The regular rhythm of the cadence takes the form –⏑–⏓. This rhythm appears to be almost entirely independent of the caesura and the rhythm of the break. It should be mentioned here that there is a marked preference for a long final syllable. Only on one occasion the cadence has the rhythm ⏑⏑– –.

The commonest triṣṭubh foot in epic Sanskrit, as pointed out by Hopkins, takes the form ⏓–⏓– ⏓⏑⏓ –⏑–⏓. There are 46 such lines in our book. The first and last syllables are anceps. There is no instance of a long third syllable; only 3 *pādas* have a short fifth and only 6 a short seventh. The characteristic scheme of triṣṭubh in our book is therefore ⏓–⏑– –⏑⏑ –⏑–⏓ which reminds us of the Indravajrā and the Upendravajrā metres of Classical Sanskrit. Certain deviations from this norm occur, such as,

144*bd* of the form – – –⏑ ⏑–⏑ –⏑–⏑,
44*d* ,, ,, ,, – –⏑⏑ –⏑– –⏑– –,
131*d* ,, ,, ,, – –⏑– – –⏑ –⏑– –,
121*d* ,, ,, ,, ⏑–⏑– ⏑⏑– ⏑⏑– –,
144*a* ,, ,, ,, ⏑– – – ⏑–⏑ –⏑–⏑.

As mentioned above there are 6 hypercatalectic feet which are found in 16*d*, 22*d*, 26*b*, 31*d*, 32*d* and 44*c*, and 2 catalectic in 32*c* and 144*c*. Of the hypercatalectic feet 3 are prefixed with a long syllable and 3 with a short one. The rhythm in the opening mostly takes the form –⏑– –, in the break –⏑⏑ and in the cadence –⏑–⏓.

Jagatī:

There are 3 jagatī stanzas which have got 2 catalectic and 2 hypercatalectic verses. The general scheme of jagatī *pādas* in our book is ⏓–⏑– –⏑⏑ –⏑–⏑– which reminds us of the Vaṃśasthā and Indravaṃśā metres of Classical Sanskrit. Two feet have the rhythm ⏑⏑–⏑ – –⏑ ⏑–⏑– – and one – –⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑ ⏑–⏑– –. Of the hypercatalectic feet the one in 132*a* has the scheme ⏑ ⏑–⏑– –⏑⏑ – – –⏑⏑ and the other in 133*b* takes the form ⏑ ⏑–⏑– –⏑⏑ –⏑–⏑–. The catalectic feet are in 2*b* and 132*c* and have the rhythm ⏑–⏑– –⏑⏑ –⏑–⏓.

It is interesting to note that in Jātaka 43 we get the rare combination of a jagatī and a triṣṭubh couplet. The former is in Indravaṃśā rhythm while the latter in Upendravajrā.

The Jātakas 41 and 43 are composed in lyric metres; Nos. 14, 27, 35 and 42 appear to be in lyric; Nos. 5 and 123 are in uneven lyric while 77 has a virāj stanza. The verses in Jātakas 80, 87, 91, 96, 111, 112 and 134 do not follow any regular scheme and have been placed in the miscellaneous group.

At this stage of our knowledge we cannot go beyond the fact that here all these metres are much more free than the corresponding rhythms in Classical Sanskrit, and that our verses preserve at least some of the characteristics of the Vedic rhythm.

MISCELLANEA

BUDDHIST *SARVA-ŚŪNYAVĀDA*

The Theravādins are purely materialists and they accept a sort of Naive Realism. They are content with the plain definition of *śūnya*, declaring that as the world is void of individuality or anything belonging to an individuality, it is called *sūnya* (*Yasmā ca suññaṃ attena va attanīyena va tasmā suñño loko ti vuccatīti*).

The Sarvāstivādins are the upholders of the doctrine that all is permanently existent.[1] According to the adherents of this school, everything exists in the noumenal state, though it does not in the phenomenal. Their objective realism is based on the fact that the objects immediately perceived by our senses though devoid (*śūnya*) of real existence,[2] have an underlying substance, permanently existent throughout the three divisions of time (*Triparivartam*), *viz.* the past, the present and the future. The most important and authoritative philosophical compilation of this school is the '*Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā Śāstra*, which is an encyclopædic commentary on Kātyāyaṇīputra's *Abhidharmajñānaprasthāna Śāstra*. The *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā Śāstra*, which was compiled by five hundred bhikṣus under the royal patronage of Kaṇiṣka, expounds that the unit of matter is the atom (*paramāṇu*) which is composite, as it rests on a fourfold substratum of colour, smell, taste, and touch. It is invisible, inaudible, intangible, without taste, and unanalysable. But it is not permanent. Seven of these units, clustered around one as the centre, create the visible atom (*aṇu*) out of which matter, including the organ of sense, is composed and the combination of these constituents (*khaṇḍas*) gives rise to the so-called '*ātman*' which is transitory (*kṣaṇika*) and impermanent; but at the same time, each of the five *khaṇḍas* (i.e. *rūpa*, *vedanā*, *sajñā*, *saṃskāra* and *vijñāna*) is imperishable and exists eternally. It assures us of '*anātman*' (non-ego) of a person and wants us to believe in the eternal existence of noumenal state of things (*dharma*).

The contribution of the Sarvāstivādins to the development of Hīnayāna Śūnyavāda. Now let us see the standpoint of the Satyasiddhi school. From the Chinese source alone we come to know that the followers of the Satyasiddhi school were opposed to the Sarvāstivādins. The historic founder of this school was Harivarman, a disciple of Kumāralabdha of the Sarvāstivāda school. He was a native of central India and junior contemporary of Nāgārjuna whose doctrine of '*śūnyatā*' naturally, we may assume, influenced him. In his monumental treatise '*Satyasiddhi Śāstra*', the Sanskrit original of which is irrecoverably lost, Harivarman expounds the theory of '*anātma adharmavāda*' which is sometimes styled as '*sarva śūnyatāvāda*'.

As regards the *karma* phenomenology of human life and the universe, the Satyasiddhists bear a close resemblance with the Sarvāstivādins. But on the point of *Nirvāṇa* and the triple body (*Trikāya*) of the Buddha they stand as antagonists to the Sarvāstivādins. Satyasiddhists hold the view that the five *khaṇḍas* being the result of cause and condition (*Pratīyasamutpāda*), have no self-existence (*niḥsvabhāva*) and hence must be empty in their essence. Harivarman like his contemporary Mādhyamikas, placed his whole philosophy of '*sarva śūnyavāda*' on two principles, *viz.* conventional and transcendental. From the transcendental standpoint he views the non-existence of all phenomena and noumena of the universe; but from the conventional standpoint, he admits the existence of the '*Dharma*' with all its aspects. He mentions that it is heretical to maintain the *anātman* in the gate of conventionalism.

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[1] *Kathāvatthu*, 1, 6, 7.

[2] Leffman, *Lalitavistara*, p. 419; cf. also *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 266, 367.

As a matter of fact Harivarman's doctrine is to be regarded as the highest point of philosophical perfection attained by Hīnayānism and in a sense, it constitutes the stage of transition between Hīnayānism and Mahāyānism. Perhaps we shall not be far wrong then, if we regard Harivarman as a nihilist. His *astisāmvṛtika nāsti pāramārthikavāda* taught 'rest in activity, but not activity in rest'. This is the only loophole of his doctrine which debars him from being called a Mahāyānist.

The Mahāsaṅghikas, who formed the first schismatic school, held the doctrine of *anātma adharmavāda* or *sarva-śūnyatāvāda*. This subtle doctrine has actually been treated properly in the hands of its branch schools. Vasumitra's *Nikāya-bheda-dharmamatichakra Śāstra* furnishes us with the information that the original Mahāsaṅghika school believed in the present existence of all phenomena only, instead of past and future; and Paramārtha's *ṭīkā* on *Nikāya-avalambana Śāstra* informs us that the Ekavyavahārikas, the first offshoot of Mahāsaṅghika school, maintained the doctrine of provisional existence of this and higher world (*ayam ca uttaraloka*). Thus this school shows a clear exposition of *adharma anātma-vāda* which, again, is similar to the *sarva-śūnyatāvāda* doctrine of the Lokuttaravādins. The Lokuttaravādins uphold, as is evident from the Paramārtha's commentary on *Nikāya-avalambana Śāstra*, the doctrine of *sarva-śūnya*.

The Mahāsaṅghika doctrine of '*anātma-adharma*' has found a full and elaborate expression in the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras* under the veil of *śūnyatā* or *śūnyapuruṣa-śūnyadharma*. Nāgārjuna supplies us with a very interesting statement on this point in his *Prajñāpāramitā-Śāstra*.

In the *Śrāvaka* doctrine we have the idea of *puruṣa-śūnyatā* while in the Buddha vehicle (Mahāyāna) both the teachings of *puruṣa-śūnyatā* as well as *dharma-śūnyatā*. In the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras* this two-fold *śūnyatā* is explained under three heads, viz. *asaṃskṛta* (concerning noumenal world), *saṃskṛta* (concerning phenomenal world) and *acyanta* (concerning absolute unrestrictedness in the case of both). This three-fold *śūnyatā* is again explained more elaborately under eighteen heads.[1] The essential idea of Prajñāpāramitās can be summed up in the words, *Nirākāra-Sarva-Śūnyatā* (all is formless) or *Sarvadharmānaṃ Śūnyatā na sa śakyābhilapitum*[2] (all existence is *Śūnyatā* and it is beyond explanation). In other words, the true *Prajñā-pāramitā* is the absolute cessation of all appearance—*yaḥ anupalambhaḥ sarvadharmānaṃ sa Prajñāpāramitā ityucyate.*[3] The doctrine of *Śūnyatā* in *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras* is full of vexed repetitions as Dr. Keith rightly points out, 'we have the constant insistence on the vacuity of every conception, reiterated *ad nauseam* in the *Prajñāpāramitā*'.[4]

Developing and supplementing the theory of objective Realism of the Sarvāstivādins, Yogācāra came into existence.[5] As a matter of fact the Yogācārins after expressing their opinions on matters ontological, reverted to discussion concerning phenomenology.[6] The Yogācārins do not believe in the existence of external world which is an imaginary (*parikalpita*) creation of the ultimate (*pariniṣpanna*), consciousness (*vijñaptimātratā*).[7] The *Laṅkāvatāra*, a standard manual of this school, sets out that this consciousness, by whose movement the creation of the external world takes place, as subject and object, has no appearance in itself and is thus without any origination, existence and extinction (*utpādasthitibhaṅgavarjitam*) and is called the repository of consciousness (*ālayavijñāna*). This *ālayavijñāna* is the

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[1] *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrika Prajñāpāramitā* (edited by N. Dutt), pp. 24ff.
[2] *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (*Bibliotheca Indica series*), pp. 3, 4, 8.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 177.
[4] Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, pp. 239-240.
[5] Cf. *Lalitavistara*, pp. 419ff.
[6] McGovern, *A Manual of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 20.
[7] Cf. Vasubandhu's *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* edited by Sylvan Levi, Kārikā 1.

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ultimate or transcendental reality of the Yogācārins. Asaṅga emphatically describes it through negation:

'Na sanna cāsanna tathā na cānyathā na
Jāyate vyeti na cāvaluyate
Na vardhate nāpi viśuddhate punarvisuddhate
Tatparamārthalakṣaṇam.'[1]

The further development of this doctrine of *śūnyavāda* is seen in the Mādhyamika school. This school is quite revolutionary in its view of *śūnyatā*. The philosophical conception of this school reaches such a height that it is impossible either to assert or to deny the existence of any noumenal or phenomenal world and to call it nihilism is certainly misleading. The Mādhyamikas exploding the views of others prove them to be only a figment of imagination, mere thought fabricated out of Reality (*paramārtha satya*). They assert that this Reality is not to be comprehended by such terms as *śūnya*, *aśūnya*, both *śūnya* and *aśūnya*, or not both *śūnya* and *aśūnya*. This is why Nāgārjuna says that everything becomes possible to a man who comprehends the compatibility of this *sūnyatā*.[2] When one truly realizes this *śūnyatā*, which is all-comprehensive, all-embracing reality, then *saṃsāra* loses all its distinctive character and merges itself into the all-absorbing truth.[3] The characteristic nature of this *śūnyatā* is as follows:—

Aparapratyayaṃ śāntaṃ prapañcairaprapañcitaṃ
Nirvikalpaṃ anānārthaṃ etat tattvasya lakṣaṇam.[4]

The true mark of *śūnyatā* is that it is undisturbed by origination or destruction, it is inexpressible.

Nāgārjuna at the very outset of his *Mādhyamika Śāstra* gives in a nutshell the fundamentals of his *Śūnyatā* philosophy in a couple of invocatory verses, which read:

Anirodhaṃ anutpādaṃ anucchedaṃ aśāśvataṃ
Anekārthaṃ anānārthaṃ anāgamaṃ anirgamaṃ.

SATADAL KAR.

GAULMIKA

In early mediæval land-grants of India, particularly those of Bengal, among the titles of officials enumerated in the prose portion thereof frequently occurs the term *gaulmika*, so clearly denoting 'an official in charge of *gulma*'. The term also finds place in the Bihar stone pillar inscription of Skandagupta, where it is preceded more on purpose than by accident, by another almost homophonous term, *śaulkika*, just as the case is in the whole range of Pāla charters of Bengal. In the Rāmpāl copperplate of Śrīcandra of the Candra dynasty of East Bengal, however, *gaulmika* is followed by *śaulkika* and then by three other terms, *daṇḍapāśika*, *daṇḍanāyaka* and *viṣayapati*, and is preceded by the phraseology *nau-vala-hasty-aśva-go-mahiṣ-ājāvikādivyāpṛtaka* (officers in charge of fleet, infantry, elephants, horses, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, etc.), which in its turn is immediately preceded by *cauroddharaṇika* and *dauḥsādhasādhanika*.[5] This is, again, exactly the order in which all these officials are called over in the land-grants of the Varmans and Senas of Bengal,[6] in all of which the term *śaulkika* is so conspicuous by omission.

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[1] Levi, *Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṅkāra*, Chap. VI, Kārikā 1.

[2] *Mādhyamika Kārikā*, Chap. XXIV, 14.

[3] *Ibid.*, XXV, 20.

[4] *Ibid.*, XVIII, 9.

[5] *Dauḥsādha-sādhanika cauroddharaṇika nau-vala-hasty-aśva-gomahiṣ-ājāvikādi-vyāpṛtaka gaulmika śaulkika daṇḍapāśika daṇḍanāyaka viṣayapaty-ādinanyāṁśca.* *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, N. G. Majumdar, Rajshahi, 1919, p. 5.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 63, 73, 87, 96, 102, 111, 124, 136, 146, 171.

Naturally enough, the drift of the term *gulma* and thus the nature of the duties a *gaulmika* had to execute by virtue of his office, have, like many other obsolete terms of old, invited varied suggestions, and would have done many more, had the administrative history of Hindu India tempted more scholars to make an intensive study.

Vogel would suggest *gaulmika* to mean a military or police-officer, and *śaulkika* 'a customs officer'.[1] Dr. A. S. Altekar, on the other hand, equates śulka with *bhūtopātta-pratyāya* of West Indian copperplate grants meaning 'a tax (*āya*) on (*prati*) what has been produced (*bhūta*) in the village'. The term, therefore, refers according to him, to 'the general excise and octroi duties that were collected at the villages'.[2] Ordinarily, however, *śaulkika* is vaguely rendered into English as 'superintendent of tolls', if not it aims at meaning toll-dues levied upon some specified merchandise imported into and exported from a city and collected at the toll-house erected near the large gate of the city. The functions of the Superintendent of Tolls as in the *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra* (II, XXI) might perhaps be substantially the functions of a *śaulkika* of the early mediæval copperplates of India, too. The business of a *śaulkika* must, however, in no case be confused with that of the *ṣaṣṭh-ādhikṛta* who according to the *Manu-Saṁhitā* (VII, 131) collected the sixth part of diverse and sundry articles as revenue belonging to the king, both the officers being mentioned in one and the same inscription, viz. the Khālimpur copperplate of Dharmapāla. The sense of a police-officer conveyed by the term *gaulmika*, as Vogel and with him one or two others suppose, has doubtless lexicographical sanction, inasmuch as *gulma* means also a police-station. But in the copperplate grants we have for the police-officers such distinctive terms as *daṇḍapāśika* and *cauroddharaṇika*,[3] that are grouped together in the Pāla records of Bengal.

Both Fleet[4] and Kielhorn[5] explain *gaulmika* as superintendent or overseer of woods and forests, and Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen inclines to go after this view.[6] Again Manu (VII, 114-115) speaks of three administrative divisions of two hundred, three hundred and five hundred villages as *gulmas*.[7] In the *History of Bengal* published by the Dacca University the term *gaulmika* is sought to be explained as 'probably an officer in charge of a military squadron called *gulma* consisting of 9 elephants, 9 chariots, 27 horses and 45 foot soldiers'.[8] This explanation, which independently might or might not be true, is nevertheless based on the assertion that 'in Sena records *gaulmika* immediately follows the names of military officials'. And this is anything but a strictly correct representation of fact. If even we go to admit that the officers in charge of cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, etc., were in the Sena Age all military folks, the term *gaulmika* cannot be explained as such for the matter of that reason, since in the Pāla and other records the term is for the most part preceded by *śaulkika*.

Without controverting any of the suggestions as reproduced above regarding the import of the term *gaulmika*, I may only add here the evidence of the *Divyāvadāna*, wherein occurs the expression *gulma-tarapanya* as names of two kinds of governmental duties, which amongst many other frightful things, were objects of fear to the people.[9] *Tara-paṇya* is easily enough the ferry-dues, and the collector of ferry-fare at the *ghāṭ* or wharf in the Pāla period is seemingly the *tarika* of their copperplate grants.

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[1] *Chamba*, p. 127.

[2] *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, Poona, 1934, p. 229.

[3] In the Dacca University *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 278, *cauroddharaṇika* is taken to mean 'a collector of tax payable by the villagers for protection against thieves and robbers'.

[4] *C.I.I.*, III, p. 52, n. 4.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 258, n. 9.

[6] *Historical Aspects of Bengal Inscriptions*, Cal. Uni., 1942, p. 541.

[7] Cf. *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, University of Madras, 1929, p. 315.

[8] Vol. I, pp. 285-86.

[9] Edited by Cowell and Neil, p. 92, line 27.

In the Monghyr copperplate of Devapāla *tarapati* and *tarika* are the two words employed side by side, the latter might very well be representing the 'owner of ferry-boats'. The Kahla (Gorakhpur district, U.P.) plate of the Kalacuri prince Soḍhadeva has instead *ghaṭṭapati* and *tarapati* side by side,[1] and *ghaṭṭapati* would thus seem to correspond to the *tarika* of the Pāla and other inscriptions. The plate of Soḍhadeva is characterized by the enumeration of certain such peculiar titles of officials as to lead even Kielhorn to remark that 'I have not met them before'.[2] Of these, two are *mahādānika* and *viṣayadānika*. *Dānī* (or *Dāṇi*), however, is a term familiar in Bengal to the readers of poems of several Vaiṣṇavite poets beginning with Vaḍu Caṇḍīdāsa who make Kṛṣṇa assume the rôle of a *dānī* or *mahādānī* in course of his dalliances with Rādhā, while she would cross the Jumna by boat. Generally speaking, *dānī* is reckoned as an officer connected with the collection of ferry-fare. But as *ghaṭṭapati*, *tarapati* and *dānika* are all mentioned in the same inscription, there must have been a sharp line of demarcation as to their individual function, so as to prevent overlapping. The Kahla plate of Soḍhadeva, it should be noted, also records the title of *gaulmika* immediately preceded by that of *śaulkika*.[3] Cowell and Neil at one place explain *gulma-tarapaṇya* as wharf and ferry dues, and at another *gulma* as a custon house.[4] But what seems clear about the compound *gulma-tarapaṇya* is that *tarapaṇya* or the fare to be paid at the time of crossing a river has been related in contradiction to another due, which constituted another source of fright to the people, viz. the *gulma* dues. Wharf, therefore, little suits the explanation of *gulma*. The late N. G. Majumdar cited the evidence of the *Mahāvyutpatti* (p. 33) where *gaulmika* is 'a custom receiver on highways',[5] and to me this furnishes us with the exact sense of the title. But as the category of business assigned to this officer was to some extent or other akin to that of the duties allotted to the *śaulkika* or superintendent of tolls, the two posts appear to have been subsequently amalgamated into one in the Candra, Varman and Sena periods of Bengal history, and this would perhaps explain the absence of any reference to such an important officer of essential service as *śaulkika* in their official records.

NALININATH DASGUPTA.

VIRAHIṆĪKĀVYA OF KELI *ALIAS* MĀNĀṄKA AND CANDRADŪTA

Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* (I, 452; III, 97) notices the following works of Mānāṅka:—

Gītagovindaṭīkā.
Durgamāśubodhinī Mālatīmādhavaṭīkā.
Meghābhyudayakāvya.
Vṛndāvanayamaka.

In his *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* (para. 646, note) Krishnamachariar says: 'Mānāṅka was a royal author and flourished about the 13th century A.D. He is quoted by Rāyamukuṭa in his commentary on Amara composed in 1431 A.D. His Vṛndāvana Kāvya relates the life of Kṛṣṇa and Meghābhyudaya is a highly artificial poem. In BR., II (1907), there is a commentary on it by Lakṣmīnarasa where author is called Sāyaṅkeli.'

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 91.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 91; also cf. the Chamba copperplate inscription of Somavarmadeva and Āsaṭadeva (11th century) where we have '*Kulika-śaulkika-gaulmika-khaḍgarakṣatarapati* .....', etc. (*Ind. Ant.*, 1888, p. 11).

[4] *Divyāvadāna*, Preface, p. ix.

[5] *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol, III, p. 184.

In the Anup Sanskrit Library there is a Guṭaka of miscellaneous Sanskrit and Rajasthani works. It is dated in the sixteenth century, and belonged to Rāṭhora Śyāmaladāsa. Among the Sanskrit works contained in this is a hitherto unknown small Yamaka poem of Keli, entitled Virahiṇīkāvya. The author is called Keli and not Sāyaṅkeli as in the commentary of Lakṣmīnarasa. The poem contains fifty-five verses. It has not so far been noticed anywhere. The MS. is corrupt. The theme of the poem as the title indicates, is Viyoga.

This may be noted. There are five Laghukāvyas here together at one place. The first of these is the Ghaṭakarparakāvya. The second is the Meghābhyudaya. In the colophon this is ascribed to Mahākavi Keli. There is no mention of Mānāṅka. The last verse is this:—

अकार्षीत्स इदं काव्यं कलिः (केलिः) सज्ज(न)योगतः ।
श्लाघ्यतां यस्य सत्काव्ये केलिसज्जनयोगतः ॥

The poem noticed here for the first time, viz. the Virahiṇīkāvya also ends with the same verse which proves the identity of their author. The third work in the MS. is Vṛndāvanakāvya. This is ascribed to Mānāṅkamahākavi in the colophon, and not to Keli. The above verse is not found in this. This raises a doubt whether Keli is different from Mānāṅka.

The fourth Laghukāvya in the Guṭaka is also a rare work. It is a Sandeśakāvya in twenty-three verses and is entitled Candradūta. The author's name does not appear in the MS.[1]

The Virahiṇīkāvya begins:

सा वोऽव्याद्भारती भव्याननतामरसेन या ।
एकया भक्तिपरया न नतामरसेनया ॥ १ ॥
शारदा वरदा वोऽस्तु वरदानविशारदा ।
शुभ्रिता सा रदाभाभिः शारदाभ्रसमप्रभा ॥ २ ॥
काचिदूचे गतानार्तिकान्ता तामरसेक्षणे ।
सतीदं प्रेषिते कान्ते कान्ता तामरसेक्षणे ॥ ३ ॥
न हन्ते गमनं कस्य मधुरध्वनिरागतः ।
यच्चूतं मधुपव्रातो मधुरध्वनिरागतः ॥ ४ ॥
भरैर्यदद्य पुष्पाणामानता नवमालिका ।
तद्वत्ते मानिनी नात्र मानतानवमालिका ॥ ५ ॥
चन्द्रोदयेन किं साध्यमतिमुक्तकरेणवः ।
यतो दुन्वन्ति मे जीवमतिमुक्तकरेणवः ॥ ६ ॥
याताः स्मृतिपथं नाथ सुमनस्तव केलयः ।
मां दुन्वन्ति स्थिताश्चैते सुमनस्तवकेलयः ॥ ७ ॥

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[1] The name of the author is Jambū Kavi who flourished four hundred years earlier than Dhoyī, the author of the *Pavanadūta*. For a detailed discussion about the date of the work, see Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri's edition of the work published in Saṃskṛta Dūta-Kāvya-Saṃgraha Series (Vol. III).—Eds.

दधाना मधुपश्रेणी माधवीव्रततीव्रताम् ।
मुनेरपि निहन्ति श्रीमाधवीव्रततीव्रताम् ॥ ८ ॥
रौति यत्कोकिलश्रेणिसमदाहमनारतम् ।
तत्ते वाञ्छामि जीवेश समदाहमनारतम् ॥ ९ ॥
यद्वर्ततेऽधुना प्रोच्चैर्मदनो दलशोभितः ।
तन्मेऽङ्गं कुरुते बाणैर्मदनो दलशोभितः ॥ १० ॥

Ends:

यदत्र शिशिरे रम्या प्रियंगुरुरसानतम् ।
तत्किमाश्लेष्टुमिच्छामि प्रियं गुरुरसानतम् ॥ ५१ ॥
स्मरे प्रहरति क्षिप्रमनिर्वाणकरे हते ।
स्मरामि निर्दयेदानीमनिर्वाणकरे हते ॥ ५२ ॥
य एष शिशिरः ख्यातः सतीव्रतरतापदः ।
अभूत्कालस्तदा प्रास्मि सतीव्रतरतापदः ॥ ५३ ॥
विषमहिमनिशातततापदे शिशिरे मम नाथ निर्भरम् ।
विषमहिमनिशातततापदे समभवदङ्ग विना त्वयाऽधुना ॥ ५४ ॥
अकार्षीत्स इदं काव्यं केलिः सज्जनयोगतः ।
श्लाघ्यतां यस्य सत्काव्ये केलिसज्जनयोगतः ॥

इति केलिकृतं विरहिणी नाम लघुकाव्यं समाप्तम् ॥

Candradūta begins:—

यदिति शितशराग्रग्रस्तमापन्नदुःखं
    त्यजति जगदशेषं दीनमापन्नदुःखम् ।
स्मर ततदत(?)नूनं सर्वदा शासनस्य
    प्रभुमजरमनन्तं श्रीभिदाशासनस्य ॥ १ ॥
सजलजलदकान्ते स्तब्धतां धारयन्तं
    प्रबलसहमयेति प्रश्रयं धारयन्तम् ।
प्रियतममनुरक्ता स्त्री नयासाद्यमाना
    हितमतिरिदमूचे ज्योत्स्नयासाद्यमाना ॥ २ ॥
सहचरसहितायामङ्गवद्धान्तवान्तः
    करणविकृतये स्वाच्चन्द्रिकाध्वान्तवान्तः ।
शिशिरकिरणहीनां प्रेयसा रक्ष मां त्वं
    जननि सजलदां ते त्वद्रुच(?) रक्ष मां त्वम् ॥

Ends:

इति विविधवचोभिश्चन्द्रमा यामवत्यां
गदित उदयमानो दीनमायामवत्याम् ।
कथयितुमिव तस्मै पूर्णमध्वन्यवध्वाः
सरति रतिमिलाभ्रत्यम्बराध्वन्यवध्वाः ॥ १३ ॥

इति श्रीचन्द्रदूतनाम्ना लघुकाव्यं चतुर्थं समाप्तम् ॥

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA.

MEDICINE AND SURGERY BETWEEN THE FIRST AND THE THIRD CENTURY A.D.

Despite the paucity of evidence on this dark period of Ancient Indian History, the data furnished by some Buddhist works, particularly *Lalitavistara*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarîka*, *Sukhāvatî Vyuha*, *Avadānaśataka* and the two famous Kāvyas of Aśvaghoṣa, namely, his *Saundarananda* and *Buddhacarita*, throw a flood of light on the advanced nature of the science of medicine and surgery in this period. Tradition puts Charaka as a contemporary of King Kaṇiṣka, but in this connection the internal evidence furnished by these works is not only interesting but more reliable. A reference in the *Buddhacarita* (I, 43)[1] of Aśvaghoṣa, a contemporary of King Kaṇiṣka to the seer Ātreya having proclaimed the science of healing, which Ātri did not discover, has been supposed by scholars as an indirect reference to Charaka. Whether this reference concerns Charaka or Suśruta is a matter worth consideration. The popularity of Suśruta, as the author of the Science of Surgery, is clearly evinced by the fact that even in the Kāvyas of Aśvaghoṣa we notice metaphors referring to surgical matters, and unless the author was conscious of the advanced nature of this science, it is hardly conceivable, that he could have laid his hand for deriving metaphors on a subject of which his knowledge was next to nothing. As an instance a reference,[2] in the *Saundarananda* of Aśvaghoṣa, to the jaws of forceps helping the surgeons to pull out sharp splinter lodged in delicate portions of the body and causing great pain, clearly indicates that the science of surgery was in a well-advanced stage. Now if we look to Suśruta's Saṁhitā, we notice a full Chapter (XXVII) on the mode of extricating splinters. Another reference[3] in the *Saundarananda* to the healing of wound by the salve prescribed by the surgeon undoubtedly shows that the science of healing was not lacking in advancement. It was in fact a part of surgeon's duty, and actually we notice three stages in surgical treatment in Suśruta's Saṁhitā, namely the preliminary stage (Pūrva Karma), the principal stage (Pradhāna Karma) confined to therapeutical or surgical appliance and after measures (Paścāt Karma) to be adopted for the healing of the wound (cf. Chapter V). It is therefore apparent that the science of surgery was in a sufficiently advanced stage in that period, and it is just possible that the credit for proclaiming it as referred to in the *Buddhacarita* might go to Suśruta.

Charaka who is supposed to be a contemporary of Kaṇiṣka, according to the tradition, might have flourished slightly earlier. The science of medicine had sufficiently advanced much earlier, for we notice Buddha being addressed as a Great Physician (*Mahābhiṣaja*) at innumerable places in Buddhist Literature, whose task was not physical curing of humanity but a spiritual one so as to immune people from this eternal process of coming and going. For drawing his metaphors Aśvaghoṣa had free access to it, as we notice in his works. A few references in this connection are worth mentioning. Disease-danger (*Rogabhaya*) at that time was not uncommon among the people. It was no doubt painful, writes the Buddhist poet, to be a victim to disease, but its removal caused still greater pain.[1] The sickman on the point of death generally refused to take the advice of the physician.[2] The reason for this disregard might have been the inability of the physician to give sweet medicine, which it was difficult to obtain.[3] The medicine supplied was no doubt distasteful,[4] but it had its effect and the credit for complete recovery went to the physician.[5]

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[1] चिकित्सितं यच्च चकार नात्रिः पश्चात्तदात्रेयऋषिर्जगाद ।

[2] यो दृष्टिमय्यो हृदयावगाढः प्रभो भृशं मामतुदत्सुतीक्ष्णः समुद्धृतः शल्यहृतेव शल्य (XVIII, 7).

[3] चिकित्सार्थं यथा धत्ते व्रणस्यालेपनं व्रणी (XIV, 11).

Having considered the actual state of the sciences of medicine and surgery on the basis of references from the works of Aśvaghoṣa, it might be worth while placing the data derived from other contemporary Buddhist Literature so as to show the types of diseases and wounds then known, and other relevant matter on the Materia Medica.

The *Saddharmapuṇḍarîka*[6] and *Lalitavistara*[7] mention four kinds of diseases namely Rheumatical or caused by flatulence (वातिकाः), Cholerical (पैत्तिकाः), Phlegmatical (श्लैष्मिकाः) and those caused by the complicated derangement of three humour (सांनिपातिकाः). Besides these main kinds, we also notice a mention of numerous other diseases in *Lalitavistara*,[8] e.g. diseases of the eye (चक्षुरोग), of the ear (श्रोत्ररोग), of the nose (घ्राणरोग), of the tongue (जिह्वारोग), of the lips (ओष्ठरोग), of the teeth (दन्तरोग), of the throat (कण्ठरोग), of the neck and cheek (गलगण्डरोग), sores in the chest (उरगण्ड), leprosy (कुष्ठ), white leprosy without producing ulcers (किलास), pulmonary consumption (शोष), insanity (उन्माद), epilepsy (अपस्मार), fever (ज्वर), scrofula (गलगण्ड), small boil or ulcer (पिटक), erysipelas or any similar spreading eruption (विसर्प), itch or scab (विचर्चिका). A detailed generalization of diseases is wanting in the *Sukhavatî Vyuha*[9] where we notice only five main divisions, namely: diseases of the ear (श्रोत्ररोग), of the eye (चक्षुरोग), of the nose (घ्राणरोग), of the tongue (जिह्वारोग) and of the body (कायारोग). In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarîka*,[10] a few other diseases are mentioned, e.g. another type of itch known as कण्डुल, baldness (निर्लोम), and another kind of leprosy (दद्रु). In the *Avadānaśataka*,[11] there is a reference to an epidemic of jaundice (पीतपाण्डुका). In these works, though there is no mention of any special medicine for any particular disease but a solitary reference in the

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[1] दोषांश्च स्वकायाद्भिषगुज्जीषुर्भूयो यथा क्लेशयितुं यतेत (*Saun.* X, 43.)

[2] यथाहं वैद्यस्य चिकीर्षता शिवं वचो न गृह्णाति मुमूर्षरातुरः (*Saun.* IX, 2.)

[3] दुर्लभं तु प्रियहितं स्वादु पथ्यमिवौषधं (*Saun.* XI, 16.)

[4] अनिष्टमप्यौषधमातुराय ददाति वैद्यस्य यथानिगृह्य (*Saun.* V, 48.)

[5] यथोपदेशेन शिवेन मुक्तो रोगादरोगो भिषजं कृतज्ञः (*Saun.* XVII, 33.)

[6] Kern and Bunyin, IV, p. 133, l. 10.

[7] Lefman, VI, p. 71, l. 22.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Muller, XXXII, pp. 54-55.

[10] Ref. 9, III, 116, p. 94.

[11] No. XLI, Speyer, Vol. I, p. 244.

Avadānaśataka[1] reveals that physicians advised sugar-cane juice as a cure for pulmonary consumption. A physician was supposed to know all the diseases.[2]

Besides Medicine and Surgery, some data relating to Gynæcology are also available from the *Saddharmapuṇḍarîka*. The throes of labour pain was called व्यपनीतदुःखा. Cases were not wanting where the child produced was a dead one known as विनाशधर्मा. A healthy baby was known as पुण्यमयं कुमारं.

The Materia Medica at that time seems to have been very well advanced. Four kinds of herbs were known,[3] namely, those possessed of all sorts of colours and flavours (सर्ववर्णरस स्थानानुगता नाम), delivering from all diseases (सर्वव्याधिप्रमोचनी नाम), delivering from all poisons (सर्वविषविनाशनी नाम) and lastly those procuring happiness to those standing in the right place (स्वास्थानस्थितसुखप्रदा नाम). The medicines were pounded on stone having the required colour, smell and taste.[4]

The methods of giving medicines to the patients were many. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarîka* mentions[5] seven such methods namely: (1) chewing it with teeth (दन्तैः क्षोदितां कृत्वा), another after pounding (पेषयित्वा), mixing it with another drug (अन्यद्रव्यसंयोजितां पाययित्वा), having mixed with a raw drug (कांचिदामद्रव्यसंयोजितां कृत्वा), after piercing it with a lancet somewhere in vein (कांचिच्छलाकया शरीरस्थानं विद्धा), after singeing it in fire (कांचिदग्निना परिदाह्य) and lastly after combing it with various other substances so as to enter in a compound lotion, food, etc. (कांचिदन्योन्यद्रव्यसंयुक्तां यावत्पानभोजनादिष्वपि योजयित्वा दद्यात्). A reference to pounding of medicine and the use of lancet also occur in the *Lalitavistara*.[6]

Thus a perusal of the data available from the Buddhist Literature of that period would not fail to convince that the science of medicine and surgery was very well advanced. There was not only a distinction between a physician known as भिषज् or भिषक् and a surgeon called शल्य but the term महाभिषक् clearly shows that experienced men in this science were given a higher status. The torch bearers of this science were ardent in their activities, but they seemed to be equally anxious to develop it by giving instructions to ardent and sincere pupils so that they could serve humanity. A chapter on the initiation of a medical student for instruction in Suśruta's Saṁhitā[7] provides interesting details in this connection.

The first requisite qualification for initiation of a candidate was his birth in one of the three twice born (द्विज) castes but a Śūdra of good character and parentage could also be admitted subject to the condition that mantras enjoined to be recited on such an occasion were omitted in his case.[8] The candidate was supposed to be of tender years (वयस्) and good family (अन्वय) and possessed of certain moral virtues like inclination (शील), powers (शौर्य), purity (शौच), conduct (आचार),

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[1] स च भदन्तः क्षयव्याधिना स्पृष्टः तस्य वैद्येनेक्षुरस उपदिष्टः। (*Ibid.*)

[2] कश्चिद्वैद्यः सर्वव्याधिज्ञः स्यात् (*Saddharmapuṇḍ.* Ref. 9, V, p. 133.)

[3] *Ibid.*, V, p. 133, ll. 13ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, XV, pp. 321, ll. 2ff. वर्णसंपन्नं गन्धसंपन्नं च शिलायां पिष्टा।

[5] *Ibid.*, V, p. 134, ll. 5ff.

[6] दन्तैः संचूर्ण्य कांचित्तु पिष्ट्वा यान्यां तथापराम्।
सूच्यग्रेण प्रवेश्याङ्गे तात्यन्धाय प्रयोजयेत्॥ (V, 57.)

[7] Chap. II.

[8] शूद्रमपि कुलगुणसम्पन्नं मन्त्रवर्जमनुपनीतमध्यापयेदित्येके। (II, V.)

modesty (विनय), capacity and strength (शक्तिबल), a clear insight into things studied (मेधाधृति स्मृति), and also graced with the necessary qualifications (अतिप्रतिपत्तियुक्तं), like thin lips (तनुजौष्ठ), teeth (दन्त), tongue (जिह्वा), faec (वक्त्र), eyes (अक्षि), nose (नास), contented frame of mind (प्रसन्नचित्त), pleasant in speech (वाक्चेष्ट) and painstaking in efforts[1] (क्लेशसहं). A person possessed of contrary attributes was not to be admitted.[2]

The initiation of a Brahmin pupil was to be performed by a Brahmin teacher alone.[3]

A square sand cushion platform measuring a cubit in length and breadth and plastered with a solution of water and cowdung was to be laid out on an auspicious day, followed by the worship of gods, the Brahmins and the physicians with oblations of flowers, fried paddy, gems, and sundried rice. This was to be followed by the performance of the rite of Homa according to the rules of a *Dārr Hōma* ceremony after soaking the twigs of the four sacrificial trees of Khādira, Palāsha, Devadāru, Vilvā or of Vaṭa, Audumbara Ashvattha and Madhuka in curd, honey and clarified butter. Another stage was libation of clarified butter in honour of each of the gods and *rishis* (celestial physicians) invoked by repeating the *Svāha mantram.* The last stage was the address of the preceptor who enjoined the pupil with certain moral and professional principles to be followed during the course of study and afterwards in professional life. They were renunciation of lust, anger, greed, ignorance, vanity, egoistic feeling, envy, harshness, niggardliness, falsehood and idleness, all acts that soiled the good name of a man, paring the nails and clipping the hair (नखरोम्णाशुचिना), putting on sacred cloth dyed brownish yellow (काषायवाससा), leading the life of a truthful, self-controlled anchorite and obedience to the Preceptor at meals, or in study, and in all acts. After acquiring the mastery of the science, the pupil was required to be settled at some place for private practice. It was incumbent for the new physician to give free treatment to the *dvijas, guru,* poor, friends, ascetics, relations and professional brothers. Certain classes of persons were not to be treated medically like the professional hunter (व्याध), a fowler (शाकुनिक), a habitual sinner (पतित) and one degraded in life (पापकारिण्). By so doing the person not only spread learning but also acquired fame (yaśa), *dharma* and money.

It would thus appear that the science of medicine and surgery was considerably developed both on the theoretical and practical side.

BAIJNATH PURI.

ĀTREYA—THE BHĀṢYAKĀRA

Considering the antiquity of the Vaiśeṣika sūtras, the paucity of its extant exegetical literature seems to be very striking. Praśastapāda's *Padārthadharmasaṃgraha* is the oldest work based upon these sūtras. There is a strong controversy as to its characteristic of being a *Bhāṣya.* No less an authority on Vaiśeṣika than Udayana denies it the same. After Praśastapāda too, eminent Vaiśeṣika writers preferred to comment on his work or to write independent treatises and paid very little attention to the original sūtras. Barring the Upaskāra of Śankara Misra (fifteenth century A.D.) all other commentaries are of a very late date.

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[1] II, 3.

[2] विपरीतगुणं नोपनयेत्, *Ibid.*

[3] II, 4. उपनयनीयश्च ब्राह्मणः ।

History still maintains the tradition of a Vaiśeṣika Bhāṣya by Rāvaṇa and a Vṛtti by Bharadvāja, none of which has come to light as yet. Mention has been made of a Vṛtti by Śankara Misra and a few passages have been cited therefrom in his aforesaid work. These are no doubt old commentaries on the Vaiśeṣika sūtras which if ever published will throw much light on the Vaiśeṣika views. Uddyotakara, the author of the *Nyāyavārtika* occasionally refers to Vaiśeṣika sūtras and often gives their explanations which are quite different from the current ones. Uddyotakara was a Bhāradvāja. But at the present stage of our knowledge we cannot identify him with the author of the *Bhāradvāja Vṛtti*, though legitimate doubts are entertained in this connection.

While enumerating the important works on Vaiśeṣika, Guṇaratna in his *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya* mentions one *Ātreyatantra*. Vādideva Śuri in his *Syādvādaratnākara* quotes and criticizes some of the views of a Bhāṣyakāra Atreya who is probably identical with the author of the *Ātreyatantra*. Vādideva calls him the ripe old leading Brāhmin (वर्षीयान् विप्रपुङ्गवः). The fragments quoted in his name refer to Vaiśeṣika sūtras beyond doubt. Two of the said fragments explain VS. I. i. 15 and I. i. 17 while a third is related to perception.

While explaining Kaṇāda's definition of substance (क्रियागुणवत् समवायिकारणमिति द्रव्यलक्षणम् I. i. 15), Ātreya remarks (यत् पुनरात्रेयः प्रोचिवान्) न क्रियात्वे प्रसंगात् क्रियात्वमपि क्रियावद्भवति क्रियाधारत्वात्। न च तद्द्रव्यमिति तद् व्यवच्छेदार्थं गुणवदिति। न च खल्वाधार एवाधेयेन तद्वान् भवत्याधेयमप्याधारेण। *Syādvādaratnākara*, p. 847.

This passage justifies the word *guṇa* in the expression *Kriyāguṇavat*. If we define *dravya* (substance) as *Kriyāvat* (possessing action alone) the definition becomes too wide to include *Kriyātva* (actionness) which is no substance. In order to differentiate this *Kriyātva* from *dravya* the sūtra adds the word *guṇa*. A container cannot be called *tadvān* (possessing that, i.e. the content) by the content nor the content can be called *tadvān* (possessing the container) by the container. It should be noted that Śankara Miśra does not raise the problem at all. Vādideva criticizes this saying तत्रायं वर्षीयान् विप्रपुंगवोऽनन्तरमेव स्वयमुक्तं नाप्यनुसन्दधातीति किं ब्रूमः। कर्म उत्क्षेपणादि। तद् यस्मिन् समवायेन वर्तते तत् क्रियावदिति तत्रादावनेन विवव्रे। न च क्रियात्वे क्रिया समवायेन वर्तते। विपर्ययसद्भावात्। अथैवं गुणत्वेऽपि प्रसङ्गः। गुणत्वमपि हि गुणवद्भवति गुणाधारत्वात्। न च तद् द्रव्यमिति। तद्व्यवच्छेदार्थं क्रियावद्भवति। तदपि न सुसूत्र-मात्रेयेणाभाणि × × × × गुणा रूपादयस्ते यस्मिन् समवायेन वर्तन्ते तद्गुणवदित्यादौ स्वयमेव व्याख्यानात्॥ *Syādvādaratnākara*, p. 847.

Here the *viprapuṅgava* does not consult even what he has said in close proximity. He himself begins the passage by saying 'action raising upwards, etc.' A substance may be called *Kriyāvat* (possessing action) only when an action inheres in it. But (says Vādideva) an action is not related to actionness by inherence. For there is illusion. Similar is the case of *guṇatva*—(qualityness), if you affirm your position in this way, *guṇatva* too may be *guṇavat* (possessing quality) on account of its being the receptacle of *guṇa* (quality). In order to differentiate it from that the word *Kriyāvat* has been introduced. Here also Ātreya does not explain the sūtra well . . . . For he himself explains: whatever possesses a quality by the relation of inherence is called *guṇavat* (possessing a quality). Vādideva concludes his criticism on this point with a damaging remark:

'Oh Ātreya, you have thus taken recourse to the method of flying away, which shows that by all means you have admitted yourself to be an object of shame

त्वया सोऽयमुपक्रान्तः प्रकारः प्रपलायने ।
त्रपापात्रत्वमात्रेय स्वस्य स्वीकृत्य सर्वथा ॥ *Syādvādaratnākara*, p. 848.

Vādideva refers to Ātreya's explanation of the definition of *Karma*—action (obviously एकद्रव्यमगुणं संयोगविभागेष्वनपेक्षकारणमिति कर्मलक्षणम् VS. I. i. 17), saying लक्षणान्तरं पुनरात्रेयो विवृणोति । एकं द्रव्यमिति नाद्रव्यं न चानेकद्रव्यमित्यर्थः । नास्य गुणाः सन्ति स्वयंच गुणो न भवतीत्यगुणम् । संयोगाश्च विभागाश्च संयोगविभागास्तेषु संयोगविभागेषु कारणमित्युत्पन्नं कर्म स्वाश्रयमाश्रयान्तराद्विभज्य संयोजयतीति । तेषु च संयोगविभागेषु कर्तव्येषु कर्मकारणान्तरं नापेक्षत इत्यनपेक्षं । न पुनः समवायिकारणमपि नापेक्षित इति । यद्वा संयोगविभागा ... कर्मासाधारणं नापेक्षत इत्यनपेक्षं । न पुनः साधारणमपि नापेक्षत इति । दिशः खलु संयोगविशेषापेक्षं कर्म स्वाश्रयस्य संयोगविभागावारभते । तथा च प्रेरकस्य यां दिशं प्रति प्रयत्नसमारम्भस्तदभिमुखं कर्म जायते । तस्माच्च कर्मणस्तदभिमुखौ संयोगविभागौ भवतः । अनेनादृष्टेश्वराद्यपेक्षस्य कर्मणः संयोगविभागारम्भो व्याख्यातः ।

Syādvādaratnākara, p. 945.

'One substance' (*ekaṃdravyam*) means not inherent in a non-substance, nor in many substances. 'Without quality' (*aguṇaṃ*) means it possesses no quality nor is itself a quality. *Samyoga-vibhāgeṣu kāraṇam* means the (independent) cause of conjunctions and disjunctions. An action, when generated, conjoins its substratum (with another object) after disjoining it from another object. While such conjunction and disjunction are to be operated an action is itself sufficient and does not require any superfluous cause. Hence the word *anapekṣam*. It does not mean that the inherent cause too is not required. Or, ... does not require any extraordinary cause. Hence the word *anapekṣam*. This does not show that the common causes can be dispensed with. An action, depending on a particular conjunction, generates conjunction and disjunction from a certain quarter. Thus an action proceeds towards that quarter, to which the sender's activity is directed and from that action conjunction and disjunction are produced towards that direction. This explains the beginning of conjunction and disjunction arising from an action that depends upon *adṛṣṭa* or God.

Ātreya is said to have remarked in the same context [यदाह स एव] संयोगविभागेष्वनपेक्षं कारणमित्येतावत् कर्मलक्षणम् । एकद्रव्यमगुणमित्यभिधानं तु कर्मस्वरूपोपवर्णनार्थम् । न पुनः कर्मलक्षणार्थमिति । *Syādvādaratnākara*, p. 946.

The passage 'Non-dependent cause of conjunctions and disjunctions' constitutes the definition of *karma* while 'inherent in a single substance'—(*ekadravyam*) and 'without a quality (*aguṇam*) have been inserted to explain its character and not as ingredients of the definition.

It may be noted here that in the present sūtra Vādideva accepts the reading *anapekṣaṃ karaṇam* while Uddyotakara reads *Samyoga-vibhāgayor anapekṣa°*. *°Vibhāgayor°* is supported by some MSS. used in the A.S.B. Edition of the *Vaiśeṣika-darśanam.*

A further passage in Vādideva's work quotes Ātreya to explain the cause of doubt and illusion in visual perception—[यत् पुनरात्रेयो भाष्यकारः प्राह] यथा

सामान्यस्य विशेषाणां च प्रदीपालोकेन सन्निकृष्टत्वेऽपि दूरात्सामान्यमुपलभ्यते न विशेषा इति प्रदीपालोककारितौ संशयविपर्ययौ भवतः। तथा सामान्यस्य विशेषाणां च चक्षुषा सन्निकृष्टत्वेऽपि दूरात्सामान्यमुपलभ्यते न विशेषा इति चाक्षुषौ संशयविपर्ययौ भवतः। तत्र महाविषयत्वात्सामान्यं दूरादप्युपलभ्यतेऽल्पविषयत्वात्तु विशेषा न दूरादुपलभ्यन्त इति संशयविपर्यययोरुपपत्तिः। *Syādvādaratnākara*, p. 332.

Just as on account of the proximity of a light generality is perceived from a distance but not the particularities, and doubts and illusions arise from the light, similarly on account of the proximity of the visual organ generality is perceived from a distance and not the particularities. Hence doubts and illusions arise from the organ of vision. Here generality is perceived even from a distance as it has a larger scope while particularities are not perceived from a distance as they have very limited scope.

On examining the passages referred to one can only have a very faint idea of the contributions of our author to the Vaiśeṣika philosophy. But the value of these fragments can by no means be under-estimated inasmuch as they show that the present text of the sūtras has undergone some changes. That Ātreya was a real Bhāṣyakāra is proved not only by the above assertion of Vādideva to that effect but also by the style of the fragments quoted above.

Any further light on Ātreya and his work will always be welcome to the lovers of Vaiśeṣika philosophy.

ANANTALAL THAKUR.

THE PROBLEM OF SOPHYTES (1)

Sophytes is an interesting figure in ancient Indian History, but his identity has been somewhat cheaply settled. He is first known through his coins. If he is taken to be an Indian king, 'he would be the first Indian king whose name appears on a coin' (*Camb. Hist. of India*, I, 61). The coins are purely Greek in style and are taken to be copies of an issue of Seleucus Nikator (*c.* 305 B.C.) (*Ib.*, p. 388). It is somewhat strange and unusual that a Hindu king should issue a coin which is completely Greek in style an fabric, would bear a Hellenized form of his name, and is signed by a Greek artist, unless it is supposed that the Indian king should specially commission a Greek artist for fashioning his coinage. The coinage presents two varieties; on one, the *Obverse* shows helmeted head of the king, and, on the other, the helmeted head of Athena with hanging hair, as found on the gold coins of Alexander; the Reverse shows *Cock* to *r.* The Artist's initial resembling *M* also appears on *Obverse.* A signed coin is unusual after the time of Alexander, while the helmet is that on a type of Seleucus I. These two considerations should point to that time for this coinage of Sophytes. Nor is the *Cock* to be taken to be the Indian game-cock. On the contrary, it is more like 'the Cock on a piece of Carystos in Euboea struck *c.* 336 B.C.' (R. B. Whitehead, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, sixth series, Vol. III, to which I am indebted). According to Sir George Macdonald, the coin of Sophytes is to be counted as an Attic Drachm and dated to *c.* 320 B.C. (*CHI.*, I, 388, 463). If the coin is taken to be Indian in origin, it will mean the following improbabilities, *viz.* that an Indian king against custom is having his portrait figured on his coins; and that he prefers to assume the appearance of a foreigner, a Hellenized Hindu wearing a Macedonian helmet. Indians in that early age were not Europeanized and dead to national sentiment.

On numismatic grounds, the Indian origin of the Coins of Sophytes is doubted. As Sir George Macdonald points out that it is essential that the drachms of Sophytes found by Cunningham were really found in the Punjab. He does not state that he

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found them from excavation in the Punjab soil. He got them from dealers of Rawalpindi who traded in them and imported them from beyond the Frontier. In 1877 was found at a place called Kabadian on the north bank of the Oxus a large find of coins, with other articles of gold and silver. These coins were brought to India by the Rawalpindi dealers. They belong to a period from Darius to Antiochus and Euthydemus of Bactria. They included the oriental imitations of *Owls* and *Eagles*. Barclay Head (*CHI*., I, 676) thinks that the coins of Sophytes are akin to this group of imitated Athenian moneys of *Owls* and *Eagles*. Head says: 'The intervention of the coin-dealer between the finder and the purchaser is often quite sufficient to obscure or obliterate entirely all evidence of provenance of these coins.' The truth of the matter is well brought out by Sir George Macdonald: 'Enquiry has failed to bring to light any trustworthy records of the actual discovery of *owls* in *India*, while the (ancient) imitations (of Athenian coins) acquired by the British Museum at Rawalpindi appear to have been brought without exception from the northern side of the frontier and thus to be of Central Asian rather than of Indian origin' (*CHI*., I, 387). The weight of the drachm of Sophytes is 58·3 grains and this led Cunningham to the conclusion that it was the native Indian standard, the theoretical full weight of the heaviest Indian punch-marked silver coin called *Kārṣāpaṇa* being about 58 grains. This factor of weight has misled numismatists to assume the *Indian* origin of these coins. They have, however, ignored the fact that a smaller denomination of the coin has been discovered with a weight of 13·5 grains, a quarter-drachm, a tri-hemiobol, and is at Berlin, this discounts the idea of Indian weight of the coins and shows that their weight standard followed that of the eastern imitations of Athenian coins with which they are numismatically connected. It is surprising that Dr. Head is so much influenced by considerations of weight that he assumes that the tetradrachm of the 'quadriga of horned elephants type' bearing the joint names of Seleucus and Antiochus which is reproduced as Pl. II, 2 in *CHI*, as also the *Owl* of Pl. II, 1 were both struck in the Punjab on the Indian standard against the known fact that they both were Oxus finds! Again, Plate I of *CHI*, Vol. I, showing 'Persian, Athenian, and Macedonian types in India' shows coins not one of which belongs to India, except Nos. 4 and 5 which are punch-marked coins. They are assumed to be *Indian coins* for the mere fact that they were acquired from dealers in Rawalpindi who imported them from beyond the Frontier for profitable sale in India. For instance, Nos. 6, 8 and 11 are Daries and Owls from the Oxus hoard. The tetra-drachm of Seleucus I in the Plate is assigned by E. T. Newell (*Coinage of Eastern Seleucid Mints*, New York, 1938) to the mint of Bactra. Even the famous *Porus* decadrachm was not found in India but in Bukhara, while a second specimen came from Iran.

From numismatic I now turn to the literary evidence bearing on Sophytes. The literary evidence, too, is not very definite for taking him as an Indian king. The story is that Alexander on his eastward march after conquering the country of Sangala invaded the kingdom of an Indian ruler who is differently named by the Greek writers. Strabo, Diodorus, and Arrian call him *Sopeithes*, but *Q*. Curtius calls him *Sophites* which in another MS. appears as *Sopithes*. *Sopithes* has replaced *Sophites* in modern texts of Curtius. The identification of *Sophytes* of the coins with Sopeithes or Sopithes is a mere conjecture. What adds to its uncertainty is that H. Berve following A. E. Auspach finds that there were two kings who bore the same name and ruled in two different regions (cited by R. B. Whitehead, *op. cit.*). This fact shakes the geographical foundation of Sylvain Levi's well-known equation of *Sophytes* with Sanskrit *Saubhūti*, the king of a country called *Saubhūta*. *Saubhūta* is, however, a grammatical creation and not a geographical reality. Pāṇini's grammar contains a rule by the operation of which certain words can be transformed into place-names. The *Gaṇapātha* to this rule mentions 41 words of which the eleventh word is *Subhūta* from which the place-name *Saubhūta* may be derived. From *Saubhūta* is derived the formation *Saubhūti* as the king of that country. But, unfortunately, grammar is not history! Strictly speaking, none of the names Sophytes, or Sopeithes, or Sophites, is Greek. These words are only familiar as components of names to the Greeks. It may be further noted that in the *Gaṇapāṭha* referred to above, the country called *Saubhūta* is not mentioned as being next to Sāṃkala (Sangala). There are nine 'words' or countries coming between these two.[1]

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI.

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[1] I had the pleasure of discussing this topic personally with the noted Numismatist, Mr. R. B. Whitehead, in his home at Cambridge in last February and promised that I would write on it in an Indian Journal.

REVIEWS

HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA (ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LAW). By Mahāmahopādhyāya P. V. Kane, Vol. III, Government Oriental Series Class B, No. 6, published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1946, pp. i–xlv+1088. Price Rs.30.

Those who have read the first two volumes of this work written by one of our distinguished savants, are well-acquainted with their merits. The third volume which is just published consists of 35 chapters dealing with such important subjects as *Rājadharma*, *Vyavahāra* and *Sadācāra*. Under *Rājadharma* the author has devoted 10 chapters to seven *aṅgas* of *rājya*, duties and responsibilities of the ruler, ministers, *rāṣṭra* (territory of a State), *durga* (capital or fort), *koṣa* (treasury or finance), *bala* (army), *mitra* (ally), and the purpose of the study of *rājadharma* together with some necessary preliminary remarks. The next 21 chapters under *Vyavahāra* treat of possession, witnesses, ordeals, decision, limitation, contracts, debts, pledges, mortgages, sale by one who is not an owner, partnership, resumption of gift, violation of compacts, boundary disputes, abuse and assault, theft, adultery, rape, gambling, partition of wealth, adopted son, order of succession after the son, woman's property, maintenance and real meaning of *Vyavahāra*, etc. Then under *Sadācāra* (customs and customary laws) he has done full justice to the important topics of practices of *śiṣṭas*, ancient examples of transgressions of *dharma*, actions forbidden in the Kali age, and the customs in modern Indian law. The author has done well by giving a list of works consulted and a table of cases cited. The chronological table is very useful. All these chapters have been treated scientifically and bear testimony to the author's vast erudition and sound judgment. He has carefully examined the theories of the origin of kingship in the *Mahābhārata* and has ably handled the difficult problem of the divine right of kings.

As regards the *cakravartī* ideal (pp. 66ff.) Gautama Buddha expanded the Upaniṣadic idea of *Dharma* when he declared, as we find in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, III, pp. 147ff., 'Dhamma is the king of king overlords (*Dhammo raññо cakkavattissa rājā*). Here the king overlord, who is a virtuous and righteous monarch, depending on the *dharma*, honouring the *dharma*, respecting it, submitting thereto, acting as a standard-bearer of the *dharma*, having the *dharma* for the banner of his imperium, and acknowledging the sovereignty of the *dharma*, provides the lawful protection and safeguard among his people, and among the subordinate rulers, the army, the Brāhmaṇas and rich householders, the town and country folks, among the Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas as religious teachers, among the beasts and birds. Thus by *dharma* the king overlord sets the wheel in motion, that is to say, founds paramount sovereignty.'

As explained by the celebrated commentator Buddhaghosa, the *dharma* to be respected by the king overlord stood for the ten psycho-ethical principles of human conduct and character (*dasa kusalā dhammā*) and also for the traditional path of virtue, the precedent (*paveṇīdhammam*).[1] The Buddha, in order to be true to the ideal he had set forth, left behind him a constitution for the Brotherhood founded by him, which was to be worked out and maintained by the impersonal authority of the *dhamma* in the sense of the collective body of the doctrine and the discipline promulgated by him. According to the *Cakkavattīsīhanādasuttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya* (III) a *cakkavattīrājā* is one who is virtuous, a righteous king, a conqueror of the four quarters, protector of his people and possessed of seven precious things (*dhammiko dhammarājā cāturanto vijitāvī janapadatthāvariyappatto sattaratana-samannāgato*, p. 59). With Buddha *dharma* as the guiding principle of the socio-moral order is divine (*brahmabhūta*) only in so far as its end or underlying purpose is concerned. It is the collective experience, good sense and idea of expedience that guide and have guided the course of evolution of the socio-moral order.[2] Buddha traces the origin of kingship or state in popular consent (*mahājanasammati*) which is behind all forms of social contract.[3] This idea is found also in the *Mahābhārata*.

The Buddhist idea is that the law is above the king and that the king is not above the law. The leaders of thought and the recognized teachers of mankind are the Śramaṇas and the Brāhmaṇas or the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas,[4] while the best of all is the Buddha.[5] The perennial source of *dharma* is either *brahmaveda* as with the Brahmanist or *dharmaveda* or *arthaveda* as with the Buddhist.[6] In the *Jātakas* we find that the *dhamma* is characterized as the good old rule, that is to say, the tradition of piety or duty, the traditional path of virtue (*satāñ ca dhammo carito purāṇo*, *Jātaka*, I, p. 479; *eso dhammo sanantano*, *ibid.*, p. 488; *porāṇo dhammo cirakālappavatto sabhāvo*, *ibid.*, iii, 212). The *dharma* enforced by *rājaśāsana* or the sovereign authority of the State is to promote the growth of men in such *dharma* and not to hamper it. According to Aśoka *dharma* from the point of view of *rājadharma* is the good old rule (*porāṇā pakiti*, cf. *Jātaka*, VI, p. 151—*esā te porāṇiyā pakati*), that which is of long standing (*dighāvuse*). The Buddha speaks of the *Porāṇā Vajjidhammā* constituting the national tradition of the Vṛjis of Vaiśālī, the rules of life regulated by noble precedents, customs and usages.[1]

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[1] *Manorathapūraṇī* on the Rājavagga, in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, III, pp. 147ff.

[2] Cf. *Aggañña suttanta*, *Dīgha Nikāya*, III.

[3] *Dīgha Nikāya*, III, p. 93; cf. Jātaka No. 270.

[4] *Dīgha Nikāya*, III, pp. 95, 191.

[5] *Ibid.*, III, p. 98.

[6] *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, p. 37.

Regarding coronation (p. 73) the Buddhist *Nikāyas* point out that a warrior who underwent the ceremony of consecration is described as a *mūrddhābhishikta kṣatriya* (*muddhābhisitto khattiyo*), i.e. a warrior whose head is besprinkled with holy waters. The besprinkling was to be followed by the investiture of the king elect with five insignia of royalty (*pañcakakudhabhaṇḍāni*) by the *rājakattāro* (king-makers), the pronouncement of blessings by the priests and elders, the panegyrics of the *Sūta-māgadhas* and *Vaitālikas*, the receiving of presents, the shouts of joy by the crowd, the processions, and feasts and festivals.[2] As regards *kahāpaṇa* (p. 123), C. D. Chatterjee's *Numismatic data in Pali Literature published in the Buddhistic Studies* (edited by B. C. Law, pp. 383ff.) contains a detailed account.

As regards Senāpati (p. 127) or the commander-in-chief we find in the *Culla-Sutasoma Jātaka* that he is placed at the head of the *amātyas* or councillors and officers, the *purohita* (the chaplain) at the head of the Brāhmaṇas and the *rāṣṭrika* (*raṭṭhika*) is placed foremost among the negamas, i.e. the bankers, business magnates and rich landowners (*senāpatipamukhāni asīti amaccasahassāni purohitapamukhāni saṭṭhi brāhmaṇasahassāni raṭṭhikanegamādayo: Jātaka*, V, p. 178).

In p. 134 the author has given an account of the *dvīpas* according to the Pauranic geography. But in all earlier and Buddhist texts and commentaries Jambudvīpa figures as one of the four mahādvīpas and continents with Mt. Sineru (Sumeru) in the centre of them.[3]

In p. 136 the author has referred to the list of sixteen *mahājanapadas* occurring in the Buddhist texts. But according to the Jaina *Bhagavatī Sūtra* this list is different.[4] According to the Jaina list they are as follows: Aṅga, Baṅga, Magaha, Malaya, Mālava, Accha, Vaccha, Kocchaha, Pāḍha, Lāḍha, Bajji, Moli, Kāsī, Kosala, Avaha and Sambhuttara.

In p. 148, the author has utilized only the Sanskrit sources in dealing with the *gaṇikās*. I have discussed this topic from the Buddhist sources. In my *Women in Buddhist Literature*, Chap. 3, I have shown that the *gaṇikās* earn their livelihood by attracting men by their tempting figure and voice, scents, perfumes, and touch, and by their dalliance. There are other details about fees, etc.

In p. 156 there is a reference to the village communities in the Buddhist age as shown by Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist India*. My '*India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism*' (Chapter 3) gives us much more information.

The author has devoted a chapter to army (pp. 200ff.). It may be pointed out that the word *daṇḍa* is used in Khāravela's Inscription definitely in the sense of army: *hayagajanararadhabahulaṃ daṇḍam paṭhāpayati*. Here the army consists of the four traditional divisions. In the inscriptions of Aśoka we have mention of elephant-riders, the chariot-masters, and trained horses. The Pali Sāmaññaphala Sutta (*Dīgha*, I) refers to camp, marshalls, high military officers of royal birth, military scouts, heroes and warriors in buckskin. All these constitute a standing army.[5]

In Chapter IX (pp. 216ff.) the author has ably written all about ally or friend. In a Buddhist text the Buddha's doctrine of love and goodwill between man and man is set forth in domestic and social ethics.[6]

The Chapter XXIV on theft (pp. 519ff.) is very interesting. In this connection we may refer to the Pāyāsi Suttanta of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (Vol. II). From Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Dīgha Nikāya* called the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (I, p. 71) we gather that if a thing is taken with the intention of stealing it, then he is guilty of theft; if the thing stolen be of greater value, then the offence will be greater and *vice versa*. One is guilty of theft if the following conditions are there:—

(1) The thing stolen must belong to others;
(2) The thief must be conscious at the time of stealing that the thing which he is stealing belongs to others;
(3) He must have the intention to steal; and
(4) He must make effort to steal and that effort must bring about the theft of the thing belonging to others.

I have drawn the author's attention to some of the materials from Buddhist sources, which may be of some use to him.

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[1] Cf. *Dīgha Nikāya*, II, p. 74; Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, II, p. 519.

[2] Cf. the account of Kūṇika Ajātaśatru's consecration in *Aupapātika Sūtra*, Sec. 40 and ff. *Dīpavaṃsa*, XI-XII.

[3] For details *vide* my *India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism* (pp. 1ff.) and *Geography of Early Buddhism*, pp. xvi ff.

[4] *Vide* my *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 2, f.n. 5.

[5] Cf. *Milinda*, 331, and *Aṅguttara*, IV, 107.

[6] Cf. *Dīgha*, III—*Siṅgālovāda Suttanta*.

It is a pleasure to read this valuable, useful, highly informative and well-documented book. The chapters are well-written and repay perusal. I congratulate the author on the success of the volume. The value of the book has been greatly enhanced by the indexes supplied by the author.

B. C. LAW.

THE HINDU TEMPLE. By Stella Kramrisch, Professor of Indian Art, in two volumes, double demy, photographs by Raymond Burner, University of Calcutta, 1946.

This is undoubtedly Prof. St. Kramrisch's *magnum opus* embodying as it does the richest fruit of her long-continued labours in the field. I congratulate her that she has produced a work of such high quality, for which alone she will be remembered with gratitude by scholars and general readers alike. It is nicely printed and neatly illustrated; its general get up, too, leaves nothing to be desired.

The work is divided into eight parts followed by a guiding explanation of plates. The special topics, such as the site, the plan, the supernal man, the substances, names of the temple, the structure, proportionate measurement and varieties of the temple, and the images enshrined, dealt with appropriately and consecutively, are the topics that go to constitute the main subject-matters of a standard work on the Śilpaśāstra, the *Mānasāra*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, and the like. These Śilpaśāstras are literary productions of a comparatively late date, and several scholars have essayed before to utilize and evaluate them in so far as their canons and prescriptions are applicable to the actual examples of Hindu Temples that have survived the ravages of time and cruel hands of foreign invaders in different parts of India. I cannot claim to have critically read all of them, but my strong impression nevertheless is that in some of them there is so much of clear orientation of all aspects of the subject. Prof. Kramrisch in her masterly treatment bears ample evidence to her competence to penetrate into the very heart of the subject. From a firsthand knowledge of the temples and from the point of view of tradition, philosophy and art, she has offered us a lucid exposition, which is expected from a scholar and art-critic who has attained the maturity of judgment. She is quite at home, not to say, in intense love, with the subject. She has presented in her clear style the entire career of the Hindu Temple from its germinal form to its very finish, impressing us throughout with the idea that it is highly significant in all its parts as in the whole.

In her own words (Vol. I, p. 166), 'The Hindu Temple is a synthesis of many symbols. By their superposition, repetition, proliferation, and amalgamation, its total meaning is formed ever anew. In the vertical direction, the superposition of forms leads towards the culminating point. The solid socle or base (*adhiṣṭhāna*, etc.) functions as the altar on which the offering is made in the shape of the temple. Its main part is the walled-in, dark space of the *garbhagṛha*. From the vertical walls of *garbhagṛha*, the original dolmen-shape, rises the superstructure, and above it the finial (*stūpikā*). The high superstructure is not derived from any particular roof-shape; these in certain types are embodied in their forms. It is not a roof with increased height; it is a form of sacred architecture, complete in itself, and is placed above the walls of the *garbhagṛha*.'

It is not possible for the reviewer to discuss all the points raised and laid under contribution. Here our attention may be focussed as the central thesis of the book: 'The superstructure crowned by the *Āmalaka* or by the High Temple is the third and highest part of the "body" of the monument, the *Prāsāda*; the two other main parts of the temple being the solid base or socle, its altar; and the sanctuary with its vertical walls. By its form the *Prāsāda* leads from the square at the base to the point above; by its exalted position and by its form, which leads to the peak, the superstructure is the Mountain; its mass is the vesture (*kośa*) in which is clad the Axis of the temple. This emerges, in its topmost portion only, as section of a mighty pillar, as the "neck" (*grīvā*) of the temple, above the shoulder (*skandha*) of the superstructure. The symbol of the Pillar of the Universe inheres in the picture of the World-Mountain. The World-Mountain is its vesture, the offset and buttresses of the *Prāsāda* are its folds. They have their origin in the *Prāsāda* itself which is the monument of Manifestation. They are bodied forth in rhythmical progression from its centre and vertical axis, on every one of its levels (*bhūmi*).' (Vol. II, pp. 221-22.)

Prof. Kramrisch has sought to show that *vimāna* is the architectural term which denotes the temple as a whole with its parts, while the *garbhagṛha*, the *āmalaka*, the *stūpikā*, the *śikhara*, the *maṇḍapa*, and the rest are either the structures that grow from stage to stage or those which are auxiliary to the main edifice. In her opinion the Vedic altar suggested the ground-plan of the temple, while the *garbhagṛha* took its shape from the dolmens or megalithic structures. The superstructure was to proceed either in a pyramidal or in a curvilinear form through successive layers, tiers, or levels until it was crowned by the *āmalaka* with the finial tapering to a point to vanish ultimately in infinity or timeless reality. Though the *vimāna* is broadbased, well-balanced and stationary, the setting of its details, including the placing, carving and modelling of the images, is clearly suggestive of its dynamic aspect or moving form pulsating with life. And yet the *ratha* or chariot has determined neither the structure nor the shape of the temple. The Hindu temple had before it for its model a mountain with its cave and cavern, its elevation

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through successive stages, its convergence to a peak, and the vegetation decking its sides and covering its surface.

It may be pointed out, however, that the author's interpretation of the position of the *Vimāna* as the Hindu temple architecture is not inconsistent with the Indian symbolism of the *ratha* or chariot. In the religio-philosophical texts, the *ratha* has stood for a body-politic in a living and growing organic shape and form, growing from its own creative will and energy with its structural totality and functional unity and manifesting its existence in a moving, working order, working for certain immediate and ulterior ends. As employed in the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, the body-politic symbolized by the *ratha* is the living, functioning organism in the biological sense of the term *śarīraṃ ratham eva tu*. In the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, the Bhikkhuṇī Vajirā represents the commonly accepted biological position of individuality by an analogy of the harmonious structural aggregation and functional unity of a chariot:

> *Yathā hi aṅga-sambhārā hoti saddo 'ratha' iti,*
> *evaṃ khandhesu santesu hoti 'satto' ti sammuti.*

The builder of the Hindu temple had undoubtedly before him the traditional description of the mighty Mt. Sumeru in the centre of the earth, well-balanced with its equal elevation and depression above and below the sea-level, having four mountain-peaks, Meru, Mandara, and the rest, on its four sides, floating and moving nevertheless in the ocean of Varuṇa or Neptune.

The Indian *ratha*-concept in the *Vimāna* enables us at once to understand why there was the need for the installation of the main image of the deity in the sacred chamber of the sanctuary as the sole owner of the mansion and as the symbol of the Puruṣa serving as a catalytic agent setting up an activity in the *Prakṛti* or Evolvent. The *ratha*-concept is implicit in the *vimāna*, and *vice versa*, one being indispensable to the other.

I may confidently hope that the *Hindu Temple* of Prof. Kramrisch will occupy a very prominent place in Indology for many years to come and be of immense service to those who are really interested in the proper study and appreciation of the religious architecture of India.

B. M. BARUA.

OBSCURE RELIGIOUS CULTS AS BACKGROUND OF BENGALI LITERATURE.

By Shashibhusan Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D.

This is the author's Ph.D. thesis recently published (1946) by the University of Calcutta in its revised and enlarged form. In a handy volume of five hundred pages (royal 8vo.) and within the framework of a chronological scheme Dr. Dasgupta has presented his well-considered views on the historical, literary, linguistic, and religio-philosophical position of the Buddhist and Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyās, the Bāuls of Bengal, the Nāth Siddhās, and the advocates of the Dharma cult.

This is a work of outstanding merit. It excells all things written previously on the subject. It shows throughout the clarity of vision and power of understanding with which its author removes the obscurity of what he calls 'obscure religious cults'. Here is a scholar whose mind is free from bias and prejudice, a trained student of the history of human thought and inner aspiration for envisaging the continuity of a cultural movement with its successive phases of development and transitional links, and a man of judgment who is capable of discriminating things and determining their values. When I say I have learnt much from it, I say indeed a good deal of its originality and the author's deep insight.

In the author's opinion the common trait of all the schools of Sahajiyās, whether Buddhist, Vaiṣṇava or Sufī, was a sexo-yogic method of realizing the Sahaja either in the form of 'supreme bliss' or in that of 'supreme love'. With all of them the body (*Kāya*) is the microcosm containing and reflecting all that is in the universe standing as the macrocosm. The process of development of each phase of the cult is explicable in terms of 'contact, conflict and compromise'. In the background of all of them lay the age-old Yoga practice associated with Śiva and the Śiva-Śakti cult. Even with reference to the Bāuls of Bengal the author is compelled to observe that 'the element of Yoga is in no way less important in their *sādhanā*' (p. 213). It is not only in the *Haṭhayoga-pradīpikā* that we have mention of the three kinds of Yoga called Mantrayoga, Haṭhayoga, and Rājayoga, the third consisting of Vajrauli, Amarauli, Sahajauli, but also in the *Yogatattva Upaniṣad* where we get a clear definition of them all.[1]

It would seem that the word *uli* or *auli* in *vajroli-vajrauli*, *amaroli-amarauli*, and *sahajoli-sahajauli* was an adaptation from the Arabic *wali*, a word which may be taken to mean 'mode'.

The history of later Buddhism goes to show that the sahajasiddhi of the Buddhist Siddhās developed by way of a protest as much against the academic proclivity of the Bodhisattva-naya Mahāyāna as against the *yantra, mantra, maṇḍala*, and other paraphernalia of the Agranaya

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[1] Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, p. 276.

Mahāyāna consisting of such Tantric forms as Mantrayāna, Vajrayāna and Kālacakrayāna. As I maintain, these phases of Buddhism, including Sahajasiddhi, had to be developed when the Buddhist teachers of India launched upon their new career of Trailokya-vijaya, meaning to win over all by giving them the best of everything they needed.[1] If so, the question arises—was the sexo-yogic method advocated by the Buddhist Siddhās in their *Dohās* and *Caryāpadas* merely symbolical or allegorical in its import or on actual practice involving the sexual union of a man and a woman as was the case with the Śiva-Śakti cult?

A case to the point is the author's interpretation of the Buddhist idea of *samarasa*, which literally means 'the sameness or oneness of emotion' (p. 33). He observes (p. 34): 'This *samarasa* has been extensively used in many of the Buddhist as well as Hindu Tantric texts to signify the union of Prajñā and Upāya, or of the Śakti and the Śiva or rather to signify the intensive bliss that is derived from the sexo-yogic practice'.[2] But it may be pointed out that whatever may have been the meaning of rasa in Śaiva terminology, in Buddhism it signifies technically a distinctive functional characteristic, quality or activity (*kicca*, *sampatti*).[3] Accordingly *samarasa* stands rather for 'the same functional activity' than for 'the sameness of emotion'. That this is precisely the sense will be evident from the verse cited by the author (p. 34, f.n. 2) from the *Hevajratantra*. Here by *samarasa* is meant *tulya-ceṣṭā*.

In the same connection the author discusses the meaning of the word Parāvṛtti as employed in the Mahāyāna *Sūtrālaṅkāra*:

> *Maithunasya parāvṛttau vibhutvam labhyate param,*
> *buddha-saukhya-vihāre'tu dārā-samkleśa-darśane.*

The phrase Maithunasya parāvṛtti is taken to refer to the Tantric sexo-yogic practice though there is the enjoyment of bliss similar to that arising from the sexual act. This may be correct if in Buddhist usage parāvṛtti conveys the Śaiva sense of introversion. 'Going beyond itself' or 'passing away from' is the interpretation which seems to suit the Mahāyāna idea better. But the idea of introversion is absent in the import of the phrase dārā-samkleśa darśane which admits of a two-fold construction: dārā-samkleśa-darśane in viewing the wife as cause of moral defilement and dārā-samkleśa-darśane in seeing the wife without moral defilement. Even in this second alternative, the sanction is given only to the ideal union of a man with his wife. If we look further back into the *Kathāvatthu* (XXIII, 1) we find that religious sanction was accorded by certain Buddhist teachers or sects,[4] to an ideal conjugal life in the sense that the husband and wife are united with one and the same lofty motive:[5] Ekādhippāyo methuno dhammo paṭisevitabbo. This sanction is akin to that of Zoroastrianism exhorting the man and woman to have their minds intent on Ahuramazda. There is nothing as yet to suggest that this sanction was intended for the monks.

Dr. Dasgupta has cited a later Buddhist tradition, which refers the origin of Vajrayāna to South India. The Singhalese Nikāyasangraha which is a compilation of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, derives the name of the Vājiriya sect from the Vajraparvata in South India and ascribes to it a number of Tantric Buddhist texts as Dhāraṇīs which were introduced into Ceylon by the Vedallakas or Vetullakas from South India,[6] and they are listed somewhat differently by Buddhaghosa in his Saratthappakāsinī [7] and Buddhaghosa III in his Samantapāsādikā.[8] The orthodox church of Ceylon founded it difficult to accept them as the words of the Buddha.

It appears from the Kaṭhāvatthu commentary the Vājiriya, derived from Vajira (modern Bajauri in N.W.F.P.), was just another name for Uttarāpatha or North-West India. Thus in the name of Vājiriya and Vajrayāna there is the possibility of a confusion between its territorial origin and symbolical significance, the word Vajra 'diamond' symbolizing prajñā. It may be noted that the development of the Buddhist Vājiriya sect or Vajrayāna admitting the importance of the Dhāraṇīs and cherishing the secret doctrine in Vajirā or Uttarāpatha was due, partly at least, to the influence of Mazdeism or Megism which, as known to Prodicus the Gnostic and the New-Platonists, possessed secret books or hidden science [9] and to Zenophon as a confidential teaching.

All these do not at all affect the value or utility of the book under review.

B. M. BARUA.

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[1] Barua, *Asoka and His Inscriptions*, Pt. I, p. 300.

[2] The sexo-yogic practice of certain schools of the Brāhman Parivrājakas is sharply criticized by the Buddha. *Majjhima Nikāya*, i, p. 305.

[3] *Milinda*, p. 148; *Visuddhimagga*, ii, p. 448.

[4] The Andhakas and Vetulyakas in Buddhaghosa's time.

[5] Evidently, by way of an improvement on the Brahmanical ideal of marriage for the sake of procreation only. The *Lalitavistara*, Chap. XII, sets forth the Buddhist ideal motive behind marriage.

[6] C. M. Fernando, *Nikāya-saṅgraha*, Transl., p. 9.

[7] *Sāratthappakāsinī*, ii, p. 150.

[8] *Samantapāsādikā*, iv, p. 742.

[9] James Darmesteter, *The Zenda-Avesta*, S.B.E., Vol. IV, Introd., p. xiii.

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DELIVER US FROM EVIL (STUDIES ON THE VEDIC IDEAS OF SALVATION).

By Sten Rodhe (Copenhagen, Ejnar Munksgaard, 1946).

This book is a publication by the Swedish Society for missionary research. It consists of seven sections. In the introduction, the author has referred to the Indus Valley Civilization and has quoted the views of some authors without discussing them fully about Vedic Gods, four stages of Brahmin life, origin of Vedic hymns, village as the centre of social life, hermit life, etc. In the following chapters, the author has tried to explain *pāpa*, various kinds of evil from which deliverance is sought, diseases, curses, vague distinctions between gods and demons, death, etc. The normal death, according to the author, leads to full deliverance. He means normal death by the dissolution of the body. After death the wise man becomes absolute with all desires satisfied. He has not made this point perfectly clear. In the traditional exposition birth and death are carefully defined. Death is defined as a tragic biological end of an individual in life resulting from the departure of the living principle. Decay is defined as a biological process of infirmity along with the maturity attained by an individual in a particular form of birth. The author has dealt with *Saṃsāra* as the cycle of existence. He ought to know that endless is the cosmic process, the course of *saṃsāra*, which has its origin in *Avidyā* meaning ignorance of the fact that the individual soul and the universal soul are one and the same in essence. At whichever point one takes up its consideration, it involves two factors, namely, *avidyā* and *bhavatṛṣṇā* that are sufficient to account for the happy or unhappy states of beings. In this section he has given his views about *karma*, and name and form (*nāmarūpa*). According to the popular Indian belief *karma* is a sum total of man's action in a previous birth determining his future destiny which is unalterable. Its effect remains until it is exhausted through suffering or enjoyment. In the *Bṛhat Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad* and in the teachings of Yājñavalkya we meet with a clear formulation of the doctrine of *karma*. He has also tried to show how a vedic *rishi* sought deliverance from sin. His note on *avidyā* and *pratītyasamutpāda* seems to be inadequate. The doctrine of *pratītyasamutpāda* not only accounts for the origin and cessation of entire mass of ill, but also for the progressive course of life from wholesome to wholesome culminating in Nirvāṇa.

We are not prepared to accept his view that the Vedas are studied only by a minority among modern Hindus. Many of them are now-a-days taking a real interest in Vedic studies.

The author has given a Bibliography in which he ought to have mentioned Ragozin's *Vedic India*. He has supplied some Indices of Vedic quotations, quoted authors, and some Vedic words. The book is useful to beginners.

B. C. LAW.

THE ANIMAL STYLE AMONG THE NOMAD TRIBES OF NORTHERN TIBET.

By J. N. Roerich. Prague, 1930.

This short treatise gives the result of archaeological investigations carried out on the uplands of Tibet. The nomad empires of Central Asia and Southern Russia which once occupied vast geographical areas still remain to be explored. The archaeology of nomad Central Asia is still in its infancy. The Russian scientists were the pioneers in this interesting field of antiquarian research. Private archaeological explorations have been conducted in the regions north of the Caspian and the Aral seas. Across the whole of Central Asia extends a belt of mountain pasture which was once the cradle of mighty nomad confederation. In 1925–28 the Central Asian expedition of Prof. Roerich discovered traces of the 'animal' style among the nomad tribes of Northern and Central Tibet. All these tribes have preserved the primitive nomad culture and the archaic forms of Tibetan speech. The river valleys of the Tsang-po (Brahmaputra), Kyi-chu, Nyang-chu and the Yalung became the centres of Tibetan State building. The seventh and eighth centuries A.D. saw many Tibetan military raids and during the eleventh and twelfth centuries there grew up the Tangut kingdom occupying the lowland of Kansu and some portions of Inner Mongolia.

The nomad tribes of modern Tibet form a separate group in the population of the country. The Central Asian expedition of the learned Professor discovers many interesting monuments of Tibet which may be classified under three heads: (1) stone graves, (2) megalithic monuments, and (3) objects in 'animal' style discovered in graves. Burial is completely unknown to the nomad tribes of modern Tibet. They expose their dead on the top of mountains or throw them into lakes or rivers or follow the general Tibetan custom of cutting them to pieces and feeding the vultures with their flesh. The graves discovered in Northern Tibet belong to the type of 'stone graves' well known in northern Mongolia, the Trans-Baikal Province and the Altai mountains. Large graveyards similar to those of Northern Mongolia are never found in Tibet. It is difficult to determine the date of Tibetan 'stone graves'. Several megalithic monuments to the south of the great lakes have been discovered. Modern art workshops in Tibet are under the strong influence of China. Neither the influence of Lhasa nor the cultural pressure of China succeeded in destroying the vestiges of the ancient nomad art of Tibetan tribes. The Iranian tribes were the carriers of the 'animal' style. The influence of Central Asian Iranian nomads is noticeable in the armament of the nomad tribes. It is true that the Iranian culture introduced

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new elements into the nomad art. The Tibetan nomad tribes had many types of Tibetan swords. The author has given a description of some of the existing types. He has also analysed in his short treatise all the objects which bear testimony to the existence of the ancient Central Asian nomad art in Tibet. The book under review is interesting and informative and it surely repays perusal. The author has done well by supplying four plates and a sketch map of Tibet which greatly enhance the value of his book.

B. C. LAW.

ASOKA AND HIS INSCRIPTIONS. By Dr. B. M. Barua, M.A., D.Litt. (Lond.), written in commemoration of the fifty-fifth birthday of Dr. B. C. Law, New Age Publishers, Ltd., Calcutta, 1946. Price Rs.15.

Asoka and his epigraphs are a perennial and enchanting subject of study. And even a galaxy of Orientalists like Cunningham, Buhler, Senart and Hultzsch and historians like Smith, Bhandarkar and Mookerji cannot be said to have exhausted the subject. The work under review 'is the outcome of a prolonged study of the inscriptions and legends of the great Maurya emperor in their manifold historical bearings'. Part I is devoted to Asoka's personal history, his empire, administration, private and public life, his Dharma and Dharmavijaya and his place in history. Part II 'which is rather of a technical nature and therefore of little or no interest to the general reader' deals with the Phraseology and style, Grammar and Phonology of the inscriptions and their bearing on Literature and Dialects.

The author's avowed method, somewhat overdone, is to make good the deficiency of Asokan records by sidelights from as many sources as possible including classical writings. The discussion of Asoka's date does not carry us any further towards an accurate solution; but this is inherent in the nature of the evidence at our command. To say that the Buddhist tradition of a disputed succession and an unanointed period, depends upon whether Asoka's father ruled for 25 or 28 years is to leave both the questions involved, unsettled (p. 59). Welcome is the author's remark that *Samghe Upayite* means visited the local Samgha (p. 28), for the *Dīpavaṃsa* and later Pali accounts nowhere state explicitly that Asoka entered the Order. We cannot treat *budhasake* in the Maski edict as a mistake for *Upasake*. Hardly more justifiable is Barua's distinction between the two stages of Asoka's career as an *upāsaka*, the one in which he followed an individual member of the *Saṅgha* and the other in which he accepted the guidance of the *Saṅgha* as a whole (p. 29). It may be doubted if *Piyadasi* can be construed to be a name or title of Asoka alone as in the *Mudrārākṣasa*, it is applied to the grandfather of Asoka, and Priyadarsana is a well-known epithet applied to Rāma by Vālmīki.

The chapter on empire is full of instructive discussions, and interesting details. Asoka's political empire was vast (*mahamte vijaye*) and his cultural empire vaster still. His political empire was bordered by the territories of independent but friendly frontagers (*antas*) like Yonas and Kambojas. Within his empire too we have to distinguish between areas under the direct rule of the king, those under the Viceroys and finally those occupied by semi-independent tribes mentioned in Rock Edicts V and XIII. It is unfortunate that the author should have given up his wise restraint in discussing the affinities of the Pārindas observed by him at pp. 89–91 and allowed himself to suggest in the preface (viii) a fanciful connection for them with the Pāṇḍyas. Rock Edict XIII does not furnish any ground for treating the Andhras as a Western or Vindhyan tribe. Hultzsch in fact suggested that the Pārindas with whom they are associated must have been like the Andhras an eastern tribe. The author is inclined to identify Tambapaṇṇi with the Tinnevelly region because the word *dvīpa* is not associated with it (p. 113).

The chapter on administration gives a wealth of information about the various classes of officers of the Central Government—*Mahāmātras*, *Purushas*, *Yuktas*, *Rājukas*, *Prādeśikas*, and about provincial and municipal administration. One wishes that more emphasis had been laid on humanism in Asoka's administration as also the innovations introduced by him—*Dharmayātrā*, reports and the wide discretion given to *Rājūkas*. The reading in l. 8 of the Girnar inscription of *Mauryasyamte* obviates the supposition of a scribal error corrected by Kielhorn's insertion of *kri* before *te*. But one may doubt if the *anusvāra* over *sya* is as clear as that over *ta* in *kāritam* immediately preceding. It is also not clear why the name of Asoka should have been invoked at all in the context if one of his officers was not in question as in the case of Candragupta before. The author has ably proved his thesis that Asoka's Dharma is wholly consistent with the principles of secular Buddhism and by no means inconsistent with the Hindu ideal of *Rājadharma*. It is a necessary corrective to Senart's and Buhler's remark that the style of the edicts is the style of the *Dhammapadam*. It were better if the author had assessed more clearly Asoka's place in the religious evolution of India. Buddhism, an offshoot of Hinduism, was an attempt to simplify and universalize religion, and Asoka did most to popularize it by giving it a predominantly ethical and practical turn and making its leading principles the guides of the daily administration of the State. Above all it must be understood as a salutary departure from the secular and militarist State of his grandfather.

Asoka's *Dhammavijaya* is sharply contrasted with the Hindu *Dharmavijaya*. Both eschew territorial conquest (*lobha vijaya*), but the latter was conquest of glory by the sword whilst

Buddhist *Dhammavijaya* was conquest by moral persuasion, which bears a closer resemblance to the *Dharmavijaya* of Agni or the penetration of Vedic religion and Indo-Aryan culture. It may not be quite correct to affirm that Buddhism was not made a State religion by Asoka, when we know that the entire machinery of the State was bent to the purpose of propagating *Dharma*.

Asoka's place in history is determined as much by the superiority of [illegible] methods he followed as by the excellence of the ends he had in view. He did for Buddhism much more than what was done for Christianity by Paul and Constantine with whom Barua compares him. Paul did not simplify Christianity nor did Constantine dream of the possibility of peaceful conquest. The author's remark, 'one cannot but be struck by many points of parallelism between Christianity and Buddhism' suggests Buddhist influence on Christianity, thanks to Asoka's missionary zeal. Our author praises Asoka for having given India a common script, a common language and a national art, 'forces which quickened Indian national unity'. But the accuracy of this statement so far as art is concerned and possibly even language may well be doubted.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

COMPROMISES IN THE HISTORY OF ADVAITIC THOUGHT. By MM. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A., I.E.S. (Retd.). Published by the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras, 1946. Price Rs.1-4-0.

This booklet consisting of 37 pages contains two lectures dealing with compromises in the development of Advaitic thought from the earliest times to the days of Brahmānanda Sarasvatī. The second lecture comprises two parts, one dealing with noteworthy instances of compromise during the later post-vedic age, and the other suggesting the lines on which the cases of compromise may be evaluated. The author's short notes on Bādarāyana and Jaimini, Bhaṭṭa Kumārila, Brahmadatta, Śaṅkara, the greatest of the Advaita teachers, Vācaspatimiśra, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī and Brahmānanda Sarasvatī, the two great champions of Advaita dialectics, are very illuminating. This short treatise is a useful contribution to a better understanding of Indian religious and philosophic thought. The author has supplied serviceable Indexes which greatly enhance its utility.

B. C. LAW.

OBITUARY

Indological studies have received a great setback in the death of these scholars.

Dr. Hirananda Sastri, formerly Epigraphist to the Government of India, and then Director of Archaeology, Baroda State.

Mr. K. Rama Pisharoti of Cochin passed away on the 3rd October, 1946. He was a scholar in Sāhitya, Vyākaraṇa and Nyāya.

On the 30th October, 1946, Prof. H. H. Dodwell died. He was the Professor of History of India in the London School of Oriental Studies. He was once a member of the Indian Educational Service. May their souls rest in peace!

B. C. LAW.

OURSELVES

Our distinguished colleague, Dr. B. C. Law, has been elected an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland for life. He is the fifth Indian scholar to receive this unique distinction.

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QUOTATIONS FROM THE COMMENTARIES OF KĀRTIKA OR KĀRTIKAKUṆḌA RECORDED BY DALLAṆA (*c.* A.D. 1100), BY VIJAYARAKṢITA (*c.* A.D. 1240) AND BY ŚRĪKAṆṬHADATTA (*c.* A.D. 1275)

By P. K. GODE

Aufrecht makes the following entry about an author of the name '*Kārttika*':—

> *CCI.*, 96—'कार्त्तिक—A medical writer quoted by Bhāvamiśra, Oxf. 311ᵇ, by Mādhava, Oxf. 314ᵇ.'

The MS. represented by 'Oxf. 311ᵇ' is that of the *Bhāvaprakāśa* of Bhāvamiśra, who flourished *c.* A.D. 1550. This reference has not much chronological significance. The MS. represented by 'Oxf. 314ᵇ' is that of *Rugviniścaya* (also known as *Mādhavanidāna*) by Mādhavakara who flourished according to Hoernle[1] about '*7th or 8th century' A.D.* If the reference to *Kārttika* by Mādhava[2] is a genuine one we are warranted in supposing that the medical writer *Kārttika* flourished earlier than A.D. 800. Let us now see what further evidence is forthcoming to corroborate this supposition. In this connection I have to record the following data which throw some light on the medical writer, *Kārttika* and the nature of his medical writings:—

Śrīkaṇṭhadatta, pupil of Vijayarakṣita (*about A.D. 1240* according to Hoernle) has written a commentary on the *Siddhayoga*[3] of Vṛnda. This commentary is called 'व्याख्याकुसुमावली', in which Śrīkaṇṭhadatta (*c. A.D. 1260*) mentions an author of the names 'कार्त्तिक' and 'कार्त्तिककुण्ड'[4] as will be seen from the following quotations:—

P. 175—"आदिशब्दः प्रकारे तेन मधुकपुष्पद्राक्षाकाश्मर्यखर्जूराणीति कार्तिकः ।"

P. 181—"संज्ञावहस्रोतोनिरोधशान्तिकरत्वेन व्याधिप्रत्यनीकत्वादिति कार्तिकः ।"

P. 201—"कुशलेन प्रयोजितमित्यमर्शं बिना नस्यविधानात्प्रतिमर्शं विना नस्यं चतुर्विधमप्यत्रेति तु कार्तिकः ॥ २० ॥"

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[1] Vide p. 16 of *Osteology*, Oxford, 1907—Introduction. In the *Madhyayugīna Caritra Kośa* (by Chitrav Shastri, Poona, 1937, p. 627) there is an article on माधवकर, author of रुग्विनिश्चय but no date for this author has been indicated.

[2] Possibly this is not a reference to कार्त्तिक by माधव but by his commentator विजयरक्षित (*c.* A.D. 1240).

[3] Ānandāshram Sanskrit Series, No. 27, Poona, 1894 (वृन्दप्रणीतो वृन्दमाधव-अपरनामा सिद्धयोगः), edited by Haṇamant Shāstri Padhye.

[4] *Vijayarakṣita* (*c. A.D. 1240*) in his commentary called व्याख्यामधुकोश on the माधवनिदान refers to कार्त्तिककुण्ड as follows:—"व्यान इत्यादि व्यानो वायुः ॥ एतच्च गुदोद्देश एव नान्यत्रेति कार्त्तिककुण्डादयः ॥ तस्यैव वातादिभेदेन लक्षणमाह ॥" (See *folio 58ᵃ of MS. No. 1067 of 1886–92*—माधवनिदान with commentary of विजयरक्षित in the Government MSS. Library at the B.O.R. Institute, Poona.)

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P. 359—"कषायशब्देन कल्कस्याभिधानात्। कार्तिकस्तु मधुरौषधक्वाथैः परिभाव्येति व्याचष्टे।"

P. 363—"उत्सादनमिति शोधनं संयोगविशेषादाधीरप्रभवत्वाद्वा निम्नमांसोन्नतिकरमिहोत्सादनव्यपदेशमाह कार्तिकः।"

P. 393—"यद्यप्याद्ये परं वातहरे उक्ते तथाऽपि वल्लिकण्टकपञ्चमूलद्वयमपि वातजे विसर्पे व्याधिप्रत्यनीकतया हितमिति कार्तिकः ॥ ४ ॥"

P. 410—"एवं क्षीरपरिभाषान्यायात्क्षीरं साधयित्वा तैलकुडवो विपाच्य इति कार्तिकः।"

P. 440—"अत्र कार्पासीफलरसस्यार्धं मधु, मधुनोऽर्धं सर्जत्वक्चूर्णं वृद्धवैद्यसंप्रदायादिति कार्तिककुण्डः।"

P. 477—"तथाभूतं यत्कङ्कुच्छितमञ्जनेन वा विहितं नक्तान्ध्यं शमयति-इति कार्तिकः।"

P. 525—"अत्र स्वरसभावनस्याप्युक्तत्वादेवमित्यतिदेशस्य वैयर्थ्याद्विदारिचूर्णवत्क्षौद्रघृताभ्यामप्यामलकचूर्णस्य स्वरसभावितस्य प्रयोगमाह—कार्तिकः।"

P. 555—"रसैः स्निग्धैरिति। मधुराम्ललवणैस्ते हि स्निग्धरसा इति कार्तिकः। मांसरसैः स्निग्धैरित्यन्ये।"-

P. 424—"दालनं वातिके प्रत्याख्याय दन्तहर्षक्रियाभिधानार्थमिति कार्तिककुण्डः।"

P. 423—"कषायद्रव्याणां तद्गतत्वेऽपि जात्याः पृथगभिधानं यथालाभप्रयोगनिषेधार्थं भागद्वयग्रहणार्थं वा इति कार्तिकव्याख्या।"

"शङ्खिन्यङ्कोटेत्यादिग्रन्थः क्वापि पठ्यते स तु कषायशब्दसमासनिर्देशपक्षे कार्तिकव्याख्यात मिश्रकोक्तशोधनकषायद्रव्याकारः।"

P. 13 —"इति कार्तिकडल्लणौ।"

"प्रतिपादनार्थं इति कार्तिकः।"

P. 22 —"महात्ययं गम्भीरमिति कार्तिकः।"

"विषमज्वरकारणत्वमिति कार्तिकः।"

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P. 23 —"समाधानमुक्तवान्कार्तिकः।"

P. 54 —"अत्र पुनरभिधानमधिमात्रार्थमिति कार्तिकः।"

P. 56 —"एकस्मिन्नेव कफस्थाने स्थितेन दोषेण तत्करणादिति कार्तिकः।"

P. 162—"कार्तिकः . . . . व्याचष्टे।"

P. 310—"सुश्रुतेऽप्युक्तम्—अम्लस्रुतं पूतिकरञ्जक्षारं विडलवणपिप्पलीप्रगाढं पाययेदिति। अत्राम्लस्रुतमिति स्रावणविधिना काञ्जिकेन परिस्रुतमिति कार्तिककुण्डादिभिष्टीकाकारैर्विवृतमिति।"

P. 166—"पदेष्वपि पदैकदेशप्रवृत्तेरिति कार्तिकः ।"

P. 167—"कार्तिकस्त्वाह राजद्रुम आरग्वधादिगणेऽधिगन्तव्यः ।"

P. 177—"कार्तिकस्त्वाह सर्वक्ततामामजाम् ।"

P. 264—"कार्तिकस्त्वाह वातिक एव संगतत्वाद्.... इति ।"

P. 565—"अहोरात्रादिति ।.... तेन यामत्रयात्परतोऽपि याममेकमागच्छन्नपि न दुष्यतीति कार्तिकः ।"

P. 571—"विविक्तता गौरवशून्यत्वमिति कार्तिकः ।"

On the strength of the above quotations I may make the following suggestions:—

(1) *Śrīkaṇṭhadatta* (= ŚD) and *Nārāyaṇa Bhiṣag* who revised and completed ŚD's *Kusumāvali* were acquainted with the commentaries of a medical writer called कार्तिक who is possibly identical with कार्तिककुण्ड quoted by this name on pages 310, 424 and 440.

(2) On *p. 310*, ŚD quotes *Suśruta* and then records the remarks of कार्तिककुण्ड and other commentators on it (कार्तिककुण्डादिभिः टीकाकारैः विवृतम्). This proves that कार्तिककुण्ड was a commentator of the *Suśrutasaṁhitā*.

(3) ŚD does not mention the name of the commentary (or commentaries) of कार्तिक from which he quotes many times. He merely refers to "कार्तिकव्याख्या" on p. 423.

ŚD refers to many authors and works in his commentary on the *Siddhayoga*. I note below some of them for the use of the students of the history of Indian medical literature:—

डल्लणव्याख्यान (pp. 3, 6, 18, 29, 76, etc.).

c. A.D. 1220—अरुणदत्त (pp. 4, 517, etc.).

ईशानदेवव्याख्या (pp. 7, 54, 145 (ईशानः), 184, 619, 621, 660, 662, etc.).

वाग्भटाचार्य (pp. 8, 105, 531 (वृद्धवाग्भट), 532, etc.).

चरक (pp. 9, 14, 24, 31, 45, etc.).

ब्रह्मदेवव्याख्या (pp. 9, 30, 516, 566, 573, etc.).

माधव (p. 9, etc.).

कार्तिकडल्लणौ (p. 13, etc.).

पाराशर (p. 13, etc.).

ब्रह्मदेवडल्लणौ (p. 12).

बाष्पचन्द्र (pp. 12, 373, 625, 627, etc.).

चक्र (pp. 12, 17, 18, 23, 31, 35, 41, 43, 45, 59, etc.).

सुश्रुत (p. 12, 15, 17, 21, 31, etc.).

c. A.D. 1100—डल्लण (pp. 13, 32, 33 (डल्लणाचार्य), 73, 122, etc.).

उद्भटव्याख्यातः (p. 16).

वृन्द (pp. 16, 18, 27, 49, 65, 84 (इति टिप्पणी वृन्दस्य), 90, 134, 197, 208 (वृन्दस्य व्याख्या), 218, 316, 320, 440 (वृ० टिप्पणिका), 499, etc.)

तन्त्रान्तर (p. 17, etc.).

हारीत (pp. 17, 20, 155, etc.).

आचार्याः (p. 17, etc.).

c. A.D. 1260—हेमाद्रिव्याख्यानम् (pp. 17, 111, etc.).

गदाधर (pp. 18, 22, 25, 102 (टीकाकार), 112, 113, 449, 552, etc.).

ब्रह्मदेव (pp. 18, 32, 73, 272, 309, 360, 501, 522, 574, 598, etc.).

वृद्धसुश्रुत (pp. 19, 98, etc.).

जातूकर्ण (pp. 21, 36, 87, 145, 155, 308, 321, 438, 449, etc.).

माधव (pp. 451, 615, etc.).

निमि (pp. 452, 540, etc.).

भद्रशौनक (pp. 489, 558, etc.).

हरिश्चन्द्र (pp. 23, 106 (भट्टारक), 109, 299 (हरिश्चन्द्राचार्येण), 587, 603, 605, etc.).

चक्रस्तु......यदाह स्वसंग्रहे (p. 26, etc.).

वृद्धवैद्यव्यवहारः, वृद्धवैद्याः (pp. 29, 42, 49 (वृद्धाः), 70, etc.).

वैद्यप्रसारके (pp. 37, 85, 137, 156 (वैद्यप्रचारके), 157, 267, 313, 325, 382, 430, 473, 493, etc.).

अग्निवेश (pp. 37, 192, etc.).

खारणादि (pp. 38, 112, etc.).

c. A.D. 1050—भोज (pp. 38, 69, 332, 333, 334, 533, etc.).

भालुकितन्त्र (pp. 41, 542 (भालुकिना), 556, etc.).

निघण्टुकारवचन (p. 48, etc.).

संग्रहकारः (pp. 53, 268, 330, 351, etc.).

विदेहः (pp. 57, 85, 437, 439, 476, etc.).

भारतोक्तेन (विष्णु) नामसहस्रेण (p. 57, etc.).

जेज्जटकार्तिकभोजादिभिः (p. 60, etc.).

दृढबल (pp. 62, 547, 553, 568, 570, 592, 629, etc.).

माधवकारेण निदानसंग्रहे (p. 64, etc.).

पराशर (pp. 78, 81, etc.)

जेज्जट (pp. 86, 88, 111, 115, 142, etc.).

द्रव्यावल्याम् (pp. 87, 193 (द्रव्यावल्यभिधाने), etc.).

चक्रदत्त (p. 93, etc.).

विश्वामित्र (pp. 103, 269, 282, 506, etc.).
गोमिना (टीकाकृता), p. 104, etc.
भट्टारकमेधाविनः (p. 106, etc.).
परमाचार्य (p. 106).
नागार्जुन (pp. 110, 470, etc.).
अरुणचन्द्रनन्दनौ (p. 111).
अरुणदत्तहेमाद्री (p. 111, etc.).
बाष्पचन्द्र (pp. 112, 133, 304, 539, etc.).
क्षीरपाणि (pp. 112, 273, 306, etc.).
सुदान्तसेन (pp. 124, 538, etc.).
वङ्गसेन (p. 132).
मुनिदास (p. 145).
चक्रजिनदासौ (p. 145).
कृष्णात्रेय (pp. 145, 600, etc.).
रविगुप्त (p. 146).
चक्रपाणि (pp. 146, 170).
माधवकराचार्यैः (योगव्याख्यायां), p. 148.
वृद्धकाश्यपः (p. 162).

P. 162—"कोलस्थानेऽत्र कर्षः स्यादन्यतोदृष्टहेतुनेति। कार्तिकमतमिदं वृन्देनलिखितम्। कार्तिकः किल कोलशब्दोपादानेऽप्यत्र कल्काल्पत्वाद् वृद्धकाश्यपसंवादेन कर्षं व्याचष्टे। तथा च वृद्धकाश्यपः—"

हेमाद्रौ (p. 165, etc.).
चन्द्रिकाकारः (p. 170).
नागार्जुनवार्तामालायाम् (p. 172).
बकुलकारेण (श्लोकैर्निबद्धः), p. 190.
कातन्त्रव्याकरणे (p. 190).
कृष्णात्रेयपरिभाषायाम् (pp. 191, 586).
रत्नपरीक्षाशास्त्रे (p. 198).
गयदासेन (pp. 230, 288 (गयी), 404, 452, 557, 581, etc.).
माधवकारेण (रुग्विनिश्चये), (pp. 249, 393 (रुग्विनिश्चये), etc.).
तन्त्रयुक्तिः (p. 327).
गूढपदभङ्गटिप्पणके (pp. 333, 334, etc.).
जिनदास (pp. 349, 352).

नरदन्तः (pp. 349, 415 (व्याख्या), etc.).

हरमेखले (p. 417).

वैकारणे (p. 426).

निदानसंग्रहे (p. 427).

गन्धशास्त्रम् (p. 430).

कराले (pp. 437, 445).

पञ्जिकाकारः (p. 439).

सात्यकिः (p. 451).

आलम्बायन (p. 512).

काश्यप (pp. 523, 564, etc.).

लक्ष्मणटिप्पणेन (p. 529, etc.).

श्रीकण्ठपण्डित (p. 545).
कुसुमावलिकार (p. 583). } This is obviously a reference to श्रीकण्ठदत्त, the author of व्याख्या कुसुमावली by नारायण भिषग् who revised this commentary.

महाविदेह (pp. 588, 590).

शालाक्ये (p. 602).

सोमटिप्पण (pp. 602, 606, 610, 615, etc.).

आचार्य भौमदत्तेन (p. 626).

कपिबल (p. 629).

आचार्य भगदत्तेन (p. 633).

भिषग् ईश्वरसेन (p. 640. etc.).

पाखण्डिकाः (p. 645).

All the references recorded above from the present edition of व्याख्याकुसुमावली need not be presumed to have been made by श्रीकण्ठदत्त himself as the text of this commentary was revised and completed by a physician नारायण as stated in the three concluding verses [1] of the commentary.

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[1] These verses read as follows on the last page 665 of the Ānandāshram Edition of the *Siddhayoga* :—

" श्रीकण्ठदत्तभिषजा ग्रन्थविस्तरभीरुणा ।
टीकायां कुसुमावल्यां व्याख्या मुक्ता क्वचित्क्वचित् ॥ १ ॥
एवं नागरवंशस्य भिषग्भामल्लनंदनः ।
नारायणो द्विजवरो भिषजां हितकाम्यया ॥ २ ॥
भाष्याणि डल्लणादीनि बहुशो वीक्ष्य यत्नतः ।
टीकापूर्त्तिं यथात्मश्यक्तेन नन्दन्तु साधवः ॥ ३ ॥

In the references recorded above the reference to कार्तिकमत on p. 162 as recorded in the commentary states:—'This is the opinion or view of कार्तिक as written or adopted by वृन्द' ("कार्तिकमतमिदं वृन्देन लिखितम्"). If this statement is correct वृन्द becomes posterior to कार्तिक. According to Kavirāja Gaṇanātha Sen[1] वृन्द flourished in the *9th or 10th century*. If this date is correct we can represent the chronological relation of some of the medical authors under reference in the following series:—

कार्तिक (or कार्तिककुण्ड)	→	माधव	→	वृन्द	→	विजयरक्षित	→	श्रीकण्ठदत्त
		(Seventh or eighth century A.D.)		(Ninth or tenth century A.D.)		(*c.* 1240 A.D)		(*c.* 1275 A.D.)

With the above tentative series as our guide we may now record additional evidence about the works of कार्तिक or कार्तिककुण्ड. Such evidence is found in the commentary of *Dallaṇa* (*c.* A.D. 1100) on the *Suśruta Saṃhitā*[2] as will be seen from the following quotations:—

Dallaṇa refers to the following authors and works as pointed out by the editor on pages 23-24 of N.S. Press Edition (1938):—

भास्करः, भोजः, पञ्जिकाकारः, काश्यपः, भद्रशौनकः, भालुकिः, चरकः, श्रीमाधवः, लक्ष्मणटिप्पणकः, जेज्जटः, गयदासः, ब्रह्मदेवः, भट्टारहरिचन्द्रः, भेडः, न्यायचन्द्रिका, व्यासभट्टारकः, नलमतं, सांख्यकारिका, महापञ्जिका, जातूकर्णः, वृहत्पञ्जिका, लघुपञ्जिका, वृद्धवाग्भटः, विदेहः कुमारतन्त्रम्, वृद्धकाश्यपः, (भदन्त) नागार्जुनाचार्यः, वाग्भटः, विश्वामित्रः, सुवीरः, सुधीरः, गूढपदभङ्गटिप्पणम्, वङ्गदत्तः, वैतरणः, मनुः, नन्दिः, वराहः, श्रीपतिः, वृद्धसुश्रुतः, क्षारपाणिः, लघुवाग्भटः, अग्निवेशः, पराशरः, हारीतः, निमिः, दृढबलः, कृष्णात्रेयः, उशनाः, अमरकोषः, सावित्रं (तन्त्रं), नागार्जुनः, आलम्बायनः, करालः, पार्वतकः, जीवकः, बन्धकः, सात्यकिः, कार्तिकाचार्यः (p. 703); वृद्धभोजः, कार्तिककुण्डः (pp. 744, 755); चन्द्रिकाकारः चक्रपाणिः, काश्यपीयं (तन्त्रं), सुकीरः, चन्द्रनन्दनः।

The quotations from the work of कार्तिकाचार्य and कार्तिककुण्ड including those pointed out in the above list are as follows:—

P. 689—"कार्तिककुण्डस्तु इदं घृतमन्यथा पठति। सचादर्शनान्न लिखितः।"

P. 703—"......इत्यन्तं रक्तातिसारचिकित्सितं कार्तिकाचार्यो न पठति......।"

P. 744—"कार्तिककुण्डस्तु 'सपद्मकयुतैः' इत्यनेन......इति व्याख्यानयति......।"

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[1] See p. 179 of '*Āyurvedano Itihāsa*' by D. K. Shastri, Ahmadabad, 1942.

[2] Edited by Jādavji Trikamji Acharya, N.S. Press, Bombay, 1938, with the commentaries of *Dallaṇa* and *Gayadāsa*.

P. 755—"केचित्......इति पठन्ति, तं च कार्तिककुण्डो नेच्छति ।"

P. 790—"कार्तिककुण्डस्तु वृद्धकाश्यपीयसंवादात्...... आचष्टे...... इति च कथयति ।"

"कार्तिककुण्डस्तु......इति पठति......इति व्याख्यानयति ।"

P. 791—"कार्तिककुण्डस्तु इमं पाठं न पठति ।"

"अमुमपि पाठं कार्तिककुण्डो न पठति ।"

"कार्तिककुण्डस्त्वमुं योगमन्यथा पठति व्याख्यानयति च, स च ग्रन्थगौरवभयान्न लिखितः । केचिदेनमनार्षं वदन्ति, तन्न सुकीरसुधीरादिभिष्टीकाकृद्भिरार्षत्वेन वर्णितत्वात् ।"

P. 792—"कार्तिककुण्डोऽमुं पाठमन्यथा पठति, स चाभावान्न दर्शितः ॥ ४ ॥"

P. 793—"कार्तिककुण्डस्त्वमुं पाठं बहुधा व्याकुलीकृत्य पठति, स तु ग्रंथगौरवभयात्परित्यक्तः ।"

P. 797—"देवग्रहा इत्यादिकं च श्लोकं कार्तिककुण्डो न पठति । तदङ्गनत्वेनैवास्यार्थस्य लब्धत्वात् ।"

P. 807—"कार्तिककुण्डस्त्वमुं पाठमन्यथा आपातनिकां कृत्वा व्याख्यानयति, तद्यथा—......इत्यादि । ......अन्यत् ग्रन्थगौरवभयात् परित्यक्तम् ।"

P. 810—"कार्तिककुण्डोऽमुं पाठमन्यथा पठति, स चाभावान्न लिखितः ।"

P. 812—"कार्तिकस्तु 'दोषान्' इति पठित्वा दोषान् वातादीन् विकृतानिति व्याख्यानयति । अन्ये तु व्याख्यानयन्ति ।"

"कार्तिकस्तु स्निग्धानित्यत्र स्थूलानिति पठित्वा व्याख्यानयति ।"

P. 813—"कार्तिकस्तु सर्वेषामभक्तादीनां प्रागेव स्वरूपमभिधाय पश्चात् सर्वेषां गुणान् विषयांश्च प्रतिपादयति ॥ ६७ ॥"

P. 819—"कार्तिकस्तु द्वात्रिंशद्युक्ताय इत्यादिकं श्लोकद्वयं पठति ॥ ४१-४३ ॥"

On the strength of the above quotations I may tentatively conclude as follows:—

(1) The names कार्तिक, कार्तिकाचार्य and कार्तिककुण्ड are not different names of different authors. They indicate one and the same author कार्तिककुण्ड.

(2) It appears from Dallaṇa's references to कार्तिक that he had before him a manuscript of the commentary of कार्तिककुण्ड on the सुश्रुतसंहिता, say about A.D. 1100. Judging by the manner of Dallaṇa's quotations from Kārtikakuṇḍa's commentary I may presume that this commentary was an elaborate one.

(3) All the quotations from the commentary of कार्तिककुण्ड have been so far traced in Dallaṇa's commentary on the उत्तरतन्त्र of the सुश्रुतसंहिता. (Pages 595–824 of the Printed Edition.) If no quotations of this type are found in the previous portion of the सुश्रुतसंहिता we may not be wrong in suggesting that Dallaṇa may have had before him a manuscript of the commentary under reference for the उत्तरतन्त्र only.

The chronological series of authors recorded by me already in this paper can now be further represented as follows:—

कार्तिककुण्ड	माधव Seventh or eighth century A.D.	वृन्द Ninth or tenth century A.D.	डल्लण c. 1100 A.D.	विजयरक्षित c. 1240 A.D.	श्रीकण्ठदत्त c. 1275 A.D.	नारायणभिषज् c. 1350 A.D.
सुश्रुतटीका	माधवनिदान or रुग्विनिश्चय	सिद्धयोग	सुश्रुतटीका निबंधसंग्रह	व्याख्या-मधुकोश on माधवनिदान	व्याख्या-कुसुमावली on सिद्धयोग	Revised and completed व्याख्या-कुसुमावली

In the above series I have put वृन्द as posterior to कार्तिककुण्ड on the strength of the statement of the व्याख्याकुसुमावली, viz.: "कार्तिकमतमिदं वृन्देन लिखितम्". It appears, however, from the numerous quotations from कार्तिक or कार्तिककुण्ड in the व्याख्याकुसुमावली that the author of this commentary on the सिद्धयोग of वृन्द is possibly quoting from a commentary of कार्तिककुण्ड on the सिद्धयोग. If this suggestion is accepted the "कार्तिकव्याख्या" mentioned twice on page 423 of the सिद्धयोग (Ānandāshram Edition) is identical with the commentary of कार्तिककुण्ड on the सिद्धयोग as distinct from his commentary on the सुश्रुतसंहिता which is alluded to on p. 310 of the व्याख्याकुसुमावली. This evidence contradicts the statement "कार्तिकमतमिदं वृन्देन लिखितम्" but it helps us to fix up कार्तिककुण्ड between वृन्द (ninth or tenth century A.D.) on the one hand and डल्लण (c. A.D. 1100) who quotes from कार्तिककुण्ड. Accordingly, we have the following chronological series of the authors under reference in a revised form:—

माधव	वृन्द	कार्तिककुण्ड	डल्लण	विजयरक्षित	श्रीकण्ठदत्त	नारायण भिषज्
Seventh or eighth century A.D.	Ninth or tenth century A.D.		c. 1100 A.D.	c. 1240 A.D.	c. 1275 A.D.	c. 1350 A.D.
माधवनिदान	सिद्धयोग	कार्तिक-व्याख्या on सिद्धयोग and on सुश्रुत	टीका on सुश्रुत	टीका on माधवनिदान	टीका on सिद्धयोग	Revised टीका of श्रीकण्ठदत्त on सिद्धयोग

I hope other scholars will enlighten me on the question of the chronology and works of *Kārtikakuṇḍa* on the strength of any documentary evidence that might come to their notice from sources earlier than *Dallaṇa* (c. A.D. 1100).

A HISTORY OF MEWĀR

(From the earliest times to 1303 A.D.)

By GOLAPCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI

Chapter I

THE LAND OF MEWĀR.

I

Mewār, the classic land of Guhila chivalry, belongs to the great circle of states now included within the Rājputāna Agency, and is situated between 23° 49′ and 25° 58′ N. lat. and 73° 1′ and 75° 49′ E. long. It is bounded on the north and the north-east by the British District of Ajmer-Merwāra and the Shāhpura Chiefship and Jaipur; on the west and the south-west by Jodhpur, Sirohi and Idar; on the south by Dūngarpur, Bānswāra, and Partabgarh. The eastern frontier runs along an irregular line which marks off the State from Būndi, Kotah and portions of Gwalior, Indore, and Tonk territories.

Before the Marāthā incursions of the eighteenth century the south-eastern limits of the land extended to the river Chambal, and Jāwad, Jīran, Nīmach, Nīmbahera and Rāmpura belonged to it. In the days of Akbar the northern frontier of the State probably ran along the Khāri river. Abul Fazl includes Phūlia (Shahpura) within the Sarkar of Chitor. A large part of Merwāra consists of villages ceded by the Rānā to the Government of India under an administrative arrangement arrived at in 1883. The Sisodiā prince still retains some rights over the area.[1]

The hand of nature has split up the State into two well-marked divisions. The northern and the eastern sections consist of a fine undulating country, watered by the Banās and its affluents the Berach and the Kothāri. The south and the west embrace the wildest ridges of the Arāvallis and are entirely covered with masses of rugged rocks and dense forests. These areas, which differ so much in their physical aspects, formed in ancient times distinct political units. In the second century B.C. a flourishing State—that of the Śibis—rose on the table land of the north-east. In the south-west roamed the Nishādas, in all probability the ancestors of the modern Bhīls. The complete unification of the country was achieved by the Guhila princes at a comparatively late period.

The most prominent physical feature of Mewār is the chain of mountain ranges that skirts it on the west, south and partly on the east. The oblique range of the Arāvallis, which has been identified with *apocopi montes* of Ptolemy[2] and was regarded as a part of the Pāripātra or Pāriyātra mountain by ancient Indian geographers, occupies the entire western flank of the State. It enters the country near Dewair to the South of Merwāra and continuing in a south-westerly direction attains a wider breadth until 'it loses its distinctive formation among hilly wastes' enclosed in the valley of the Som and the Mahī. The whole of the mountainous country in the south-west is politically known as the Hilly Tracts of Mewār, comprising the two *bhūmāts* of Kherwāra and Kotra, inhabited mostly by the Bhīls. Besides the Arāvallis, several minor ranges extend from Jahāzpur in the north-east to the Jākam river in the south-east. The level land near Māndalgarh is styled 'Uparamāla'.[1]

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[1] Tod, III. 1660, 1663; Āin, II. 274; I.G.(R). 116, 313; Hist. Raj., I. 305N.

[2] I.G. (R), 90.

The rocky environment generated among the people of Mewār a spirit of independence that left its mark on Indian History. Often did the rulers of the famous land shut themselves up in the sequestered glens and defy the terrible onslaughts of mighty invaders on their life and honour, liberty and religion. The hills on the east constituted an important defensive outwork in that direction. In the centre on an isolated mass of steep rock rising to a height of 500 feet above the surrounding plain, is situated the celebrated fortress of Chitor. At the junction of the three rivers (Tribeṇī), the Banās, the Kothāri and the Maināl at the southern end of the Central Bundi Range, stands another tower of strength, the famous Mandalgarh, once the pride of the Hāḍās. The great rocky barrier on the west also affords protection from sand storms of the 'Abode of Death' that stretches beyond it as far as Sind, and catches the rain and pours it into the Banās and its tributaries to fertilize the plains of the north-east.

The vulnerability of the State to an attack from the north is apparent, and the power that controlled Ajmer and Ranthambhor could always get easy access to the land of the Guhilas. Several intricate and narrow defiles that break through the mountain wall on the west connect Mewār with Mārwār. The most important of these are Dewair and Desuri passes. The latter is also known as the Paglia Nāl. Rānā Kumbha built the mighty fortress of Kumbhalmer in the very heart of the Arāvallis, to guard these approaches to his fair realm. In the south along the upper course of the river Mahī, which forms the boundary line between Dūngarpur and Bānswāra, lies another route of invasion, and the possession of Vāgaḍa was regarded as vital for the safety of their respective kingdoms by the lords of Chitor and Māṇḍū.

A network of rivers and brooks spreads over the entire State of Mewār. The principal stream is the Banās which has been identified with the Parṇāśā of the Epics and the Purāṇas. Rising near the fort of Kūmbhalmer it flows southward until it reaches the vicinity of Gogūnda, when it takes an easterly turn and bursts into the open country. After a course of about 180 miles it leaves the land near the Deoli Cantonment in Ajmer. The two chief tributaries of the Banās within Mewār are the Berach and the Kothāri. The former glides past Āhār (Āghāṭa) and Udaipur, the ancient and the modern capitals of the Guhilas. Running in an easterly direction it eventually empties itself into the Banās near Māndalgarh after skirting the western environs of Chitor. The Kothāri rises near Dewair and flows almost due east before its junction with the Banās. Among the other rivulets mention may be made of the Khāri in the north, the Som and its branch the Jākam in the south, and the Wākal, a tributary of the Sabarmatī in the south-west.

The river system afforded great facility for irrigation and contributed largely to the prosperity of the State. Large tracts of comparatively unproductive soil have also been brought under cultivation by erecting magnificent dams round vast sheets of water which go by the name of Samand (Samudra) or Sāgara. The finest of these are the Dhebar or Jai Samand, the Rāj Samand, the Udaisāgar, the Pichola, and the Fatehsāgar.

II

The land described above does not find any clear mention in the Vedic literature. References are, however, made to *Dhanvan* (desert) which may refer to the desert of Western Rājputānā, and to the Matsyas and the Nishādas. The former occupied the Jaipur and the Bharatpur region[2] which is situated to the north of Mewār.

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[1] Hist. Raj., I. 306N.

The above account has been compiled from Erskine's Rājputāna Gazetteer (Mewar); Imperial Gazetteer (Rājputāna); Ojha's History of Rājputāna, Vol. I.

[2] Vedic Index, I, 389; P.H.A.I. (4), 56; A.I.T., 61.

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A section of the latter is associated in one passage of the Mahābhārata with the Pāriyātra mountain [1] which as already stated, has been identified with the Western Vindhyas together with the Arāvallis. In view of all these it is not altogether improbable that even in those early times, some knowledge of the territory of the Guhilas was already gained.

The Sūtra works show a closer acquaintance with Western India. We hear of realms like Avanti, Surāshṭra, Sindhu and Sauvīra.[2] The Dharma-Sūtra of Baudhāyana contains an express reference to Pāriyātra as forming the boundary line between Āryāvarta and the land of mixed races and barbarians.[3] We will not be far wrong if we surmise that about this time the wild mountainous region of Western Mewār was explored by some adventurous spirits from the Madhyadeśa.

During the age represented by the Epics the veil of darkness was further lifted. The Rāmāyaṇa not only alludes to the mountain (Pāripātra) on the West, but speaks of the Parnāśā (i.e., the Banās) as the best of the rivers (*Parṇāśāṁ nadīnāmuttamaṁ nadīm*).[4] The Mahābhārata includes the Pāriyātra among the Kulaparvatas, and refers to the Parṇāśā as a mahānadī.[5] More interesting are the references in the Greater Epic to the territory of Madhyamikā (*tathā Madhyamakeyāṁścha Vāṭadhānān dvijānatha*), i.e. the Chitor and the Nāgari region, and a Nishāda settlement on the hilly region of the west.[6]

The Vessantara Jātaka mentions a city called Jetuttara in the kingdom of the Śivis, which Cunningham is inclined to identify with Madhyamikā. N. L. Dey suggests that it might be the same as 'Jattaraur' of Alberuni, the capital of 'Maiwar'.[7]

The literary references cited above do not admit of a definite chronological arrangement. But all of them must be dated before the fifth century A.D., when the Mahābhārata is quoted as a Śata-sāhasrī Saṁhitā and the Jātakas were commented on by scholars. The existence of a Sivi Kingdom called Madhyamikā in eastern Mewār in the second century B.C. is proved by several coins with the inscription Majhamikāya-Sibi-janapadasa (of the janapada of the Sivis), which have been discovered at Chitor and Nāgari.[8] The scholiast on Pāṇini, who is usually regarded as a contemporary of Pushyamitra (*c.* 187–150 B.C.) also refers to it. [9]

The designation 'Śibi-janapada' must have fallen into disuse ere long. The name Mewār, the vernacular form of the word Medapāṭa, is evidently derived from the Meda tribe.[10] We do not know when it became current. The Medas find mention in the Manu Saṁhitā [11] but the period of their settlement within the boundaries of Mewār is not known to us. A possible reference to the Meda territory is contained in the following passage of the Bṛhat Saṁhitā of Varāhamihira [12]:

Bhadrāri-*Meda*-Māṇḍavya-Sālva-Nīpojjihānasaṁkhyātāḥ
Maru-Vatsa-Ghosha-Yāmuna-Sāravata-Matsya-Mādhyamikāḥ

It is interesting to note that Varāhamihira distinguishes Meda from Madhyamikā. If the territory is to be located within the borders of Mewār then it is likely that it was situated on the north-western part of the State. The Kūmbhalgarh Praśasti draws a distinction between Āghāṭa and Medapāṭa, and associates the Medas with Vardhamāna or Vardhana, modern Badnor in the north-west of Mewār.[13] The earliest epigraphic reference to the name Medapāṭa occurs in the Bijāpur inscription of 1053 V.S. (997 A.D.) [14] The vernacular form of it was known to Alberuni and to the author of the Kumārikākhaṇḍa of the Skandapurāṇa.[15]

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[1] Mbh., Śānti, 135, VV. 3 and 5.
[2] S.I.A., 57.
[3] S.I.A., 129.
[4] Lańkā, XXVI, 39 and 42.
[5] Bhīṣma, IX, 11 and 31.
[6] Mbh., Śānti, 135, 3 and 5; Sabhā, 32, 8; Car. Lec. (1918), 173n.
[7] Geographical Dictionary, pp. 81, 187ff., Sachau, Alberuni, I, 202.
[8] C.A.I., p. CXXIV
[9] I.A., 1872, p. 300.
[10] Hist. Raj., I, 305n.
[11] X. 36 and 48.
[12] XIV. 2.
[13] E.I., XXI, pp. 278, 280.
[14] E.I., X, p. 20.
[15] Sachau, Alberuni's India, I, 202; Skanda (Kumārika), XXXIX, 140; H.M.H.I., II, 41.

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The State expanded gradually under the rule of Jaitrasimha (*c.* 1213–*c.* 1250?) and the early princes of the Sisodiā branch of the Guhila dynasty, who came to the throne after the sack of Chitor by 'Ala-ud-din Khalji. We learn from the Kūmbhalgarh Praśasti that Jaitrasimha not only ruled over the home district, viz. Āghāṭa, but also exercised sway over Chitrakūṭa (Chitor) in the east and Medapāṭa proper (probably the land of the Medas) in the north-west.[1] The latter region was not, however, finally annexed to the Guhila territory till the coming of the Sisodiās in the fourteenth century. Hammira who was one of the earliest rulers of that branch, conquered Chelavāṭa (modern Jhilwāra) from the Bhīls, and his grandson Lākhā took Vardhana or Vardhamāna (modern Badnor) from the Medas. The eastward movement for expansion beyond the upper reaches of the Berach and the Banās (in Mewār) was started by Kshetrasiṁha. He destroyed Māndalgarh and is represented as having conquered the land of the Hāḍās.[2] The wild hilly region to the south was included within the kingdom of Vāgaḍa till the middle of the thirteenth century. The village Jhāḍola, which lies near the Jai Samand (the Dhebar Lake) is expressly mentioned as being situated within the limits of that territory.[3] The conquest of the Chhappan District (in southern Mewār) is ascribed by Tod to Kshetrasiṁha.[4] It seems that at the close of thirteenth century the boundaries of Mewār extended from Arāvallis on the west to the Banās, the Berach and the hill ranges to the east of Chitor in the east, and from the valley of the Kothāri in the north to that of the Gomatī, an affluent of the Son, in the south.

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[1] E.I., XXIV, pp. 313, 325.

[2] Cf. Śringī Ṛishi Inscription of Mokala (E.I., XXIII, 231ff.); Kūmbhalgarh Praśasti (E.I., XXI, 278ff.); Bānpur or Sādaḍī inscription (Arch. Sur. Rep., 1907-08, 214ff.).

[3] Cf. Jhāḍola Siva Temple inscription of V.S. 1308 (Hist. Rāj., III, pt. I, 2n).

[4] Tod, I, 312; Hist. Rāj, III, pt. I, p. 3.

JAINA CANONICAL SŪTRAS (V)

By B. C. LAW

The fifth Jain *aṅga*, popularly known as the *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, is rightly judged by Winternitz as a Jain Canonical mosaic of various texts integrated into a single explanatory treatise on Jainism. It is accordingly entitled *Viāhapaṇṇatti*. It is also known as *Bhagavatī-viyāhapaṇṇatti*, *Bhagavatī*, *Vivāhapaṇṇatti* and *Paṇṇatti*. It is one of the most important and sacred texts of the Jaina *siddhānta*. *Bhagavatī*, translated by 'holy' is just an honorific to signify its great importance as a work of exposition of the tenets and legends connected with the life of Mahāvīra. This text contains 41 sections, each called a śataka (century). Each section has 10 chapters each of which is called an *uddesaka* or concise presentation of subject matters. It appears to have followed the *uddesa* and *niddesa* methods, the first implying the presentation of theses and the second their elucidations. Its contents are 'a motley mixture of ancient doctrines and traditions with numerous later additions containing frequent allusions to other works more especially to the *Paṇṇavanā*, the *Jīvābhigama*, the *Uvavāiya*, the *Rāyapaseṇaijja*, the *Nandī* and the *Āyāradasāo*'.[1]

The 15th section which contains the legendary or semi-historical matters relating to the life of Mahāvīra and his relationship with some of his predecessors and contemporaries, is not unreasonably regarded as an independent text which was subsequently taken into the *Bhagavatī Sūtra*.

The expositions are introduced in the form of dialogues between Mahāvīra and his disciples including Gautama (Goyama Indabhūti). In some of the *uddesakas* they assume the form of catechisms or questions and answers. Abhayadevasūri wrote a commentary on this *sūtra*, which was known to him under two titles, *Viāhapaṇṇatti* (*Vyākhyāprajñapti*) and *Vivāhapaṇṇatti* (*Vivādha-prajñapti*) both of which he explains and justifies. Abhayadeva rightly points out that in some places the tenets are explained by Sudharman to Jambusvāmi. Each section begins with an introduction stating the time, the place, the occasion of the dialogue or discourse and mentioning the persons taking part in it. It may be pointed out that each section stands as a typical *sūtra* of the Jaina or Buddhist canon. Accordingly the component chapters generally appear without any such introduction. In the *Bhagavatī Sūtra* we have the following *khaṇḍas* or topical divisions: *sādhana*, *cāritra*, *siddhānta*, *anyatīrthika*, *vijñāna*, *gaṇita*, *kutūhala*, *deva*, *nāraka* and *anyajīva*.

The standpoint of Jainism as presented in the *Bhagavatī* is in no way different from that in other texts of the Jain *Āgama*. The fundamental principle of Jainism is *ahiṃsā* and the attainment of *Nirvāṇa* is the highest goal. The practice of *tapas* or austerities marks and characterizes all the prescriptions, practices, and disciplines in Jainism. The plurality of souls is a point in Jain philosophy which is the same as in the Sāṅkhya system. The main point of difference between the two is that in Jainism the souls with consciousness as their fundamental attribute are vitally concerned with our actions, moral and immoral, virtuous and wicked, in which sense they are active principles; while in the Sāṅkhya system the *puruṣas* with consciousness as their fundamental attribute are passive principles, inasmuch as their nature is not affected by any and all of the activities relegated to *Prakriti* or evolvent. In Jainism too the souls as substances do not undergo any change. They are liable to changes due to changes in circumstances. Both the systems necessitate a careful consideration of the cosmical, biological, embryological, physical, mental and moral positions of the *Jīvas* or living individuals of the world as a whole. These constitute the scientific background of the two systems of thought. One can say that these constitute also the scientific background of *Vedānta* and Buddhism. The Jainas developed a cosmographical gradation of beings more or less in agreement with those adopted in other systems. But the Jainas followed a tradition of Indian thought which took a hylozoistic view of nature that there is nothing formed even in the world of matter, nothing which exists in space and time and which does not represent some kind or form or type of *Jīva*. And it is assumed that all of them are in the process of development or evolution in the physical structures, modes of generation, foods and drinks, deportments, behaviours, actions, thoughts, ideas, knowledge, intelligence and the like. So we need not be astonished that Jainism speaks of earth-lives, water-lives, fire-lives and wind-lives, each with its numerous subdivisions. The plants with their numerous sub-species stand above the material lives. From the plants we pass on to the animal world consisting of an infinite variety of species and from that to the world of men. Above and below man we are led to think of the celestial and infernal beings, the *devas* and *nairayikas*.

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[1] Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II. (Cal. Univ. Pub.) pp. 442-443.

Along with the cosmical situation, the cyclical envelopment and development of the earth through the successive periods of time, the geographical position of the living beings is considered, inasmuch as the conditions of their pleasure and pain, happiness and misery are partially determined by it. Accordingly the *Bhagavatī Sūtra* discusses in agreement with the *Jambudīpaprajñapti* and other texts, the geographical situation of Jambudīpa and Bhāratavarṣa, the latter denoting India. Their physical and natural environments too are relevantly taken into consideration. Jainism attributes just one sense to the material beings and the plants. The higher organic beings evolve out of the stage in which they are possessed of one sense, the sense of touch, into the stages in which they become gradually endowed with greater and greater number of senses, the maximum number being six. The nature and quality of their nutriments, the modes of eating, drinking, assimilation, etc., also differ according to the diversity of the species of flora and fauna. Similar differences are also made out with regard to the celestial and infernal beings. The study of the lives of mythical beings such as the gods, the demons and the like is on the whole anthropomorphic. The moral ideas of right and wrong, good and evil, virtue and vice, restraint and unrestraint, bondage and salvation really appertain to the world of men.

The expositions and discussions of the salient doctrinal points of Jainism are full of logical niceties and disproportionate details. The *Bhagavatī Sūtra* clearly presupposes the development of atomic theory (*paramāṇuvāda*) in Indian philosophy. Some of the current theories are quoted and criticized (I. 10; II. 1; V. 7). According to the Jain theory as in our *Sūtra*, each atom is the smallest unitary whole of matter (*pudgala*). Each of them is characterized by its internal cohesion (*siṇeha*). We cannot speak of a half atom (*arddha*) since an atom is an indivisible unit of matter. With the division it ceases to be an atom (*paramāṇoḥ ardhīkaraṇe paramāṇutvābhāvaprasaṅgāt*). A molecule (*aṇu*) is a combination of atoms more than one. An aggregate of matter (*skandha*) results from an organic combination of five molecules. Disintegration of a corporeal aggregate results from the separation of the molecules and atoms. Here one may realize the force of the Jain argument for regarding even the material beings, the earth-lives, water-lives, etc., as distinct forms of life, each appearing as an individual with its internal cohesion so long as it exists as such. So through the process of organic development or evolution we pass through the different degrees and forms of internal cohesion.

The story of conversion of the Brāhman wanderer named Khandaka (Skandhaka) by Mahāvīra in the *Bhagavatī Sūtra* (II. 1) is very interesting. The name of the wanderer sounds like the wanderer Sandaka in the Pali *Majjhima Nikāya* (Vol. I, p. 513). Like other Brāhman wanderers Khandaka is said to have been well versed in the four *Vedas*, the six *Vedāṅgas*, and the *Itihāsa-purāṇa* regarded as the fifth *Veda*. Here the list also includes mathematics (*gaṇita*) and the ṣaṣṭi-tantra of the Sāṅkhya philosophy. The difficult austerities practised by the wanderer since his conversion to the Jain faith are in substance and detail like those described in the *Antagaḍadasāo* and *Ovavāia suttas* and in the Pali *Mahādukkhakhandha*[1] and *Mahāsīhanāda suttas*.[2] The dialogue contained in this *uddesa* throws some light on the doctrine of infinity and finiteness, endlessness and limitedness discussed in the Pali *Brahmajāla sutta* (*Dīgha.*, I).

In the *Brahmajāla sutta* the Buddha refers to the four different propositions maintained by the contemporary and earlier recluses and Brāhmaṇas on four different grounds. (*Digha.*, I, pp. 22ff.) These are: (1) that this world is limited and circumscribed (*antavā ayaṃ loko parivaṭumo*); (2) that this world is limitless and without an end (*ananto ayaṃ loko apariyanto*); (3) that it is both limited and unlimited (*antavā ca ayaṃ loko ananto ca*), meaning that the world is limited above and below and unlimited crosswise; (4) that it is neither limited nor unlimited. The explanation given by Buddhaghosa in his commentary, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, is not very illuminating. As he suggests, the limited or unlimited character of the world depends on the limited or unlimited view taken by the contemplative in his mental perception or vision (I, p. 115). Here we miss the philosophical aspect of the propositions. It appears that the third proposition referred to the view upheld by Mahāvīra and his disciples. According to Mahāvīra the world may be construed in some respects as limited and in some respects as unlimited (*sa-ante loe aṇante loe*). Here he considers the position of the world from the four points of view, from the point of view of substance (*davvao*), from that of field of existence (*khettao*), from that of time (*kālao*) and from that of phenomena (*bhāvao*). It is maintained that considered from first two points of view the world is limited and considered from the remaining points of view, it is unlimited (II. 1). It may be observed that with regard to all contradictory views the *Bhagavatī Sūtra* assigns to Mahāvīra a kind of synthetic position seeking to justify both of them, each from its own point of view. This was undoubtedly consistent with the 'It may be' doctrine (*Syātvāda* of Jainism).

The Jaina ideas regarding the advent of different living beings in different states or forms of existence are on the whole the same as those in other Indian systems. The main difference lies only in some unimportant details. The Jainas too believe in the possibility of bodily advent without the help of any sex union. The Jaina belief, however, is a belief in the transmigration of soul, a point in which it differs from the Buddhist conception of rebirth without any transmigration of soul from embodiment to embodiment. The soul in Jainism as in most of the Indian systems is the factor which polarizes the field of matter and brings about the organic combination of the elements of existence. If the position be that death means an event which takes place when the soul leaves the body, the question arises whether it passes off in some form of corporeality (*sasarīrī*) or without any such corporeality (*asarīrī*). Here too the traditional Jain position is, it may be that it goes out in some form of corporeality and it may equally be that it does so without any form of corporeality (*Siya sarīrī vakkamai, siya asarīrī vakkamai*). With reference to the gross body characterized as *audārika*, *vaikriya* and *āhāraka*, the soul goes out without any corporeality, while with reference to the subtle body characterized as *taijasa* and *kārmaṇa* (karmic), it departs in its subtle body (I. 7). Deaths and destinies are broadly distinguished as those undergone by fools and those by the wise. The deaths on the part of fools that take place due to different causes or under different circumstances serve to lengthen the course of gliding in the cycle of births and deaths and those on the part of the wise go to shorten it. This too is a common place in the popular Indian belief.

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[1] *Majjhima N.*, I, pp. 83—90.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 68—83.

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Attention may be drawn to another interesting point. The account given in our *sūtra* of the doctrinal position of Maṅkhaliputta Gosāla, the leader of the Ājīvika thought, seeks to make out this point of difference and distinction between Jainism and Ājīvikism. Gosāla's position is an unqualified fatalism or determinism while Mahāvīra's position is not so, inasmuch as it distinctly leaves scope for freedom. According to Gosāla death signifies a suspended animation while periodical re-animation as in plant-life is the order of nature. The Jainas seem to construe that if we accept Gosāla's position, we cannot think of death as a phenomenon, but death in the case of all things formed or compounded is inevitable.

It is interesting to note that our *sūtra* (I. 76) speaks of a dispute between Kālāsavesiyaputta, a follower of Pārśva and a disciple of Mahāvīra. It ends with the former's begging permission to stay with him after having changed the law of the four vows for the law of the five vows enjoining compulsory confession. This is surely a supplement to the *Uttarādhyayana* dialogue between Kesin and Gautama as representatives of the two Nirgrantha orders, old and new. The date of Gosāla's death taking place sixteen years before Mahāvīra's death was coincident with the great war fought between king Kūṇiya (Ajātaśatru) and king Ceḍaga of Vaiśālī for the possession of an extraordinary elephant (*Bhagavatī Sūtra*, Āgamodayasamiti edition, p. 316). On the death of Mahāvīra the confederacy of nine Mallas and nine Licchavi clans and the kings of Kāśī and Kośala instituted a festival in honour of that event (*Bhagavatī Sūtra*, p. 316). It may be remarked that the *Bhagavatī* like other Jaina canonical *sūtras* is unaware of the position of Kūṇiya as the king of Magadha. Kūṇiya is represented as the king, better viceroy of Aṅga, in his father's time. Aṅga was governed as a separate province under Kūṇiya with Campā as its capital (*Ibid.*, p. 316).

Udāyana of Sauvīradeśa was succeeded by his nephew Keśī in whose reign Vītahavya was completely ruined (*Bhagavatī Sūtra*, p. 619). He went to the extent of renouncing the world but when the question of the succession of his son Abhi came before him, he said to himself: 'If I renounce the world after appointing Abhi to royal power, then Abhi will be addicted to it and to the enjoyment of human pleasures. He will go on wandering in this world.' This led him to renounce the world appointing his sister's son Keśī to royal power (*Bhagavatī Sūtra*, pp. 619-20). Is it not a case of the matriarchal system in vogue?

King Śatānīka's sister Jayantī was a staunch follower of Mahāvīra (*Ibid.*, p. 558). The *Bhagavatī Sūtra* informs us that in the war with Vaiśālī, Kūṇiya is said to have made use of *mahāsilākaṇṭaka* and *rathamuṣala*. The first seems to have been some engine of war of the nature of a catapult which threw big stones, and the second was a chariot to which a mace was attached to kill men as the chariot moved (pp. 316, 319). We have also the mention of Tāmalī, apparently a citizen of Tāmalitti or Tāmralipti (Tamluk), who is described as a Moriyaputta. It is difficult to make out whether Tāmalī of our *Sūtra*, was in any way connected with the Mauryas of Magadha. He is introduced rather as a rich merchant (III. 1). The *Uvāsagadasāo* and the *Bhagavatī Sūtra* mention a few rich lay disciples of Maṅkhaliputta Gosāla belonging to the Vaiśya class, e.g. Kuṇḍakuliya, a citizen of Kampillapura, Saddālaputta, a rich potter of Polāsapura, Hālāhalā and Ayaṃpula of Śrāvastī which was the main centre of the Ājīvika activity according to the *Bhagavatī Sūtra*.

MISCELLANEA

A CRITIQUE OF HEMACANDRA'S *KĀVYĀNUŚĀSANA*

The *Kāvyānuśāsana*, a work on Sanskrit Poetics, by Hemacandra, the great Jaina teacher of encyclopaedic learning, cannot claim our attention on the score of originality to any great amount—either in matter or in manner. It is chiefly a compilation, a hand-book comprehending within its scope all the important topics falling within the purview of Poetics. MM. Kane gives his verdict in the following words : 'The *Kāvyānuśāsana* is a mere compilation and exhibits hardly any originality. It borrows wholesale from the *Kāvyamīmāṅsa* of Rajaśekhara, the *Kāvyaprakāsa*, the *Dhvanyāloka* and the *Locana*.' (HAL, p. cxiv.) Yet we should be chary to commit ourselves wholly to that pronouncement. The science of Poetics has had a very long and varied development from the time of Bharata, who may be considered as the earliest known author in the field. From Bharata to Abhinavagupta—it is a far cry. The period ranging between these two limits might be justly called the creative epoch during which new theories were being formulated, new schools founded, new *alaṅkāras* discovered and defined. It was a period of experiment and research, when the teachers were able to think freely and express their thoughts in a way that evinced their masterly grasp of the problems and issues involved. The power of reasoning was as yet unshackled and free to move at its pleasure. Even after Abhinavagupta that tradition of free thinking had not altogether ceased. For we have Mahimabhaṭṭa's *Vyaktiviveka*—a product of deep erudition and meticulous reasoning, and Kuntaka's *Vakroktijīvita*—which, though from the point of view of precision leaves much room for perfection, is an attempt to evaluate works of poetic art from altogether new angles of inquiry and according to new standards of criticism. But the writers who appeared at the close of this epoch were much less of creators than systematizers. Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa* is the first and foremost attempt at systematizing the then existing categories of poetics within a short compass.[1] Mammaṭa also cannot reasonably claim any originality. He was a compiler—and an adept compiler at that, so much so that his fame totally eclipsed the glory of his predecessors. Mammaṭa's treatise marked the beginning of a new era—an era of scholasticism, during which the study of the pioneer works fell into disuse and Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa* alone was commented upon and studied as the work on poetic criticism. Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana* is a product of this period and is subject to all the defects that are conspicuous of this age. Consequently we are bound to be disillusioned if we begin to study it with high expectations. But in spite of all that has been said the study of Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana* is not altogether vain, as the author shows originality of thought in the treatment of some topics—however few they might be, which it is the object of this paper to point out in brief.

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[1] Vide the concluding verse of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* : इत्येष मार्गो विदुषां विभिन्नोऽप्यभिन्नरूपः प्रतिभासते यत्। न तद् विचित्रं यदमुत्र सम्यग् विनिर्मिता संघटनैव हेतुः॥—on which Māṇikyacandra, a Jaina commentator, remarks: विभिन्नोऽपीति— नानाग्रन्थगतत्वेन पार्थक्येन स्थितोऽपि यदेकरूपो भाति तत्र संघटना विसंस्थुलस्य सुखबोधाय एकत्र संग्रहणं हेतुः। ग्रन्थाः सर्वेऽप्यत्रान्तर्मग्ना इत्यर्थः।—He also notes the alternative explanation testifying to the dual authorship of the treatise: अथ चायं ग्रन्थोऽन्येनारब्धोऽपरेण च समर्थितः (?) इति द्विखण्डोऽपि संघटनावशाद् अखण्डायते—*op. cit.*, pp. 468-69 (Mysore Edn.).

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I. Hemacandra demurs against Mammaṭa's view that composition of poetic works has material prosperity as one of its chief rewards. He contends that it is not an invariable concomitant of poetic gifts. So also skill in the art of social intercourse (*vyavahāra-kauśala*) and avoidance of calamities (*anartha-nivāraṇa*) need not be regarded as the fruits of study and composition of poetic works as there are many other ways besides that can lead to the same goal. As he remarks:

धनमनैकान्तिकम्, व्यवहारकौशलं शास्त्रेभ्योऽपि, अनर्थनिवारणं प्रकारान्तरेणापीति न काव्यप्रयोजनतयाऽस्माभिरुक्तम् ।[1]—*Op. cit.*, p. 4. (N.S.P. Edn.)

II. Mukulabhaṭṭa[2] and following him Mammaṭa recognize traditional usage (*rūḍhi*) as one of the preconditions of Indication (*lakṣaṇā*). Thus Mammaṭa cites the word *kuśala* as an example of Indication based on *rūḍhi* since the etymological significance (namely, one who picks *kuśa*-blades) is incompatible when it is used to refer to a skilful person. As he states:

'कर्मणि कुशल' इत्यादौ दर्भग्रहणाद्ययोगात् ... मुख्यार्थस्य बाधे विवेचकत्वादौ ... संबन्धे रूढितः प्रसिद्धेः मुख्येनामुख्योऽर्थो लक्ष्यते ।—*Op. cit.*, Chap. II.

But Hemacandra does not include such words within the scope of *lakṣaṇā* as the so called indicatory sense is cognized immediately without the intervention of the etymological meaning. Thus according to him *lakṣaṇā* can be based on *prayojana* alone:

कुशल-द्विरेफ-द्विकादयस्तु साक्षात्संकेतविषयत्वात् मुख्या एवेति न रूढिर्लक्ष्यस्यार्थस्य हेतुत्वेनास्माभिरुक्ता ।—*Op. cit.*, p. 25.

Viśwanātha too in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* adopts the same view and criticizes Mammaṭa for citing *kuśala* as an instance since the same arguments would lead to even such words as *gauḥ*, etc., in expressions like *gauḥ śete*, etc., being regarded as cases of *lakṣaṇā*—a position as fantastic as absurd, which even Mammaṭa himself cannot accept.[3]

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[1] Compare the following portion of Hemacandra's gloss styled विवेक thereon: एवमानन्द-यशश्चतुर्वर्गोपाय-व्युत्पत्तीनां काव्यप्रयोजनताम् असाधारणीं प्रतिपाद्य यत् कैश्चित् "श्रीहर्षादेर्धावकादीनामिव धनम्, राजादिगतोचिताचारपरिज्ञानम्, आदित्यादे-र्मयूरादीनामिवानर्थनिवारणम्" प्रयोजनमुपन्यस्तं तत्प्रतिक्षिपति— धनमनैकान्तिकमिति—*Ibid.*

[2] Cp. *Abhidhāvṛttimātṛkā*: मुख्यार्थासंभवात् सेयं मुख्यार्थासक्तिहेतुका ।
रूढेः प्रयोजनाद्वाऽपि व्यवहारेऽवलोक्यते ॥

किंचिद्धि सान्तरार्थपरिग्रहे प्रयोजनमनादिष्टव्यवहारप्रसिद्ध्यनुसरणात्मकत्वात् रूढ्यनुवृत्तिस्वभावम्, यथा द्विरेफादौ । द्विरेफशब्देन हि रेफद्वितययोगित्वेन भ्रमरशब्दलक्षणाद्वारेण रूढ्यनुवृत्तिरेव क्रियते ।—*Kārikā* 9 and *vṛtti* thereon. (NSP Edn.).

[3] Cp. केचित् तु कर्मणि कुशल इति रूढौ उदाहरन्ति । .... तदन्ये न मन्यन्ते । कुशग्राहिरूपार्थस्य व्युत्पत्तिलभ्यत्वेऽपि दक्षरूपस्यैव मुख्यार्थत्वात् । अन्यद्धि शब्दानां व्युत्पत्तिनिमित्तम्, अन्यच्च प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तम् । व्युत्पत्तिलभ्यस्य मुख्यार्थत्वे 'गौः शेते' इत्यत्रापि लक्षणा स्यात् । 'गमेर्डोः' इति गमधातो-र्डोप्रत्ययेन व्युत्पादितस्य गोशब्दस्य शयनकाले प्रयोगात् ।—*Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Ch. II. The above text of Viśwanātha is, however, based on the commentary of Caṇḍīdāsa, his illustrious ancestor, on Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa*, which runs as follows: एतच्च प्रकृतिप्रत्ययार्थविभागकल्पनालभ्य एव यौगिकेषु मुख्योऽर्थ इति वैयाकरणरीत्या उदाहृतम् । वस्तुतस्तु भिन्ने एव व्युत्पत्ति-प्रवृत्तिनिमित्ते । अन्यथा गच्छतीति गौरिति व्युत्पत्त्या 'गौः शेते' इत्यादौ गोपदमपि लाक्षणिकमेव स्यात्—*op. cit.*, pp. 41-42 (*Saraswatī Bhavana Texts, No. 46*). We are to note, however, that Hemacandra preceded both Caṇḍīdāsa and Viśwanātha.

III. Hemacandra differs from Dhvanikāra in one most important point. Ānandavardhana classifies suggestion based on material significance (*arthaśaktimūladhvani*) into three categories according as the matter concerned is objectively possible (*svataḥsambhavī*) or invented by the poet's own imaginative faculties (*kavipraudhoktiniṣpanna*) or again brought into being not by the poet's fancy but by the imagination of someone amongst the *dramatis personae*—themselves the creatures of the poet's Muse (*kavinibaddhavaktṛpraudhoktiniṣpanna*).[1] Hemacandra contends that this classification is unnecessary and incongruous inasmuch as the three above-mentioned varieties have the essential property of being the outcome of poetic fancy common to all of them. Even matters that are objectively real *per se* cannot find place in a true poetic art if they are not transfigured by the poet's imagination. As he remarks:

इह चार्थः स्वतःसंभवी, कविप्रौढोक्तिमात्रनिष्पन्नशरीरः, कविनिबद्धवक्तृप्रौढोक्तिमात्रनिष्पन्नशरीरो वा—इति भेदकथनं न न्याय्यम् । कविप्रौढोक्तिमात्र-निर्मितत्वेनैव साध्यसिद्धेः । प्रौढोक्तिमन्तरेण स्वतःसंभविनोऽपि अकिंचित्करत्वात् । कविप्रौढोक्तिरेव च कविनिबद्धवक्तृप्रौढोक्तिरिति किं प्रपञ्चेन[2] ॥—*Op. cit.*, p. 46.

IV. Mammaṭa in his *Kāvyaprakāśa* cites the following verse from *Bhallaṭaśataka* as an instance of the figure of speech *aprastuta-praśaṅsā* based on *double entendre* (*śleṣa*) :

पुंस्त्वादपि प्रविचलेद् यदि यद्यधोऽपि यायाद् यदि प्रणयने न महानपि स्यात् ।
अभ्युद्धरेत् तदपि विश्वमितीदृशीयं केनापि दिक् प्रकटिता पुरुषोत्तमेन ॥

Here the poet eulogizes a king by addressing him as *puruṣottama* (the greatest of all men) and as such it is the praise that is *prastuta* or contextual. But the term *puruṣottama* is the conventional name (*sañjñā*) of Viṣṇu. Mammaṭa holds that since *puruṣottama* when referring to Viṣṇu is a *rūḍha*-term, the *aprastuta* sense as applied to Viṣṇu would be first comprehended, and the praise of the king even though it is the *prastuta* sense would be cognized later on, on the strength of the maxim: *yogād rūḍhir balīyasī*. Thus it is legitimately a case of *aprastuta-praśaṅsā* based on *śleṣa* since the *aprastuta* sense gives rise to the cognition of the *prastuta* meaning.[1] But Hemacandra justly holds that this interpretation is erroneous. For the context (*prakaraṇa*) as a restrictive factor is stronger than *rūḍhi* and where the two are at conflict it is the former that outweighs the latter and not *vice versa*. Thus the contextual meaning would be cognized first and the apprehension of the *aprastuta* sense as referring to Viṣṇu would be due to the suggestive function (*vyañjanā-vyāpāra*) of words. So the above verse should be properly regarded as an instance of *śabda-śakti-mūladhvani* and not as an example of *aprastuta-praśaṅsā* as Mammaṭa and his followers would have it. As he observes:

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[1] Note: अर्थशक्त्युद्भवानुरणनरूपव्यङ्ग्ये ध्वनौ यो व्यञ्जकोऽर्थ उक्तस्तस्यापि द्वौ प्रकारौ-कवेः कविनिबद्धस्य वा वक्तुः प्रौढोक्तिमात्रनिष्पन्नशरीर एकः, स्वतःसंभवी च द्वितीयः—*Dhvanyāloka* on *Kārikā*, II. 24, on which Abhinavagupta remarks—तेनैते त्रयो भेदा भवन्ति । Mammaṭa follows the Dhvanikāra without trying to justify the plausibility of the above classification. Comp. *Kāvyaprakāśa*, IV, 16-17. Māṇikyacandra in his *Saṃketa* follows Hemacandra.

[2] Jagannātha also in his *Rasagaṅgādhara* criticizes the above classification, though he recognizes the first variety—viz., स्वतःसंभवी. According to him the last two varieties should be really classed under one single head. Compare his remarks: प्रतिभानिर्मितत्वाविशेषाच्च कवितदुम्भितवक्तृप्रौढोक्तिनिष्पन्नयोरर्थयोर्न पृथग्गणनोचिता, उम्भितोम्भितादेरपि भेदान्तरप्रयोजकतापत्तेः । न च तस्यापि कव्युम्भितत्वानपायात् तत्प्रयोज्यभेदान्तर्गतत्वमेवेति वाच्यम् । प्रथमोम्भितस्यापि लोकोत्तरवर्णनानिपुणत्वलक्षणकवित्वानपायात् पृथग्भेदप्रयोजकतानुपपत्तेः ।—*Op. cit.*, p. 134 (NSP. Edn.). Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa, however, in his comments on the above text of the *Rasagaṅgādhara*, upholds the view of the Dhvanikāra: वृद्धोक्तिविषयात् शिशूक्तिविषय इव कव्युक्तिविषयात् कविनिबद्धोक्तिविषये चमत्काराधिक्यस्यानुभविकत्वात् पृथगुक्तिः । ततःपरस्य प्रतिनिधानसाध्यप्रतीतिकतया चमत्कारस्यागमनात् नोम्भितोम्भितादेः पृथग्गणनेति तु नव्याः ॥—*Ibid.*

अत्र पुरुषोत्तमशब्दस्य अर्थद्वयवाचकत्वेऽपि सत्पुरुषचरितस्यैव प्रस्तुतत्वात् अभिधा एकत्र नियन्त्रितेति सत्पुरुष एव वाच्यो न विष्णुः, तच्चरितस्य अप्रकृतत्वात् । तत्प्रतीतिस्तु शब्दशक्तिमूलाद्ध्वनेरेव ।[2]—*Op. cit.*, p. 260.

V. The classification of our mental states into permanent (*sthāyi-bhāva*) and transitory (*vyabhicāri-bhāva*) as first introduced by Bharata, the eponymous author of the extant *Nāṭyaśāstra*, has since then been regarded as an article of faith by the later writers on poetics. Bharata restricts the number of permanent feelings to nine and nine only which alone can attain to the status of aesthetic emotion (*rasa*), while the thirty-three transitory feelings, like bubbles on the surface of the ocean, appear and disappear in ceaseless succession. There have been authors who dared to question this classification as stereo-typed by Bharata and meekly assented to by the majority of *ālaṅkārikas*. But such isolated attempts have not been successful and the number of *rasas* is still fixed at nine. Jagannātha in his *Rasagangādhara* zealously upholds Bharata's scheme of classification and denounces those who try to raise any note of dissent against it.[3] As far as my knowledge of poetics extends, I have not been able to find any attempt to justify Bharata's classification of mental states on any firm psychological basis save in Hemacandra's treatise. The definitions of *Daśarūpaka*, *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, and all later treatises are clothed in metaphors and studiedly eschew the psychological issue at stake. Jagannātha who is noted for his proverbial radicalism and independence of judgment fails to convince us on this point:

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[1] Compare *Pradīpa*: अत्र पुंस्त्वाद् इत्यादिविशेषणानां पुरुषोत्तमेनेति विशेष्यस्य च श्लेषात् सत्पुरुषप्रतिपत्तिः। न च श्लेष एवायम्। 'अवयवशक्तेः समुदायशक्तिर्बलीयसी'-ति न्यायात् प्राग्विष्णूपस्थितौ सत्पुरुषस्याक्षेपेणैव उपस्थितेः। श्लेषसत्त्वेऽपि अप्रस्तुतस्य प्रथमोपस्थित्यैव अप्रस्तुतप्रशंसात्वात्—*Op. cit.*, p. 339 (NSP. Edn.). Viśvanātha too cites the same verse in the same context and blindly follows Mammaṭa: अत्र पुरुषोत्तमपदेन विशेष्येणापि श्लिष्टेन प्रचुरप्रसिद्ध्या प्रथमं विष्णुरेव बोध्यते। तेन वर्णनीयः कश्चित्पुरुषः प्रतीयते—*Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Chap. X.

[2] The cogency of Hemacandra's observations is further borne out by the following remarks of Abhinavagupta in a similar context where he justifies *dhvani* in the *Harṣacarita* passage: 'अत्रान्तरे कुसुमसमययुगमुपसंहरन् अजृम्भत ग्रीष्माभिधानः फुल्लमल्लिकाधवलाट्टहासो महाकालः'—cited by Ānandavardhana. Cp.: अत्र ऋतुवर्णनप्रस्तावनियन्त्रिताभिधाशक्तयः, अतएव 'अवयवप्रसिद्धेः समुदायप्रसिद्धिर्बलीयसी' इति न्यायमपाकुर्वन्तो महाकालप्रभृतयः शब्दा एतमेवार्थम् अभिधाय कृतकृत्या एव। तदनन्तरमर्थावगतिर्ध्वननव्यापारादेव शब्दशक्तिमूलात्—*Locana* on *Dhvanyāloka*, Chap. II (*Chowkhamba Edn.*, p. 241).

[3] Comp: भरतादिमुनिवचनानामेवात्र रसभावत्वादिव्यवस्थापकत्वेन स्वातन्त्र्यायोगात्। अन्यथा पुत्रादिविषयाया अपि रतेः स्थायिभावत्वं कुतो न स्यात्। न स्यात् वा कुतः शुद्धभावत्वं जुगुप्सा-शोकादीनाम्, इत्यखिलदर्शनव्याकुली स्यात्। रसानां नवत्वगणना मुनिवचननियन्त्रिता भज्येत,— इति यथाशास्त्रमेव ज्यायः।—*Op. cit.*, p. 56. Again: एतेन वात्सल्याख्यं पुत्राद्यालम्बनं रसान्तरमिति परास्तम्। उच्छृङ्खलताया मुनिवचनपराहतत्वात्।—*Op. cit.*, p. 94. Also, while commenting on the number of transitory feelings as fixed by Bharata, he observes: अथ कथमस्य संख्यानियमः? मात्सर्योद्वेग-दम्भेर्ष्या-विवेक-निर्णय-क्लैब्य-क्षमा-कुतुकोत्कण्ठा-विनय-संशय-धाष्ट्र्यादीनामपि तत्र तत्र लक्ष्येषु दर्शनादिति चेत्, न। उक्तेष्वेव एषामन्तर्भावेन संख्यान्तरानुपपत्तेः।.... असूयातो मात्सर्यस्य, त्रासाद् उद्वेगस्य.... वस्तुतः सूक्ष्मे भेदेऽपि भान्तरीयकतया तदनतिरिक्तस्यैवाध्यवसायात्। मुनिवचनानुपालनस्य संभवे उच्छृङ्खलताया अनौचित्यात्।—*Op. cit.*, p. 118.

तत्र आप्रबन्धं स्थिरत्वादमीषां भावानां स्थायित्वम्। न च चित्तवृत्तिरूपाणामेषामाशुविनाशित्वेन स्थिरत्वं दुर्लभम्। वासनारूपतया स्थिरत्वं तु व्यभिचारिषु अतिप्रसक्तम् इति वाच्यम्। वासनारूपाणाममीषां मुहुर्मुहुरभिव्यक्तेरेव स्थिरपदार्थत्वात्। व्यभिचारिणां तु नैव, तदभिव्यक्तेर्विद्युदुद्द्योतप्रायत्वात्।—*Op. cit.*, p. 37. (NSP. Edn.)

It is Hemacandra alone who has endeavoured for the first time to plant this age-old classification which at first sight seems arbitrary and irrational on an essentially psychological foundation and thus offers a scientific interpretation to a *prima facie* unscientific dogma. His solution is as follows: Every living and conscious being as soon as it is born is invested with these nine mental states, and they can never be altogether shaken off so long as the conscious activities remain unimpaired. Love and Fear, Humour and Repugnance, Anger and Pathos, Wonder and Heroism and Calm are the constant accompaniments of a man's psychical life. But it is otherwise with the transitory states. They can be easily got rid of if we strive to do so. And this basic difference between these two groups of mental states constitutes the basis of Bharata's classification. We quote here the following text from Hemacandra's treatise at length for the convenience of the readers:

तत्र स्थायित्वमेतावतामेव। जात एव हि जन्तुरियतीभिः संविद्भिः परीतो भवति। तथाहि दुःखद्वेषी सुखास्वादनलालसः सर्व्वो रिरंसया व्याप्तः स्वात्मनि उत्कर्षमानितया परमुपहसति। उत्कर्षापायशङ्कया शोचति। अपायं प्रति क्रुध्यति। अपायहेतुपरिहारे समुत्सहते। विनिपातात् बिभेति। किंचित् अयुक्ततयाऽभिमन्यमानो जुगुप्सते। ततश्च परकर्त्तव्य-वैचित्र्यदर्शनात् विस्मयते। किंचिज्जिहासुस्तत्र वैराग्यात् प्रशमं भजते। न चैतच्चित्तवृत्तिवासनाशून्यः कश्चित् प्राणी भवति। केवलं कस्यचित् काचिदधिका भवति चित्तवृत्तिः, काचित् ऊना। कस्यचित् उचितविषयनियन्त्रिता, कस्यचिदन्यथा।......ये पुनरमी धृत्यादयश्चित्तवृत्तिविशेषास्ते समुचितविभावाभावात् जन्ममध्ये न भवन्त्येवेति व्यभिचारिणः। तथाहि रसायनमुपयुक्तवतश्चेतोग्लान्यालस्यश्रमप्रभृतयो न भवन्त्येव। यस्यापि वा भवन्ति विभावबलात् तस्यापि हेतुप्रच्यवे क्षीयमाणाः संस्कारशेषतां नावश्यमुपबध्नन्ति। रत्यादयस्तु संपादितस्वकर्त्तव्यतया प्रलीनकल्पा अपि संस्कारशेषतां नातिवर्त्तन्ते। वस्त्वन्तरविषयस्य रत्यादेरखण्डनात्। यदाह पतञ्जलिः— 'नहि चैत्र एकस्यां स्त्रियां विरक्त इत्यन्यासु विरक्त' इत्यादि। तस्मात् स्थायिरूपचित्तवृत्तिसूत्रस्यूता एवामी स्वात्मानमुदयास्तमयवैचित्र्यशतसहस्रधर्माणं प्रतिलभमानाः स्थायिनं विचित्रयन्तः प्रतिभासन्ते इति व्यभिचारिण उच्यन्ते......*et. seq.—Op. cit.*, pp. 83-84.

VI. Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka*, Chapter II, has laid down certain definite principles[1] which must be observed by a poet in introducing figures of speech in a poem so that the aesthetic emotion (*rasa*), which is the quintessence of a poetic art, is not compromised thereby. The *alaṅkāras* introduced should always remain subservient to the latter, and the charm due to these pretty terms of expression should not vie with the charm of the aesthetic realization. Ānandavardhana has cited some instances from the works of great poets where these norms have been properly obeyed. But he refrains from referring to the counter examples (*pratyudāharaṇas*) that would illustrate the breach of these principles.[2] Hemacandra in his Kāvyānuśāsana supplements the observations of the Dhvanikāra and cites verses to illustrate the violation of each one of these poetic norms with apt remarks. In no other treatise on poetics have these principles formulated by Ānandavardhana been so scrupulously explained and illustrated. This is certainly an interesting feature of the *Kāvyānuśāsana* which testifies to the keen critical insight of its author and his sense of consistency. We cite below the relevant portions from the text:

तत्परत्वे काले ग्रहणत्यागयोर्नातिनिर्वाहे निर्वाहेऽप्यङ्गत्वे रसोपकारिणः ॥ अलंकारा इति वर्त्तते । तत्परत्वं रसोपकारकत्वेन अलंकारस्य प्रवेशः, न बाधकत्वेन नापि ताटस्थ्येन ।......

बाधकत्वेन यथा—

स्रस्तः स्रग्दामशोभां त्यजति विरचितामाकुलः केशपाशः
क्षीबाया नूपुरौ च द्विगुणतरमिमौ क्रन्दतः पादलग्नौ ।
व्यस्तः कम्पानुबन्धादनवरतमुरो हन्ति हारोऽयमस्याः
क्रीडन्त्याः पीडयेव स्तनभरविनमन्मध्यभङ्गानपेक्षम् ॥

अत्र पीडयेव इत्युत्प्रेक्षालंकारोऽङ्गी सन् तदनुग्राहकस्वार्थश्लेषः करुणोचितान् विभावानुभावान् संपादयन् बाधकत्वेन भातीति न प्रकृतरसोपकारी ॥ ताटस्थ्येन यथा—

लीलावधूतपद्मा कथयन्ती पक्षपातमधिकं नः ।
मानसमुपैति केयं चित्रगता राजहंसीव ॥

फलहकलिखित-सागरिकाप्रतिबिम्ब-दर्शनाभिजाताभिलाषस्य वत्सराजस्य इयमुक्तिः तटस्थस्येव कविनोपरचितेति श्लेषानुगृहीतोपमालंकारप्राधान्येन प्रस्तुतो रसो गुणीकृतोऽपरिजिघटिषया ॥ अङ्गत्वेऽपि कालेऽवसरे ग्रहणं यथा—'उद्दामोत्कलिकाम्' इति ।......न त्वेवं, यथा—

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[1] Comp.:
विवक्षा तत्परत्वेन नाङ्गित्वेन कदाचन ।
काले च ग्रहणत्यागौ नातिनिर्वहणैषिता ॥
निर्व्यूढावपि चाङ्गत्वे यत्नेन प्रत्यवेक्षणम् ।
रूपकादेरलंकारवर्गस्याङ्गत्वसाधनम् ॥— *Dhvanyāloka. Kārikās*, II, 18-19.

[2] स एवमुपनिबध्यमानोऽलंकारो रसाभिव्यक्तिहेतुः कवेर्भवति । उक्तप्रकारातिक्रमे तु नियमेनैव रसभङ्गहेतुः संपद्यते । लक्ष्यं च तथाविधम् महाकविप्रबन्धेऽपि दृश्यते बहुशः । तत्तु सूक्तिसहस्रद्योतितात्मनां महात्मनां दोषोद्घोषणमात्मन एव दूषणं भवति इति न विभज्य दर्शितम् ।— *loc. cit.*

वाताहारतया जगद्विषधरैराश्वास्य निःशेषितं
ते ग्रस्ताः पुनरभ्रतोयकणिकातीव्रव्रतैर्बर्हिभिः ।
तेऽपि क्रूरचमूरुचर्मवसनैर्नीताः क्षयं लुब्धकै-
र्दम्भस्य स्फुरितं विदन्नपि जनो जाल्मो गुणानीहते ॥

अत्र वाताहारत्वं पश्चाद् वाच्यमपि आदौ उक्तम् इत्यतिशयोक्तिरनवसरे गृहीता। तथा हि प्रथमत एव प्रथमपादे हेतूत्प्रेक्षया यदतिशयोक्तेरुपादानं न तत् प्रकृतस्य दम्भप्रकर्षप्रभावतिरस्कृतगुणगणानुशोचनमयस्य निर्वेदस्याङ्गत्वमेति। नहि वाताहारत्वात् अधिको दम्भस्तोयकणव्रतम्, नापि ततोऽधिकं दम्भनत्वं मृगाजिनवसनमिति ॥ गृहीतस्याप्यवसरे त्यागो यथा— 'रक्तस्त्वं नवपल्लवैरहमपि' इत्यादि।... न त्वेवम्। यथा—

आज्ञा शक्रशिखामणिप्रणयिनी शास्त्राणि चक्षुर्नवं
भक्तिर्भूतपतौ पिनाकिनि पदं लङ्केति दिव्या पुरी ।
उत्पत्तिर्द्रुहिणान्वये च तदहो नेदृग् वरो लभ्यते
स्याच्चेदेष न रावणः क्व नु पुनः सर्वत्र सर्वे गुणाः ॥

अत्र 'न रावण'-इत्यस्मादेव त्यागो युक्तः। तथा हि रावण इत्येतत् जगदाक्रन्दकारित्वाद्यर्थान्तरं प्रतिपादयन् जनकस्य धर्मवीरं प्रत्यनुभावतां प्रतिपद्यते। ऐश्वर्यं पाण्डित्यं परमेशभक्तिर्देशविशेषोऽभिजन इत्येतत् सर्वं लोकमपबाधमानस्य अधर्मपरायणस्य नार्थक्रियाकारकमिति तावतोऽर्थस्य तिरस्कारकत्वेनैव रावणचेष्टितं निर्वाहणीयम्। यत्तु अन्यदुपात्तं 'क्व नु पुनरिति' तद्यदि ससंदेहत्वेन योज्यते, अथ आक्षेपत्वेन, अथापि नेदृग्वरो लभ्यत इत्यर्थान्तरन्यासत्वेन, तथापि प्रकृतस्य धर्मवीरस्य न कथंचित् निर्वाहः ॥

नात्यन्तं निर्वाहो यथा— 'कोपात् कोमललोलेति'।...न त्वेवं यथा—

संचितपक्ष्मकपाटं नयनद्वारं स्वरूपताडनेन ।
उद्घाट्य मे प्रविष्टा देहगृहं सा हृदयचौरी ॥

अत्र नयनद्वारमित्येतावदेव सुन्दरं शृङ्गारानुगुणं, न तु अन्यद् रूपणम् ॥

निर्वाहेऽप्यङ्गत्वं यथा— 'श्यामास्वङ्गम्' इत्यादि। न त्वेवं यथा—

न्यञ्चत्कुञ्चितमुत्सुकं हसितवत् साकूतमाकेकरं
व्यावृत्तं प्रसरत् प्रसादि मुकुलं सप्रेम कम्पं स्थिरम् ।
उद्भ्रु भ्रान्तमपाङ्गवृत्ति विकचं मज्जत् तरङ्गोत्तरं
चक्षुः सास्रु च वर्तते रसवशादेकैकमन्यक्रियम् ॥

अत्र रावणस्य दृग्विशतौ वैचित्र्येण स्वभावोक्तिर्निर्वाहिताऽपि रसस्याङ्गत्वेन न योजितेति ॥

—*Op. cit.*, pp. 17–22.

The issues dealt with above, numbered though they be, should not be overlooked when we proceed to appraise the worth of a treatise like Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana*. Each one of these points reflects the critical intelligence of the great Jaina teacher. He was not a blind devotee of everything that was old. His keenly rationalistic mind was never at rest till it was able to discover some reasonable basis underlying the commonly accepted doctrines. This was no mean asset in an age that was wont to take the traditional dogmas at their face value without feeling the least necessity for judging their intrinsic worth.

BISHNUPADA BHATTACHARJEE.

AN IMAGE OF SIX-HANDED MAHIṢAMARDINĪ

Images of Mahiṣamardinī are very common in Bengal, as in some other parts of the country. They have generally eight or ten hands. But a six-handed image is very rare. As far as I know, only one such was found by Mr. G. S. Das 'on a raised platform about 15 miles to the south of Cuttack'. It has been noticed in *The Indian Culture*, Vol. VI, No. 4, page 457. Perchance I have found out another in a Dinajpur village.

About 19 miles to the north of Raiganj Station on the Parbatipur-Katihar Section of the B. & A. Rly., is the big village of Haripur. There in a niche in the outer walls of a house I was shown a unique piece of sculpture. A rectangular block of black chlorite has four images on four sides of it. Two sides were partially hidden from view, but two others could be clearly seen.

One of the images is of Rudracarcikā. The goddess stands on a man and has kettle drum, knife, mace, trident, skull-cup and a man's head, in her six hands. It may be pointed out that the emblems differ from those mentioned in the *Agni Purāṇa*. But such a difference is insignificant.

The really important image is on the obverse of it. Here also the goddess has six hands. She is standing on a bull and not on a lion, as she is represented now. With her two hands she is thrusting a *śūla* into the heart of the *mahiṣa*. One of her hands is in the *tarjanī mudrā*. In her other hands she has an axe, a sword, and a skull-cup. She has worn a *muṇḍamālā*. There are two female body guards on her two sides. Each of them has a sword and a skull-cup. But the guard on the right has the face of a boar. Such an image has not been described in any standard work on Iconography. Mr. Das in his note, published in the *Indian Culture*, has not described the emblems. The photograph is also obscure. Mr. Rao in his *Elements of Hindu Iconography* has quoted a verse to show that the goddess may have six hands also. It is as follows:—

> ' *sukotpalakarāvāpi śula-pāśa karāpivā*
> *yatheṣṭāstrāpi vā śaṅkha-cakrahastātu ṣaḍbhujā.*'

The expression 'yatheṣṭāstrāpi' shows that there may be emblems other than *pāśa, aṅkusa, śaṅkha*, and *cakra*. So this difference in emblems does not stand in the way of our identifying this image.

This is perhaps the only image of a Ṣaḍbhujā Mahiṣamardinī found in Bengal. It has been originally procured from the site of Iṭāhār (Sub-Div. Thakurgaon) which has been identified by some with Rāmāvatī, the ancient Pala capital of Bengal. Unfortunately, we cannot have even a photograph of this important image; the owners would not allow it.

BISWESWAR CHAKRABARTI.

FAMINE AND RATIONING IN SANSKRIT BUDDHIST LITERATURE

Famine in ancient times was nothing uncommon and numerous references from ancient Indian literature describe the miserable condition of the country due to the paucity of rains. The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature not only mentions famine, but also refers to rationing being introduced after taking the census of the population and procuring grain, so that every one could have his or her due share in those perilous days. Practically all the Buddhist works refer to famine as an unusual economic phenomenon. People became grossly selfish and indifferent to the necessity and comforts of others. The Saddharmapuṇḍarīka mentions[1] such a state of affairs. Persons who could manage to get food asked others to wait. The chances of an internal revolt (*durbhikṣa saṁkṣobha bhayaṁ*) [2] too were not remote under these circumstances. The Divyāvadāna [3] refers to three kinds of famines (*trividhaṁ durbhikṣaṁ bhaviṣyati*). They were *cañcu, śvetāsthi* and *śalākavṛtti*. In the former the people were kept alive on the grains which were collected in a box for the pacification of the dead, in Śvetāsthi the bones were boiled and the soup thus prepared catered the famished. In the *śalākavritti* famine people collected grains and molasses deposited in holes with sticks and boiling them in good quantity of water drank the soup. These exhibit the highest degree of demoralization, when consequent to the pangs of hunger, people could stoop down so low as to extract out an atom of grain from every nook and corner, unmindful of religious scruples, or subsisted on the soup prepared out of the bones of the dead.[4] Aśvaghosa, too, has referred to such distressed circumstances when the couple could subsist on the flesh of their kin.[5]

The State could not remain a spectator in this dire calamity and it had to take strict measures to save many lives. The first step in this direction was the collection of food-stuff (*annādyaṁ samhritya*) and after counting and weighing it (*gaṇayitvā, māpayitvā*), was to be placed in the granary (*koṣṭāgāram*) in every village, city, town, etc. (*sarvagrāma, nagaranigamaparvata rājadhāniṣu*). The next step was to take the census of the population to be rationed so that they could get an equal amount of grain [6] (*samaṁ bhaktaṁ*). The person who took the census was supposed to be an expert in statistics (*gaṇitakuśala*) and one in charge of granary was known as *koṣṭāgārikaṁ puruṣaṁ*. The last stage was the equitable distribution of food-stuff, which according to the Avadāna Śataka[6] was one Kavada = Kudava per unit (*divase divase eka kavado*) and two *kavadas* for the king (*rāño dvav kavado*). The Divyāvadāna[7] mentions one *māṇika* per unit (*ekā māṇikā bhaktasyāvaśiṣṭā*). The two terms denoted the same quantity of food-stuff, viz. ¼ of a *prastha* [8] = 1/16 of an *āḍhaka* or nearly 8 ounces. An interesting point in this connection is the provision for an unrationed individual. It so happened that a Brahmin could not be counted in the census and so according to the Avadāna Śataka, the king gave him his preferential share.

The data available from the literature thus throw light on this illuminating and interesting subject. Rationing of food-stuff was the only way to steer the masses clear through perilous times when famine caught them unaware and the saving of human life became an acute problem for the State. The system appears to have been scientifically planned and though the king was given an additional preferential share, he gladly parted with it to save the life of another human being and thus identified himself with the people in general. It may also be mentioned here that equitable distribution of food-stuff (*bhakta saṁvibhāgaṁ*) has also been mentioned by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra*[1] and as such the evidence furnished by the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature needs a careful consideration.

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[1] *Vi.*, 12. दुर्भिक्ष आगतः कश्चिन्नरो लब्ध्वा सुभोजनम् ।
प्रतीक्ष भूय उच्येत हस्तप्राप्तस्मि भोजने ॥

[3] P. 131.

[2] *Lalit.*, XXXII, p. 442.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 132. तान्यस्थीनि श्वेतानि संवृत्तानीति ततस्तत् क्वाथं पिबन्ति ।

[5] *Saun.*, XIV, 13. पुत्रमांसानि खादेतां दम्पती भृशदुःखितौ ; *Divy.*, p. 293, l. 11.

[7] *Divy.*, p. 293, l. 16.

[6] XXXIII, p. 175.

[8] Monier Williams' *Dictionary*, p. 289.

BAIJ NATH PURI.

AN OLD REFERENCE TO PERSIAN OIL IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

The use of mineral oil in India is considered to be of recent origin. An old reference, however, from the poetical work known as the *Vikramāṅkadevacharita* by Bilhaṇa (last quarter of the eleventh century A.D.) is worthy of attention in this connection. Speaking of the love-smitten condition of King Vikrama (1076–1127 A.D.) before his marriage with queen Chandalā Devī, the poet says:

अचिन्तनीयं तुहिनद्रवाणां श्रीखण्डवापीपयसामसाध्यम् ।
असूत्रयत्पत्रिषु पारसीकतैलाग्निमेतस्य कृते मनोभूः ॥[2]

'The god of love produced in his arrows shot at King Vikrama the fire lit from "Persian Oil", of which the intense heat could not be quenched either by icy water or by liquids of sandal-wood paste.'

The Pārasīka oil appears to be kerosene oil which seems to have been imported in Western India and the Deccan from Persia and obtained in that country from the well-known Persian oil-fields. An old commentary on the *Vikramāṅkadevacharita* given in a manuscript to be dated about 1286 A.D. in the Jaisalmer Manuscript Library explains *Pārasīka-tailāgnim* as *Pārasīkadeśaja-tailavahnim*, i.e. fire lit with the oil produced in the Pārasīka country.[3] The poet certainly seems to know that the heat generated from the Persian oil, i.e. petroleum, was much more intense than that from ordinary vegetable oils being used in India. It may be argued that the poet had only *heard* of the Pārasīka oil and not actually seen it in use in this country. But the manner in which he has used the expression 'fire from the Persian Oil' for the understanding of his average readers, suggests that this oil was used in the kingdom of King Vikramāditya VI of the Western Chālukya dynasty at the close of the eleventh century A.D. This was also the period when Arab traders and mariners who held the monopoly of naval transport between India and the Near-East countries were visiting Western and Southern India. A host of Arab geographers like Ma'sūdi (943–955 A.D.), Ibn Ḥauqal (975 A.D.), Idrīsī (1154 A.D.) and others have left to us very trustworthy accounts of seaports and emporiums of trade on the Indian side. The presence of Persian products in the Indian market is therefore just what might have been expected for this period.

V. S. AGRAWALA.

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[1] Shāma Śāstry's Ed., p. 208.

[2] *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, IX. 20, edited by G. Bühler, Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. XIV, 1875.

[3] *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, ,revised edition, Sarasvatī Bhavan Sanskrit Series, Benares, p. 260.

ĀTREYA—THE BHĀṢYAKĀRA

Under the above caption, there is a note in the Miscellanea section of the *Indian Culture*, XIII, 3, Jan.-March 1947, pp. 185–88, over the signature of Śrī Anantalal Thakur. Permit me to point out that all the extracts from the Ātreya Bhāṣya cited by Śrīdeva Sūri in his *Syādvādaratnākara* given in this note have been collected and dealt with by the undersigned in his article on 'Works and Authors' quoted in Śrīdeva's *Syādvādaratnākara* on pp. 429–438 in the *Nathu Ram Premi Commemoration Volume* (Hindi) and in the *Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*, Vol. I, No. 3 (English).

V. RAGHAVAN.

ĀTREYA—THE BHĀṢYAKĀRA

My attention has been drawn to the letter of Dr. V. Raghavan addressed to the editors, *Indian Culture.* Before writing my article (the Sanskrit version of which was published in the Sanskrit *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, Vol. XXIX, No. 8 (Dec. '46) though written a few months earlier), I had no knowledge of either of the articles written by Dr. Raghavan. In fact, it is with great difficulty that I got the *Premī Abhinandana Grantha* only a few days back. It is far from my intention to ignore anything written on the subject by an eminent scholar of Dr. Raghavan's fame. I would have gladly acknowledged the debt had his articles come to my notice earlier.

However, my attempt has not been a duplication of labour as my treatment of the passages common to both is quite different. Dr. Raghavan has collected the passages related to Ātreya giving a short introductory note in each case while my interpretation of them is an attempt to show Ātreya's contribution to the Vaiśeṣika philosophy establishing their connection with the sūtras of Kaṇāda. In my article the probable identity of Ātreya with the author of the *Ātreyatantra* of Guṇaratna has been stressed upon.

One of the passages relating to Ātreya, referred to by the Doctor[1] escaped my notice. I take the opportunity to say that it explains the word द्रव्याश्रयी in the Vaiśeṣika Sūtra द्रव्याश्रय्यगुणवान् संयोगविभागेष्वकारणमनपेक्ष इति गुणलक्षणम्, I.i.16.

It is a matter of great satisfaction that my conclusions do not differ from those of the learned Doctor and I have supplemented his article, quite unawares in so far as Ātreya is concerned.

ANANTALAL THAKUR.

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[1] आत्रेयो व्याख्यातवान् 'नित्यमस्याश्रयः पारतन्त्र्यं द्रव्ये' इति द्रव्याश्रयी स्याद्वादरत्नाकर, p. 912.

REVIEWS

DELHI HUMĀYŪN'S TOMB AND ADJACENT BUILDINGS by S. A. A. Naqvi. Published by the Archaeological Survey of India, 1947.

This little treatise gives a very interesting account of the mausoleum of Emperor Humāyūn, Babar's tomb, Nīla Gumbad, Chillah Nizāmuddīn Auliā, Mosque Afsarwālā, Tomb Afsarwālā, Arab-Sarāi, Garden of Bū Ḥalīmā, and the Tomb and Mosque of Īsā Khān.

Humāyūn, the second Mogul Emperor of Delhi, ascended the throne of Delhi in 1530 after the death of his father Babar. He had to suppress a number of rebellions. He was defeated by Sher Khān, an Afghan nobleman, and passed 16 years in exile. The mausoleum of Humāyūn is situated by the side of the old course of the Jumna between the 3rd and 4th milestones from the Delhi gate on the Delhi-Muttra Road. It stands in the midst of a large square garden screened by high walls with gateways to the south and west. The remains of Humāyūn were removed from *Purānā Qil'ah* and buried in the place where they now exist. The tomb was erected by Humāyūn's queen Hājī Begum in 1569 A.D. No other mausoleum contains so many distinguished dead of the Mogul dynasty as the mausoleum of Humāyūn. Round the grave of this Emperor are interred Hamidā Bānu Begum, his wife, the headless body of Dārā Shikoh, the unfortunate son of Shajahan, the Emperors Jahāndār Shāh, Farrukhsiyar, Rafī-ud-da-rajāt, Rafī'ud-daulah and Alamgir II. The mausoleum and the enclosure of Humāyūn are built of three kinds of stone; the walls of the enclosure and its two gateways are of local quartzite with red sandstone dressings and marble inlay, while the main building is of Tantpur red sandstone with a lavish use of white marble from Makrānā in Rājputānā. The main gate which is 52 ft. high stands on a podium approached by a flight of five steps from the old road level. It is double-storeyed. Adjoining the south-gate on the west there is a compound 160 yds. by 35 yds. The western gate also stands on a podium with 5 steps and is built in two storeys. The northern, southern and western walls of the enclosure are of plastered rubble and are 19 ft. high. The garden in the centre of which stands the Emperor's mausoleum is a purely Persian feature and is the earliest extant Mogul garden in India. In the centre of the garden the mausoleum rises from a wide and lofty platform 22 ft. high, which stands upon a podium 4 ft. high. There are 17 arches on each side of the high terrace. The central arch on each side opens on to an ascending staircase. The central hall containing the cenotaph is octagonal and is roofed by a double dome carried on squinches with plastered interlace in the spandrels. Humāyūn's mausoleum is one of the first important buildings erected by the Moguls in India. It gave birth to the ornate style which culminated in the *Taz*. Hindu brackets and flat architraves are almost replaced by the Muslim arch and geometrical traceries.

The beautiful tomb of Babar is built of red and grey sandstone. It stands on a podium 8 ft. high and 80 ft. square, reached by 7 steps from the south. The two marble graves inside are inscribed with verses from the *Qurān*. Externally there is a portal-arch 23 ft. high on each side. Fifty yards outside the eastern wall of the enclosure of Humāyūn's mausoleum stands a damaged blue dome commonly known as Nīla Gumbad. The building is mainly of local grey quartzite and is plastered both internally and externally. The dome is covered with dark blue tiles and there are blue and yellow tiles round the drum. The dome stands on a platform 109 ft. sq. and 5 ft. high. Its dome is raised on a high circular drum and is crowned externally by an inverted lotus with a red sandstone finial. Outside the north-east corner of the enclosure of Humāyūn's mausoleum are the remains of a house which is said to have been used by a Moslem saint named Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliā. The house stands on a platform 12 ft. high above the former river bank and consists of a low *Dālān* (rear-chamber) behind a simple verandah.

The Mosque Afsarwālā is situated on a raised platform about 100 yds. to the south-west of the western gate of Humāyūn's tomb enclosure. The building is of a local quartzite with red sandstone dressings. It contains a single prayer chamber divided into three bays. The Tomb Afsarwālā stands in the south-west corner of this mosque. It still remains unidentified. On one of the marble graves there are inscribed quotations from the *Qurān*. The Arab-Sarāi was built by Hājī Begum, the widow of the Emperor Humāyūn. She brought with her 300 Arabs on her return from Mecca and is said to have settled them here. It is a big rest house containing arched cells, almost all of which are now in a dilapidated condition. The garden of Bū Ḥalīmā lies at the eastern entrance of Humāyūn's mausoleum. This garden is enclosed by rubble walls of local quartzite. Its eastern gateway is a simple structure consisting of an oblong main gate-chamber with octagonal wings. The tomb and mosque of Īsā Khān Niyāzi stand immediately to the south of Bū Ḥalīmā's garden. Īsa Khān was a nobleman at the court of Sher Shah Sūri and his son. The tomb is built mainly of local grey quartzite with ornamental use of red sandstone. It stands in the centre of an octagonal enclosure. The gate is in a dilapidated condition and the main gate-chamber has fallen down. Inside the tomb-chamber exist two large and four small graves.

The value of this small treatise has been greatly enhanced by the beautiful illustrations and a good sketch map showing the position of Humāyūn's tomb and adjacent buildings at Delhi. The author has given a bibliography at the end but no index. This booklet will surely be useful to students of the Muslim period of Indian history. We wish that Archaeological Department of the Government of India should publish such useful bulletins from time to time on important topics relating to Indian history and archaeology.

B. C. LAW.

THE PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE OF SIR FREDERICK CURRIE (1846–1848) edited with introduction and notes by Jagmohan Mahajan, M.A. Saraswati Publications, 29 Babar Lane, New Delhi, 1947.

This little treatise is a reprint of an article published in April 1947 issue of the *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society*. A collection of important private letters addressed to Sir Frederick Currie (who was at first the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India and then the Resident at Lahore), which deals with the circumstances leading to the annexation of the Punjab, was acquired by the Satara Historical Museum wherefrom it was later transferred to the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, where it is still preserved. Some of the letters contain important details of the Second Sikh War. The letters relating to the Treaty of Bhyrowal (Dec. 1846) also appear in this booklet. They are interesting and give us some information about the political condition of India prevailing at that time. The author has referred to some relevant documents relating to the Proclamations by the Resident at Lahore, dated the 18th November, 1848 and 5th February, 1849. The author ought to have given an exhaustive introduction and adequate notes. The booklet as it stands will be of some use to students interested in the British period of Indian History.

T. N. CHAKRAVARTTY.

KINDRED SAYINGS ON BUDDHISM by Mrs. Rhys Davids, D.Litt., M.A. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1930.

This book contains four sections dealing with will and the way, the man, man and man's will, and wayfaring and the coming-to-be. In the first section Mrs. Rhys Davids has given her own expositions of *kāma* (desire), *bhāvanā* (make-to-become) and the middle path (*majjhimāpaṭipadā*). In the second section she has expressed her views about *pudgala* or *puruṣa* (man). She has ably discussed the true meaning of *Dhamma*. Dhamma means duty, law, ideal truth, doctrine and thing. In the third section she says that without willer there can scarcely be a worthy treatment of will. Will, according to her, has been pronounced as belonging to the early Victorian scheme of 'faculties', that is, as constituting what may be called a separate drawer in the cabinet of mind. A man's will is at work when he is thinking, whatever be the mode of his thought. Then she says something about *saṅkappa* (*saṃkalpa*). It suggests 'thought' at least as much as 'wish-to-do'; it suggests work of mind when confronted with need of action, that is, of 'overt action'. It forms a 'limb' or aspect of the 'way' (*magga*). Its meaning is always dynamic. The word is used in two categories both concerned with conduct. The later definition of *saṅkappa* in Abhidhamma is also dynamic. It is made an equivalent of *Vitakka* which is an active, attentive aspect of mind; as such it is likened to focussing, setting thought on to the object. She has then given her own explanations of *Saṅkhāra*, *Cetanā*, *Chanda*, *Viriya*, *Rāga*, and *Taṇhā*. *Cetanā* is an action of mind. It means will or volition. It is true that once *Cetanā* is called *kamma*, then all mind, all thinking, is rightly called *kamma*, *manokamma*. According to Mrs. Rhys Davids *Saṅkhāra* means not a force but any mental manifold, any mental compounding. She has used the words 'activities' and 'synergies' to convey the idea of *Saṅkhāra*. In the last section her views about *indriya*, *bala*, *bojjhaṅga*, etc., require careful consideration. Her exposition of *majjhimāpaṭipadā* (middle path) should be carefully read by every student of Buddhism. The book may be read with profit but in some places it is difficult to understand what she actually means.

C. D. CHATTERJEE.

DHAMMAPADA TRANSLATED INTO TIBETAN UNDER THE TITLE CHO-KYI-CHIG-SU-VĀC-PĀ-VĀNUG by Rev. Gedun Chomphel with a Foreword by Mr. Georges Roerich, Sikkhim Durbar Press, Gangtok, 1946 (*Anagarika Dharmapala Trust Publication Series No.* 2).

This is the first Tibetan translation in verse of the Pali *Dhammapada* by an erudite Tibetan Lama who is also a poet. A Tibetan translation is traditionally a literal reproduction of the words in the original text. The metrical translation under review is no exception to the rule, although both intelligibility and poetic grace can be set down to the credit of the translator. It does not profess to be a scholarly work with critical notes and introduction. But the charm of the

Pali verses and their Tibetan renderings is such that none can fail to appreciate their deep meaning and lofty sentiment.

Prof. Roerich has drawn our attention to the Tibetan translation of the *Udānavarga* which is re-translated into English by Rockhill. Its Sanskrit original too has been recovered from Central Asia and edited by Dr. N. P. Chakravartty. S. Beal has translated the oldest known but enlarged Chinese version of a text of the *Dhammapada* which stood very close to the Pali text. In the introduction to its translation Beal did not omit to mention three other Chinese versions, the best of which was evidently a text analogous to the *Udānavarga*. But in addition to them, we have now the knowledge of three other versions, one in Gandhāra Prakrit obtained from Khotan, one in mixed Sanskrit quoted in the *Mahāvastu*, and the latest and the most amplified Nepalese version called *Dharmasamuccaya* containing 2,600 ślokas compiled on the basis of an earlier work known as *Mahāvaipulyasāgara-smṛtyupasthāna sūtra*. Prof. Roerich has not noticed that these different texts bearing each its own distinctive title have been judged as different recensions of the *Dhammapada* or that they are taken to be literary compilations in different Buddhist schools and countries, all belonging to the same type of composition.

B. M. BARUA.

FIVE TAMIL IDYLLS OF PATHTHUP-PATTU BEING STUDIES AND TRANSLATIONS. Ed. by J. M. Somasundaram Pillai, Madras, 1947. Price Re.1.

Among the extant works of the classical Tamil literature belonging to the third Sangam Age (second-third centuries A.C.), the first place is held for poetic beauty, according to the author of the Preface of this interesting work, by the Pattu-Pattu, a collection of ten poems written in praise of gods and heroes, of the fortunes of heroes and heroines and so forth. The present work consists of translations (or summaries) with introductory and explanatory notes from different hands of five of these poems, with a summary of one poem from the pen of the late Dr. G. U. Pope super-added. The songs beside their undoubted poetic merits throw valuable light upon the state of society and religion of the Tamil land in those early times. It is here that we find the well-known and oft-quoted reference to the valiant Yavanas of frightful appearance, mounting guard outside the royal camp, and the dumb Mlecchhas attending upon the King (p. 21), as well as the lamps of skilled Yavana workmanship lighting up the King's palace (p. 29). The translations and summaries so far as can be made out by a critic unacquainted with the original, have been well done. The work is enriched with a short but informative Preface giving a bird's-eye view of the classical Tamil literature and a number of plates.

U. N. GHOSHAL.

OBITUARY

Richard Burn

Sir Richard Burn who was a member of the I.C.S. from 1891 to 1927, and who was much interested in the mediaeval history of India, died at his home at Oxford on the 28th July, 1947. He acted as an Editor of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India.* Up till time of his death he was engaged as an Editor in bringing out the second volume of the *Cambridge History of India.* May his soul rest in peace!

Paul Pelliot

The great French Indologist Monsieur Paul Pelliot died of cancer in October 1946. He was born at Paris in 1878. He was well posted in Chinese and Sanskrit. In 1911 he was appointed Professor of the Languages, History, and Archaeology of Central Asia at the Collège De France. In 1936 he was the President of the Société Asiatique. He has written many thoughtful articles in the pages of the *Journal Asiatique* and the *Bulletin de L'École française d'Extrême-Orient.* He was the first European scholar to acquire a fair knowledge of Chinese bibliography. As an indefatigable worker he has produced much in the literary field. The world of scholarship has become poorer today by the death of this distinguished savant. May his soul rest in peace!

A. K. Coomaraswamy

A great loss has been sustained by the death of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy in the domain of Indian, Persian and Muhammedan art. He was an inhabitant of Colombo and wrote many important books on art. He was also interested in Indian religions and philosophy. Almost all his works bear testimony to his sound erudition and critical judgment. His notable contribution to the history of Indian and Indonesian art will long be remembered by generations of scholars. He died at Boston at the age of 70. We pray for the peace of the departed soul.

B. C. LAW.

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TIBETOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1927-1947)

By G. ROERICH

DURING the period under review several centres of Tibetological studies continued their research work.

The French school directed by Professor J. Bacot (recently elected President of the Société Asiatique, Paris), continued its work on the historical chronicles discovered by the late Professor Paul Pelliot in the walled-up library aṭ Tun-huang (W. Kansu, W. China). The first volume has been published in 1940: J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, and Ch. Toussaint: 'Documents de Touen-houang rélatifs ā l'histoire du Tibet'. Annales du Musée Guimet, Paris. In 1946 Prof. Bacot published his 'Grammaire du Tibétain Littéraire', Paris. His other important works published during the period were: 'Décoration Tibétaine', Paris, 1927, 'Les ślokas grammaticaux de Thonmi Sambhoṭa', Paris, 1928, 'La Vie de Marpa' (Buddhica, Paris, 1937), and 'Dictionnaire Tibétain-Sanscrit', Paris, 1930. Ch. Toussaint published a French translation of the Pad-ma thaṅ-yig—'Le Dict de Padma' (Paris, 1933). Mlle M. Lalou, a pupil of Prof. Bacot, published a 'Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothéque Nationale' (Paris, 1931) and an Index of the bsTan-'gyur after the Catalogue of the late P. Cordier ('Repertoire du Tanǰur', Paris, 1933). In 1932 the late Prof. Sylvain Lévi published an edition of the Mahā-Karmavibhaṅga (Paris, 1932), including its Tibetan version. E. Lamotte published the Tibetan version and the translation of the Saṁdhinirmocana-sūtra (Paris-Louvain, 1935). In 1938 he published at Louvain the Tibetan and Chinese versions of Asaṅga's Mahāyāna-saṁgraha. The death of J. Hackin was a severe blow to Tibetan studies in France. In 1931 he published 'La sculpture indiénne et tibétaine au musée Guimet.' Important for the study of Tibetan religious life are the works of the French explorer Mme David-Neel: 'La Vie surhumaine de Guésar de Ling.' Paris, 1931 (the Khams version of the epic), 'Mystiques et Magiciens du Thibet' (Paris, 1929), and 'Initiations Lamaiques', Paris, 1930.

The Russian school headed until 1942 by the late Professor Stcherbatsky, continued editing Tibetan Buddhist texts in the series Bibliotheca Buddhica, published by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The important works published during the period include: Prof. Stcherbatsky's 'The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa' (Leningrad, 1927), Stcherbatsky & E. Obermiller: The Sanskrit text and the Tibetan version of the Abhisamayālaṁkāra-

Prajñāpāramitā-śāstra (Bibl. Buddhica, XXIII, 1929), Obermiller's Indices Verborum (Sanskrit-Tibetan and Tibetan-Sanskrit) to the Nyāyabindu (Bibl. Buddhica, XXIV-V, 1927-8), Stcherbatsky's monumental work on the Pramāṇa-vārtika of Dharmakīrti (Bibl. Buddhica, XXVI, 1930–32), Obermiller's edition of the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of the Mahāyāna-saṁcaya-gāthā (Bibl. Buddhica, XXIX), Stcherbatsky's translation of the Madhyānta-vibhaṅga (Bibl. Buddhica, XXX), Obermiller's translation of the Tibetan version of the Uttara-Tantra (Acta Orientalia, IX, 1931), and his exposition of the Doctrine of the Prajñāpāramitā according to the Abhisamayālaṁkāra (Acta Orientalia, 1932). Dr. Obermiller also published an English translation of the famous History of Buddhism by Bu-ston Rin-po-čhe (Heidelberg, I-II, 1931-32). Baron A. von Stael-Holstein published the Tibetan and Chinese versions of Sthiramati's Commentary on the Kaśyapaparivarta (Peking, 1933), the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of the sūtra having been published by him in 1926 (Shanghai). The Academy of Sciences of the USSR. are planning the publication of a Catalogue of the rich Tibetan Collection of the Oriental Institute in Leningrad (the richest in the world, outside Tibet proper).

In England Professor F. W. Thomas continued his work on the Tibetan documents discovered by the late Sir Aurel Stein in Eastern Turkestan ('Tibetan Literary texts and documents concerning Chinese Turkestan', I, Oriental Translation Fund, Vol. XXXII, London, 1935, also numerous articles in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London). The late Sir Charles Bell published a series of well-documented volumes on modern Tibet: 'The People of Tibet' (Oxford, 1928), 'The Religion of Tibet' (Oxford, 1931), and 'Portrait of the Dalai Lama' (London, 1946). Sir Basil Gould and Hugh E. Richardson brought out a Tibetan-English Dictionary (Tibetan Word Book, Oxford, 1943), mainly colloquial.

In Italy the school of Professor G. Tucci has been very active. Prof. Tucci himself conducted a number of expeditions to Western Tibet (Ladak, Spiti, Tsaparang) and Central Tibet (Sa-skya, Gyangtse). The results of his researches have been published in a series 'Indo-Tibetica', published by the Italian Academy of Sciences (Indo-Tibetica, I–IV, Rome, 1932–41). Tucci also published the Tibetan version of Dignāga's Nyāyāmukha (Materialien, XV, Heidelberg, 1930). To the Greater India Studies (No. 2) he contributed a volume entitled 'Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat valley' (Calcutta, 1940). Tucci's pupil, Dr. Luciano Petech published, 'A Study on the chronicles of Ladakh' (Calcutta, 1939).

In Germany publications in the field of Tibetan studies were few. The late Albert Gruenwedel published his translation of the Tibetan text of the Life of Nāropa (Leipzig, 1935), and Dr. Johannes Schubert published the Tibetan text and translation of a Tibetan Grammar by the lČaṅ-skya bLa-ma Rol-pa'i rdo-rje ('Tibetische Nationalgrammatik', Leipzig, 1937). A new edition with notes of Jaeschke's Tibetan Grammar was brought out by A. H. Francke and W. Simon (de Gruyter, Berlin, 1929). Dr. A. H. Francke published the Tibetan text of the Bon-po gSer-myig in the Asia Major. Professor F. D. Lessing assisted by Dr. Goesta Montell published the first volume of his monograph on the Yung-ho-kung Monastery in Peking ('Yung-ho-kung. An Iconography of the Lamaist Cathedral in Peking', The Sino-Swedish Expedition, VIII, I, Stockholm, 1942).

In Japan the Tohoku Imperial University published in 1934 a Catalogue of the Sde-dge edition of the Buddhist Canon (Sendai, 1934), and the Otani University a Complete Analytical Catalogue of the bKa'-'gyur division of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka edited during the K'ang-hsi era (Kyoto, 1930–2). In 1932 Professor Wogihara published the text of Haribhadra's Commentary on the Abhisamayālaṁkāra.

In the field of Tibetan dialectology the following were active: Stuart N. Wolfenden ('Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology', Prize Publication Fund, XII, 1929), A. F. C. Read ('Baltī Grammar', James G. Forlong Fund, XV, London, 1934), and G. Roerich ('The Tibetan Dialect of Lahul', Tibetica I, 1933).

In the U.S.A. Professor E. Clark edited the Stael-Holstein Collection of Buddhist Iconography ('Two Lamaist Pantheons from the materials collected by the late Baron A. von Stael-Holstein', Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1937). Dr. W. Evans-Wentz edited a number of translation into English by the late Kazi Dawa Samdup ('The Tibetan Book of the Dead', Oxford, 1927; 'Tibet's Great Yogi Milarepa', Oxford, 1928, and 'Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines', Oxford, 1935).

In China the works of Dr. Yu Dawchyuan should be mentioned; his edition of the Tibetan text of the songs attributed to the Sixth Dalai Lama Tshaṅs-dbyaṅs rgya-mtsho (Peking, 1931) is worthy of notice.

In this country Tibetan studies centred round the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, the University of Calcutta, the Vishvabharati at Shantiniketan, and the Himalayan Research Institute (Kulu, Panjab). The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal published during the period Part III of Csoma de Körös' Sanskrit-Tibetan-English Vocabulary (Mahāvyutpatti), Calcutta, 1944, and completed the publication of the Lower Ladakhī version of the Kesar Saga by the late Dr. A. H. Francke (Calcutta, 1941). Professor Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya published in the Vishvabharati Series, chapters VIII–XVI of the Catuḥśataka by Āryadeva (Vishvabharati Series No. 2, 1931), and S. Mukhopadhyaya the Sanskrit text and the Tibetan version of Vasubandhu's Trisvabhāvanirdeśa (Vishvabharati No. 4, 1939), and the Tibetan text of the Nairātmyaparipṛcchā (Vishvabharati Series No. 4, 1931). Prof. V. Bhattacharya published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series (No. XXXIX) the Tibetan text of the Nyāyapraveśa by Dignāga (Baroda, 1927). The Calcutta University published Anukul Chandra Banerjee's edition of the Sanskrit text and Tibetan version of the Kāvyadarśa (Calcutta, 1939), and a Bhoṭa-prakāśa (A Tibetan Chrestomathy) by V. Bhattacharya, Calcutta, 1939. Important discoveries of Sanskrit MSS. have been made in Tibet by Professor Rahula Sankrityayana (JBOS. XXI, 1935 and XXIII, 1937). Of great importance is his edition of Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇa-vārtika (JBORS. 1938-9, and separately at Kitab Mahal, Allahabad).

Mention must also be made of the revival of Sanskrit studies among Tibetan scholars. In recent years the Rev. dGe-'dun Čhos-'pnel published a Tibetan translation of Ch. XII of the Bhagavad-gītā (Darjeeling, 1941), and a Tibetan translation of the Dhammapada (Anagarika Dharmapala Trust Publication, No. 2, Gangtok, Sikhim, 1946).

JAINA CANONICAL SŪTRAS (VI)

By B. C. LAW

Ovavāiya Sūya

THE *Ovavāiya Sūya*[1] (*Aupapātika Sūtra*) which is also called the *Uvavāiya* is counted as the first *upāṅga* among the texts of the Śvetāmbara Canon. Some hold that the Sanskritized form *Aupapātika* is erroneous. *Uvavāiya* means the attainment of an existence as pointed by S. Lévi.[2] An *upāṅga* is by its name and definition an ancillary work. Abhayadeva Sūri has written the earliest commentary on it. This text consists of 189 *sūtras*, each of which is represented by a complete paragraphic statement on a particular topic or by a particular stanza, if it is in verse. The suttas forming the concluding part of the text are in verse, while the preceding portion is mostly in prose. The stanzas forming the concluding suttas 168-169 are really interesting and important as epitomizing the statements in prose on the spiritual position and destiny of the *siddhas* or perfected ones. There are similar mnemonics also under a few other suttas such as 49, 56, 76 and 144. The method of treatment followed is catechetical. The text seeks to combine a treatise and a book of discourses into an organic whole. It presents its subject matter broadly in two contexts: (1) the meeting of Mahāvīra and king Kūṇika of Campā, and (2) the meeting of Mahāvīra and his senior disciple Indrabhūti. Its object is to impress on the mind of the hearer or reader the unsurpassed greatness of Mahāvīra's personality, the superior worth of his teachings, and the superior position of his disciples, lay, ordained and advanced. The place assigned to the *siddhas* is the highest of all. The hierarchical order is carefully shown in the second context or book comprising the suttas 62–189. The Pali *Puggalapaññatti*, a book of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*, presents the classified human types in a hierarchical order of its own, but its treatment is thoroughly psycho-ethical but not historical. The true Pali counterpart of it is to be traced in those *suttas* in which the *niṭṭhās* or goals are distinguished.

The *Aupapātika Sūtra* follows a distinct literary art of its own with its direct appeal. Naturalness and the sense of ease characterize its mode of presentation. It seems on the whole what may be described as an artless art. Its diction is clear, racy, sober, and dignified, in spite of the fact that the Jain theological motive of self-glorification and self-exaltation runs through its whole length. The descriptions of the city of Campā, the sanctuary of Punnabhadda, the *Asoga* tree in the garden surrounding it, King Kūṇiya, son of Bimbisāra, his queen Dhārinī and Mahāvīra given in it are vivid and graphic and they well serve the purpose. The text also contains the account of Mahāvīra's *samosaraṇa* in Campā and the pilgrimage of Kūṇiya to this place.

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[1] E. Leumann has edited this *sūtra* under the title *Das Aupapātika Sūtra* in the *Abhandlungen für die kunde des Morgenlandes, herang von der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, viii. 2, Leipzig, 1883; a complete edition in the *Āgamodaya series* has been published.

[2] *J.A.*, 1912, t. XX.

The *Aupapātika Sūtra* places the *Vemānika devas* as the highest in the scale, then the *Jyotiṣis*, the *Vāṇamantaras* and *Bhavanavāsīs*. The *Vemānika* gods and angels are represented by *Sohamma Īśāṇa*, *Sanankumāra*, *Māhinda Bambbhā* (*Brahmā*), *Lantaga*, *Mahāsukka*, *Sahassārā*, *Acchutapadī* and the rest. Māhinda's heaven is the heaven of thirty-three gods together with the *lokapālas*. In the Jyotiṣi class are placed the Sun, the Moon, the planets, comets, and stars including Rāhu. The *Vāṇamantara devas* comprise the *Bhūtas*, *Piśācas*, *Yakṣas*, *Rākṣasas*, *Kinnaras*, *Kiṃpuriṣas*, *Gandhabbas*, etc. The *Asuras*, *Nāgas*, *Supaṇṇas*, *Vijju* (*vidyut*, lightning), fire, continent (*dīva*), ocean (*udahi*), *Diśākumāras* (quarter gods), *Pavana* (wind gods), and thunder gods (*Thaṇiya*) represent the *Bhavanavāsīs*. Below them are the earth-lives, water-lives, fire-lives, and wind-lives. Above all of them stands the incomparable *Jina* with his advanced disciples (sections 32–37).

The eight *maṅgalas* were the eight auspicious symbols or emblems of the Jains: *sovatthiya* (*svastika*), *sirivacca* (*śrīvatsa*), *nandiyāvatta* (*nandyāvarta*), *vaddhamānaga* (*vardhamāna*), *bhaddāsana* (*bhadrāsana*), *kalasa*, *maccha* (*matsya*), and *dappaṇa* (*darpaṇa*).[1] Other enumerations of *maṅgalas* are also met with in the Jain text.[2] In order to oust the Brahmin vested interests from the field, the Jains and the Buddhists had to introduce certain *maṅgalas* claimed as very efficacious. The Buddhists introduced chanting of the *Maṅgala sutta* laying much stress on the 37 points of *maṅgala* or moral conditions of human welfare.[3]

The Brahmins as *Lakkhaṇa-pāṭhakas* suggested certain prominent bodily characteristics of a *mahāpuriṣa* or great man. As the early Jain and Buddhist texts go to prove that the Jains and the Buddhists simply utilized them in establishing that the founder of their own order was the greatest of men.[4] In the *Aupapātika Sūtra* (sec. 16) Mahāvīra is praised as *Dhammavara-cauranta-cakkavattī* as the Buddha is called the supreme founder of the kingdom of righteousness.

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[1] *Aupapātika Sūtra*, sec. 49.

[2] *Ibid.*, secs. 53–55.

[3] Cf. *Maṅgala Sutta* of the *Khuddakapāṭha*, pp. 2-3; *Mahāmaṅgala Jātaka* (No. 453); and the *Sutta Nipāta*, pp. 46-47.

[4] *Aupapātika Sūtra*, sec. 16; cf. *Dīgha Nikāya*, iii, *Lakkhaṇa Suttanta*.

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The *Aupapātika Sūtra* speaks of the *tāpasas* as those *religieux* who adopted the *vānaprastha* mode of life on the banks of the sacred rivers typified by the Ganges. They were either fire-worshippers, family men or those who slept on the bare ground. They were either sacrificers, or performers of funeral rites or owners of property. The water jugs and cooking pots were among their belongings. They followed different modes of bathing in the holy waters. Some of them used to blow conch shells or were winnow-beaters (*kuladhamakas*). Some of them killed deer for venison and skin, and some killed elephants to make food provision minimizing the slaughter of life. Some went about holding a stick erect or with the gaze fixed on a particular direction. They used the bark of a tree as their garment, and lived either on the sea-shore or near water at the foot of a tree, feeding on water, air, water-plants, roots, bulbs, barks, flowers, fruits and seeds. They rendered their body cooked by the heat of the five kinds of fire and stiffened by the sprinkling of water (sec. 74). The same *Sūtra* mentions a class of recluses (*pabbaiyā-samaṇā*) who were addicted to sensual pleasures, vulgar ways and vaunting and were fond of singing and dancing (sec. 75). It distinguishes between the Brāhmaṇa and the Kṣatriya *Parivrājakas* and describes them as those *religieux* who either followed the Kāpila School of Sāṅkhya or the Bhārgava School of Yoga or represented the four grades of Indian ascetics: Bahudakā, Kuṭibratā (Kuṭicakā), Haṃsā and Paramahaṃsā. Some of them were Kṛṣṇa-parivrājakas (secs. 76–81). The Ājīvikas are placed in a different category, their description being the same as in the Theravāda Buddhist texts (*Ibid.*, sec. 120). A gradation of *niṭṭhā* or goals aimed at by the *tāpasas*, *parivrājakas* and *ājīvikas* is suggested in the *Aupapātika Sūtra* as in Buddhaghosa's *Papañcasūdanī* and some of the later *Upaniṣads*. Gośāla's doctrine of six *abhijātas* or grades of spiritual advancement may be compared with *niṭṭhā* or goals.

According to the *Aupapātika Sūtra* the destiny of worldly men is *Vāṇamantara*, that of the *vānaprastha tāpasas* is the world of the *jyotiṣī* gods, that of the *parivrājakas* is *brahmaloka* and that of the ājīvikas is *acyutapada* (secs. 70, 71, 74, 81 and 120). According to the Buddhist commentator Buddhaghosa, *brahmaloka* is the goal of the Brāhmaṇas, *ābhassaraloka* is that of the *tāpasas*, *subhakiṇṇaloka* is that of the *parivrājakas* and *anantamānasa* is that of the *ājīvikas*. The *sūtra* speaks of some recluses who extol themselves, denounce others and do work for the welfare of the householders. After going through many births and rebirths they are reborn among the *Ābhiyogika* gods (sec. 121). There are some *religieux* called *ṇiṇhagas* (*nihnakas*) who discard the words of wisdom and adhere to wrong views. They are recluses in their outward garb only. The *Trairāsikas* (*Terāsiyā*) are counted among the seven such classes of men. They are destined to be reborn after going through a long cycle of rebirths among the upper *Graiveya* gods (*ubharimesu gevejjesu*—sec. 122).

There are men in the world who are virtuous, practise piety, and honestly earn their livelihood. They keep their vows and do not commit life-slaughter. They are free from anger, pride, deceit, greed, etc. They are typified by the lay worshippers who after their death are reborn in the heaven of *Acyutakalpa* (*accue Kappe devattāe*—secs. 123-124). The lay worshippers as householders cannot be expected to be completely free from attachment and capable of completely abstaining from killing. It is possible for those among the followers of Mahāvīra who have renounced the world to practise the *samitis* and *guptis* and to carry out the instructions of the Master. Those who are not much advanced among the ordained disciples are destined to be reborn among the gods of the *sarvārthasiddha mahāvimāna* (secs. 125–129). Those who are far advanced find their place in the realm of souls above the mundane world (*loy'aggapaiṭṭhānā havanti*—sec. 130). The *sūtra* is ultimately concerned to give us a clear description of the destiny of the *siddhas* or perfected ones. The eternal and immutable spiritual world in which they live after the completion of their mundane career is variously called *kevalakappa, isipabbhāra, taṇu, taṇutaṇu, siddhi, siddhālae, mutti, muttālae loy'agge, loyagga thūbhiyā* (*lokāgrasthūpikā*) and *loy'aggapaḍibujjhaṇā*. *Isipabbhāra* is the most familiar name for this world. It is far above the worlds of gods and Brahmās. It is nevertheless called a world by itself (*puḍhavī*) where the *siddhas* dwell for all times to come. It is absolutely free from birth, decay, death, and the cycle of births and re-births. The *siddhas* while they live on earth cannot altogether get rid of physical troubles, the duration of life and their designation by name and family. They utterly destroy all that binds the soul to this earth and contaminates it. They too carry on their routine work of the day but when they attain to the final state of perfection and emancipation and pass away forever from mundane existence, they make an end of all pain. Thus with the Jainas the ultimate state of individual existence is an eternal and unchanging world which is the abode for the liberated souls. It is nowhere pointed out how the liberated souls pass their days in that world whether in a state of activity or in that of passivity (secs. 160–167).

The *sūtra* gives us an interesting list of Vedic branches of learning or subjects of study consisting of the *Riuveda* (*Ṛgveda*), *Yajuveda* (*Yajurveda*), *Sāmaveda*, *Ahavvaṇaveda* (*Atharvaṇa-veda*), *Itihāsa* the fifth *Veda*, *Nighaṇṭu* the sixth *Veda*, six *Vedāṅgas*, six *Upāṅgas*, works on *rahassa* (*rahasya*), *Saṭṭhitaṃta* (*Ṣaṣṭitantra*) and many other Brahmanical treatises. The six *Vedāṅgas* are said to have been represented by the auxiliary works on *saṃkhāna* (arithmetic), *sikkhā* (phonetics), *kappa* (ritual), *vāgaraṇa* (*vyākaraṇa*, grammar), *chanda*

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(metre), *nirutta* (exegesis) and *joiṣa* (*jyotiṣa*, astronomy—astrology) (*Aupapātika Sūtra*, sec. 77). It (sec. 76) speaks of the two allied systems of Sāṅkhya and Yoga, while the Jain *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra* (sec. 41) mentions *Buddhasāsanaṃ* (Buddhism), *Visesiyaṃ* (*Vaiśeṣika* system), *Lokāyataṃ*, *Purāṇas*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Nāṭakas*, *Vaiśikas*, *Koḍiliāyaṃ* (*Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya), the *Kāmasūtras* of *Ghoḍaya-muhaṃ* (*Ghoṭamukhaṃ*), etc. The same *sūtra* (sec. 107) refers to the development of *vatthuvijjā* (*vāstuvidyā*) or science of architecture. The *vatthuvijjā* and *vaḍḍhakisippa* as understood in a comprehensive sense included as subjects of study the planning and founding of cities, towns and villages, the erection of buildings of various styles, palaces, Council halls, forts, gateways, decorative designs, selection and sanctification of sites, examination of soil, selection and preparation of building materials, laying out of parks, gardens and the rest. The architects were known as *thapatis* or *vaḍḍhakis*. Carpentry, wood-carving, stone masonry, etc. were all connected with the art of building.

The early Jain and Buddhist texts bear evidence to the progress made in *jyotiṣa* which was otherwise known as *Nakkhattavijjā* or study of the lunar constellations, their positions, movements, cataclysms and effects. In Buddha's time people were familiar with the phenomena of lunar and solar eclipses, the names of the seven planets, the appearance and disappearance of the comets, and the succession of three or six seasons. The experts in *jyotiṣa* were required to make forecasts of all coming events, celestial or terrestrial (*Aupapātika Sūtra*, secs. 36 and 107; *cf. Dīgha Nikāya*, i, p. 10).

The consecration of King Kūṇiya (variant Koṇiya), son of king Bhimbhasāra (variant Bhambhasāra, Pali Bimbisāra, Bimbasāra of the *Lalitavistara*) in the city of Campā is the grand occasion when Campā was visited by Mahāvīra. The scene of action is laid in the *Puṇṇabhadda cetiya* (*ceie*) which was evidently a *Yakkha* shrine. This shrine was surrounded on all sides by large woodlands. The august presence of the Master is said to have attracted a large number of visitors including all sections of the citizens and all high officials of the State and different Kṣatriya tribes such as those of the Licchavis and Mallas, the Ikṣvākus and Jñātris. King Bhimbhasāra, father of Kūṇiya, does not appear to have been present at the ceremony of his son's consecration. The queens of king Kūṇiya are said to have been headed by Dhārinī in some sections and by Subhaddhā in other contexts. Vajirā, who is mentioned as the wife of Ajātaśatru and daughter of king Prasenajit of Kośala, is conspicuous by her absence in the Jain account. Even the political connection of Aṅga having Campā as its capital with the kingdom of Magadha is not indicated. Whether Kūṇiya was consecrated to the rulership of Aṅga and Campā as an independent monarch or simply as a viceroy of his father, the text is silent on this point. Even it may be doubted whether Kūṇiya of the *sūtra* is the same person as Ajātaśatru of the Buddhist texts and *Purāṇas*. The tendency of the compiler of the *sūtra* is to describe all persons and things connected with Mahāvīra in their ideal aspect. The queens of King Kūṇiya were all well-accomplished ladies and perfect beauties. The king himself was endowed with all good qualities and bodily perfections to be installed, hailed and obeyed as the rightful sovereign of Campā. The city itself with its walls, gates, ramparts, palaces, parks and gardens, wealth and prosperity, internal joy and happiness, was a veritable paradise on earth. These ideal descriptions are just a part of the general artifice for magnifying the glory of Mahāvīra and his religion. But it is not difficult to make out that the *sūtra* in its extant form is a much later compilation than the age which witnessed the advent of Mahāvīra and the rise of Jainism. The *sūtra* refers to certain high officials such as *gaṇanāyaga*, *daṇḍanāyaga* and *talavara*, whose designations are met with in the Indian inscriptions of the post-Christian period (sec. 15). That the Jainas were out to excel the Brahmins, the Buddhists, and the rest in the art of poetical and laboured exaggerations, is particularly noticeable in the enumeration and description of the physical characteristics of Mahāvīra as a great man, the characteristics that are said to be 8,000 in number in place of 32 only of the Buddhist tradition (*aṭṭha-sahassa-varapurisalakkhaṇadhare*). There are nevertheless a few earlier references that help us to clarify some parallel Pali passages. For instance, the *sūtra* expressly mentions the *Atharvaveda* which is left to be understood in the Buddhist *nikāyas* before the expression *Itihāsa pañcamaṃ*, *Itihāsa* the fifth *veda*. Although some of the later categories of Jain thought such as *davva*, *khetta*, *kāla* and *bhāva* (sec. 28), *loe*, *aloe*, *jīvā*, *ajīvā*, *bandhe*, *mokkhe* and the like (sec. 56) are met with, the method of their treatment is still in an earlier age of development.

ON THE DATE OF LALITĀDITYA MUKTĀPĪḌA

By N. N. DASGUPTA

IN the year (of the *Laukika* era three thousand nine hundred and) thirty-one, equivalent to the year 855-6 of the Christian era, came to the throne of Kāśmīra Avantivarman, the first king of the Utpala dynasty. This is as much a settled fact as is admittedly correct the duration of the regnal periods ascribed in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* to each of the seventeen kings (including Jajja) of the preceding, viz. Karkoṭa or Nāga, dynasty. Nobody, I believe, has ever questioned the correctness of these figures recorded by Kalhaṇa, notwithstanding the high degree of probability of their admitting, in this or that case emendment in respect of month and day, where the regnal period is put only by year. Where, however, incertitude prevails is about the chronology of the kings of the Karkoṭa dynasty, —in particular the date of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, its fifth representative and the greatest scion.

Kalhaṇa's dates for the first five kings of the dynasty, as calculated by the late Mr. S. P. Pandit in his learned *Introduction* to the *Gauḍavaho* of Vākapatirāja,[1] are as follows:—

(1)	Durlabhavardhana, *alias* Prajñāditya ..	36 years (596–632 A.D.)
(2)	Durlabhaka, Pratāpāditya II ..	50 years (632–682 A.D.)
(3)	Candrāpīḍa ..	8 years, 8 months (682–691 A.D.)
(4)	Tārāpīḍa ..	4 years, 24 days (691–695 A.D.)
(5)	Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa ..	36 years, 7 months, 11 days (695–731 A.D.)

The sum-total of the regnal periods of all the dynastic successors, 12 in number, of Lalitāditya is 119 years, 1 month and 22 days, but by adding this to 731 A.D., we arrive only at 850-51 A.D., which thus falls short, it will be noted, of approximately four or five years from 855-6 A.D., the real date of Avantivarman's accession.

Once upon a time when the knowledge of both history and chronology of India of the eighth century A.D. was in its infancy, it so happened that Cunningham, having drawn upon M. Rémusat's writings on Chinese annals, detected, as is well known, an 'error in the Kashmir chronology amounting to exactly thirty-one years'. 'According to the chronology of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*', opined Cunningham, 'the king of Kashmir in A.D. 631 was Pratāpāditya; but the mention of his maternal uncle shows that there must be some error in the native history, as the king's father came to the throne in right of his wife, who had no brother. Pratāpāditya's accession must, therefore, have taken place after Hwen Thsang's departure from Kashmir in A.D. 633, which makes an error of three years in the received chronology. But a much greater difference is shown in the reigns of his sons Chandrāpīḍa and Muktāpīḍa, who applied to the Chinese emperor for aid against the Arabs. The date of the first application is A.D. 713 while, according to the native chronology, Chandrāpīḍa reigned from A.D. 680 to 688, which shows an error of not less than twenty-five years. But as the Chinese annals also record that about A.D. 720 the emperor granted the title of king to Chandrāpīḍa, he must have been living as late as the previous year A.D. 719, which makes the error in the Kashmirian chronology amount to exactly thirty-one years. By applying this correction to the dates of his predecessors, the reign of his grandfather, Durlabha, will extend from A.D. 625 to 661.'[2]

The chronology of the entire Karkoṭa dynasty, in the light of this reckoning, would stand thus:—

A.D.	King.	Years.	Months.	Days.
625–661	Durlabhavardhana	36	..	..
661–711	Durlabhaka	50	..	..
711–720	Candrāpīḍa	8	8	..
720–724	Tārāpīḍa	4	..	24
724–760	Muktāpīḍa	36	7	11
760-761	Kuvalayāpīḍa	1	..	15
761–768	Vajrāditya	7	..	..
768–772	Pṛthivyāpīḍa	4	1	..
772–772	Saṁgrāmapīḍa	..	..	7
772–775	Jajja	3	..	..
775–806	Jayāpīḍa	31	..	..
806–818	Lalitāpīḍa	12	..	..
818–825	Saṁgrāmapīḍa II	7	..	..
825–837	Cippaṭa Jayāpīḍa	12	..	..
837–874	Ajitāpīḍa	37	..	..
874–877	Anaṅgapīḍa	3	..	..
877–879	Utpalapīḍa	2	..	..

This means that according to Cunningham (and those who follow suit), either some reigns of the Karkoṭa dynasty have got to be expunged from history, or the date of Avantivarman's accession has got to be dragged down to 880 A.D., in which latter case the date of the very composition of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* having had to be placed 24 years later than its actual date, viz. 1149 A.D.! What other absurdities are liable to follow from this chronological scheme, based on Chinese evidence, will be noticed later on.

As early as in 1913, Mr. Anand Kaul published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (pp. 197–204), a note on the Gonarda dynasty of Kāśmīra on the basis of Maulvi Hasan Śah's (1832–98 A.D.) Persian *History of Kāśmīra*. The latter based his work on Mulah Ahmad's Persian translation of the *Ratnākara Purāṇa*, which was discovered in the time of Zain-ul-ābdin of Kāśmīra (1422–74 A.D.) and translated by Mulah Ahmad under royal orders. The *Ratnākara Purāṇa*, presumably based on old records as the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is, is now lost, but its contents have, fortunately for us, been utilized in Persian by Mulah Ahmad as well as by Hasan. While Kalhaṇa, unable to muster up the genuine facts and figures relating to the later part of the history of the Gonarda dynasty, had filled up the lacuna by the silly attribution of 300 years to the reign of Raṇāditya alone, the Persian *History of Kāśmīra* says, and to all appearance correctly, that (i) Raṇāditya reigned for only 60 years and 3 months, that (ii) seven kings ruled, six preceding and one following him, whose accounts have altogether been omitted in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, and also that (iii) this period extended over not 300 years but 329 years and 5 months. On the authority of this Persian *History of Kāśmīra*, Mr. Kaul has assigned the dates 414 to 474 A.D. to Raṇāditya and 474 to 521 A.D. to his immediate successor, Vinayāditya. After him, two more kings, Vikramāditya and Bālāditya, ruled for 42 years and 37 years and 4 months respectively, as we learn from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Accordingly, Vikramāditya dates from 521 to 563 A.D., and Bālāditya, the last representative of the Gonarda family, from 563 to 600 A.D.

Mr. Kaul's paper has, however, failed to draw the attention of scholars that it did merit. Nor he himself has attempted, so far as I know, to see what light the evidence of the Persian *History of Kāśmīra* is apt to shed on the chronology of the kings of the next, viz. the Karkoṭa dynasty, which, however, in the light of dates thus deduced from Persian evidence, may be worked out as follows:—

	A.D.
Durlabhavardhana Prajñāditya	600–636
Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya II	636–686
Candrāpīḍa Vajrāditya	686–694
Tārāpīḍa Udayāditya	694–699
Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya	699–736
Kuvalayāpīḍa	736-737
Vajrāditya Vappiyaka Lalitāditya	737–744
Pṛthivyāpīḍa	744–748
Saṁgrāmapīḍa	748–748
Jajja	748–751
Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya	751–782
Lalitāpīḍa	782–794
Saṁgrāmapīḍa II, Pṛthivyāpīḍa	794–801

	A.D.
Cippaṭa Jayāpīḍa Vṛhaspati	801–813
Ajitāpīḍa	813–850
Anaṅgapīḍa	850–853
Utpalapīḍa	853–855

This chronology, which shows a general discrepancy of roughly 4 to 5 years in all the cases with the chronology as obtained by the late Mr. Pandit from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, fits in so strikingly well with the dates of all later kings of Kāśmīra that it readily puts forth a claim to receive our serious attention. Although calculating back from the date of Avantivarman's accession, a result much similar to it was liable to be easily surmised, it could not, however, be proved. To the ineffective statement of Cunningham that there must have been an error of three years in Kalhaṇa's date of Pratāpāditya's accession, a reply was given by Mr. Pandit in the following words: '. . . . . . . the reigning king in Kashmir in A.D. 631 was not Pratāpāditya as General Cunningham supposes, but his father Durlabhavardhana or Prajñāditya, and Pratāpāditya, according to calculation, did not come to the throne till towards the close of the year 632 A.D. The inaccuracy, therefore, of three years based upon the suggestion that Pratāpāditya, who had no (maternal) uncle, was the reigning prince in A.D. 631 must, it is clear, be given up as altogether untenable.'[3] But as Pratāpāditya II did not come to the throne until Hiuen Tsang's departure from Kāśmīra in 633 A.D., my chronology which places Durlabhavardhana in 600–636 A.D. answers better to Cunningham's charge.

But the date of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, as it is in my chronology, comes into conflict with the evidence of the Chinese *Annals* of the T'ang dynasty, which record that 'after the first Chinese expedition in the country of *Po-liu* (Baltistān) in the neighbourhood of Kashmir (between 736 and 747), the King *Mou-to-pi* (Muktāpīḍa) sent the ambassador *Ou-li-lo*, carrying a missive to the court of China (during the reign of the Emperor Hiuen-tsung) for soliciting the establishment of a Chinese camp near the lake *Mo-ho-po-to-mo-loung* (Mahāpadma Nāga). He flattered himself that he could make provision for an auxiliary army of 200,000 men, and he reminded that, in concert with the king of Central India, he had blocked the five routes of Tibet, and obtained many victories over the Tibetans, then the dreaded enemies of China.'[4] The king of Central India with whom *Mou-to-pi* is said to have concluded an alliance is assumed to have been Yaśovarman, the *I-cho-fan-ma*, king of Central India, who is recorded to have sent in 731 his minister *Seng-po-to* to the Chinese court,[5] with what object and result nobody knows.

The correctness of the restoration of the two Chinese names, *Mou-to-pi* and *I-cho-fan-ma*, to Sanskrit as Muktāpīḍa and Yaśo-

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varman, we need not doubt. But either this Chinese date for the Kāśmīrian embassy (after 736–47 A.D.) is correct and my date for Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa (699–736 A.D.) is wrong, or *vice versa*. Hitherto most of the scholars, European and Indian, have preferred to entertain the Chinese dates in respect of the Karkoṭa dynasty, being considerably prevailed on by the anomaly that be in the later history of the Gonarda dynasty in consequence of Kalhaṇa's attribution of three centuries to one particular reign. But since that problem has been solved, it will now be more a matter of opinion, and perhaps of sentiment, too, than anything else to go on abiding by the artificial emendations which we have been practising so long, and thus suffer the whole chronology of the Karkoṭa dynasty to remain into the same hopeless state of confusion.

There is, of course, nothing that is absurd, silly or incongruous in a possibility, as is evinced by the Chinese story, of an alliance of Muktāpīḍa of Kāśmīra with *the* or *a* king of Central India. But what the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* tells us is not that. It knows entirely a different story, and relates it with that unfaltering tone of an authority which renders it more than difficult to discredit the account even in the matter of details.

According to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the first exploit of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa after he ascended the throne was the discomfiture of Yaśovarman of Kānyakubja, and the event has obviously to be placed early in Lalitāditya's reign. The operation was of 'long duration', implying probably that the victor had to encounter a strong resistance from the king of Kānyakubja, who was ultimately decreed to be 'entirely uprooted' (*samūlaṁ udapāṭayat, Rājt.*, IV, 140). The land of Kānyakubja from the bank of the Yamunā to that of the Kālikā (probably the Kāli-nadī) submitted to Lalitāditya even like the courtyard of his own palace:

> *Kimanyaṁ Kānyakubj = orvvī Yamunāpārato'hsyasā* ।
> *abhūd = āKālikā-tīraṁ gṛha-prāṅgaṇavadvaśe* ॥ *Ibid.*, 146.

And not only the poets Vākpati, Rājaśrī and Bhavabhūti, who had been in the court of the king of Kānyakubja, went over to the king of Kāśmīra to chant his songs but irony of fate led Yaśovarman himself, too, after the loss of his civil existence as a monarch, to be a panegyrist, evidently in Kāśmīra, of his conqueror's virtues (*Jito yayau Yaśovarmā tadguṇa-stutivanditāṃ,—Ibid.*, 144). Never again could Yaśovarman regain his kingdom which was thus annexed by Lalitāditya, and what we find afterwards (after his *dig-vijaya* was over) is that, 'swelled with pride Lalitāditya bestowed the land of Kānyakubja with its villages to (the shrine of) Āditya (which he had erected) at the town of Lalitapura' (Latpur). The enduring occupation of Kanauj and its adjoining territories by Lalitāditya is also indubiously borne out by the hoard of his coins discovered in the Banda district of the United Provinces.[6]

If the Chinese account of Lalitāditya's alliance with the king of Central India whom we have been accustomed to identify with Yaśovarman, and their embassies in 731 and after 736–47 A.D. to the Chinese court be not untrue, Kalhaṇa's narrative of Yaśovarman's overthrow by Lalitāditya early in the latter's reign must be viewed as a fabricated and out-and-out bogus one, even with 724–760 A.D. as the date of Lalitāditya. The attempt at compromise of the two facts, viz. Yaśovarman's discomfiture at the hands of the Kāśmīrian hero and yet an alliance between them, by saying, 'In this case Muktāpīḍa's war with Yaśovarman, and the latter's defeat, must fall after the date of Muktāpīḍa's embassy to the Chinese court',[7] may very well satisfy the condition from the Chinese point of view, but the evidence, so sharp and positive, of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* categorically refuses to admit of any such compromise as would seek to place the event of Lalitāditya's routing Yaśovarman so very late in his reign. This is exactly the consideration which has led Dr. R. S. Tripathi to turn a corner and remark that Lalitāditya 'suffered his adversary after a nominal acknowledgement of supremacy to remain on the throne[8] (of Kanauj) so as to render the possibility of the alliance in question of the two kings after 736–47 A.D. feasible'. But the remark is but the outcome of begging the question on the conjectures that Kalhaṇa's statement of Yaśovarman's being 'uprooted entirely' means that he was 'perhaps put to death during the course of the conflict', and that Kalhaṇa's testimony is 'dubious' inasmuch as he after indicating the 'death' of Yaśovarman elsewhere affirms that he (Yaśovarman) became by his defeat a panegyrist of Lalitāditya's virtues, and so on. No testimony is, however, more indubious than that of Kalhaṇa when he narrates the Lalitāditya-Yaśovarman episode, and if one gives credit, as Dr. Tripathi has done,[9] to the catastrophe of Yaśovarman's overthrow as having occurred early in Lalitāditya's reign, one cannot in the same breath maintain that the self-same Yaśovarman after having lost his crown and kingdom could possibly be a party to the alleged alliance of the Chinese *Annals*. With this image in the mind, one does, necessarily, repose trust in the innocent anecdotes of the Jaina *Caritas* and *Koṣas*, which invent a date between 750 and 754 A.D. as the year of Yaśovarman's demise,—anecdotes which otherwise deserved, I am afraid, a categorical refusal even for a passing glance in the making of history. If, even, Yaśovarman really continued to live somewhere near Gwalior till *circa* 752 A.D., he cannot be 'the king of Central India', whom the Chinese sources mean to have been Lalitāditya's confederate in the matter of begging Chinese help.

The next point for consideration is why at all should a mighty potentate like Lalitāditya go to apply for aid to the Chinese emperor.

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The only two probable quarters from which he might apprehend trouble or invasion were the Arabs (*Mlecchas*) in the west, and the Tibetans (*Bhauṭṭas*) in the north-east. As to the Arabs, the late Mr. Pandit very aptly remarked about sixty years ago that, 'The account of this (Lalitāditya's) reign is particularly detailed (in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*), and so full, both as regards his internal and external policy, that it is not credible that a mention of or reference to an invasion of his kingdom by the Arabs could have been omitted. Nor is it likely that any invasion by the Arabs could have taken place or been threatened during his reign, which was one of aggression all round and full of brilliant victories. He is described as having carried his arms of conquest far beyond the borders of Kashmir towards the north and the north-west ....'.[10] 'General Cunningham is wrong', pointed out also Lévi and Chavannes, 'in supposing that the fear of the Arabs had driven him to take that step. *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (Ed. Stein, IV, 167) seems to make allusion to a tripple victory (of Lalitāditya) over the Arabs.'[11] The same can also be said, with equal aptitude, of the Tibetans, for while recounting the Chinese notice of the *Annals* of how Lalitāditya reminded the Chinese emperor that in concert with the king of Central India he had blocked the five routes of Tibet, we are also distinctly told that he (Lalitāditya) 'had obtained many victories over the Tibetans',[12] and in support of his victories over the Tibetans, Lévi and Chavannes quote the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV, 168:

Cintā na dṛṣṭā Bhauṭṭānāṁ vaktre prakṛtipāṇḍure ।
Vanaukasāṁ iva Krodhaḥ svabhāvakapile mukhe ॥

If, therefore, neither the Tibetans nor the Arabs proved to be any source of menace to Lalitāditya, why should he then possibly induce himself to beg help of the Chinese (or any other foreign) king? The Tibetans are reported to have been 'then the dreaded enemies of China' (*advarsaires alors redoutés de la chine*),[13] and if aid against them were a requirement on the part of somebody, does not the fact of the case demand that it was, on the contrary, for Hiuen-tsung to supplicate aid from one who had already won many victories over the Tibetans?

There is, moreover, some bearing of Lalitāditya's reign on the contemporary history of Bengal. In course of his *dig-vijaya* in the early part of his reign, Lalitāditya marched to the east when, as Kalhaṇa (IV, 148) relates, a troop of elephants from Gauḍa-*maṇḍala* (W. and N. Bengal) joined Lalitāditya, implying acknowledgment, direct or indirect, of his suzerainty by the kingdom of Gauḍa. After the lapse of a considerable period of time, as the interspersion of the number of verses in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in and between the two events would bring home, the king of Gauḍa was, at the behest of Lalitāditya, compelled to go over to Kāśmīra to be murdered there (*Rājt.*, IV, 323–30), in spite of the guarantee of safety that Lalitāditya had offered him previously. There are reasons to suppose that this king of Gauḍa (if he was different from the king of Gauḍa-*maṇḍala* who had supplied him with the troop of elephants during his *dig-vijaya*) also acknowledged the supremacy of Lalitāditya.[14] Our knowledge of the past of Bengal has advanced to this extent that we can today safely place the establishment of the Pāla kingdom of Gauḍa by Gopāla I in the second quarter of the eighth century, or at the latest by 750 A.D. If we still have the fancy for making Lalitāditya rule till 760 A.D., we do thereby run the risk of postulating that Gopāla I was to have been the wretched vassal-king of Gauḍa who was treacherously assassinated by his overlord, Lalitāditya, in Kāśmīra! Furthermore, the date 724–60 A.D. for Lalitāditya makes the reign of his grandson, Jayāpīḍa, fall as late as in 775–806 A.D., and those students of Indian history of this period to whom it really concerns would readily realize how the history of Jayāpīḍa, thus a contemporary of Dharmapāla of Bengal and Indrāyudha and Cakrāyudha of Kanauj, ill suits the exegencies of chronology, when they have got to explain the fact, in particular, of the reconquest by Jayāpīḍa of Kānyakubja which had in the meantime asserted independence (*Rājt.*, IV, 470).

I agree with all those whoever maintain that 'the Chinese have been more precise in their system of chronology', but this, I trust, does not amount to saying, or is not another way of putting, that a gospel truth the Chinese narratives invariably contain with regard to dates and facts. Rockhill's experience led him to say in his *Life of the Buddha* what may profitably be quoted here in this connection: 'I remark, *en passant*, that all Chinese works do not agree about events in Tibetan history; thus in the Wei-thang-thu-chi, p. 127, we hear of a treaty concluded between Te-tsung and Khri-srong. But Te-tsung only became emperor of China in 799. It, moreover, calls them the uncle and the nephew. We know, however, that Khri-srong's uncle was the Emperor Tchong tsong (684–716)'.[15] Another case in point is the evidence of Ma-twa-lin, for whom it was left to correct the *Life of Hiuen tsang*, when it originally read that Harṣavardhana died towards the end of the young Hui period, i.e. in or about 655 A.D. Again, according to the History of the Miang dynasty, *Gai-yā-sju-ting* (Giyās-ud-dīn), king of Bengal, sent in 1409 A.D. an embassy to China with many presents; but the history of Bengal knows of no king of that name in that year (or early in the fifteenth century) when it was Sāms-ud-dīn who ruled over the province.[16] Some more instances there are to be cited, but need they not. 'Embassy'-complex seems to have characterized the early Chinese much more than any other nation of the world, and the authenticity of the stories of the Indian embassies of Candrāpīḍa, Yaśovarman and Lalitāditya in so quick a succession

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as within less than thirty years' time, to the court of China, without any reason which is capable of standing scrutiny, requires to be unreservedly questioned once, twice and hundred times. If even the embassies were realities, there seems to have been errors of date in the Chinese *Annals*. But, nevertheless, what is advanced here as merely a suggestion has no design to assume the character of dogmatism. The suggestion only places on record an alternative date for Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, and thus for all other kings of his dynasty, which appears likely to be more in keeping with the contemporary and nearly contemporary events of Indian History. We cannot gauge the amount of authenticity of the *Ratnākara Purāṇa* of unknown date as a historical record, but what date it has given us for Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, even as a stroke of accident, if it be really so, can very well challenge the date obtainable from the Chinese *Records*, which requires a constrained shifting of events from here to there in the Indian History of that age, and throws the history of the Karkoṭa dynasty of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* to the threshold of fiction, where every event narrated is fated to be at the mercy of option for acceptance or not.

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[3] *Gauḍavaho*, Introduction, p. lxxxii.

[4] *Journal Asiatique*, 1895, p. 351, footnote, and *Calcutta Review*, 1922, p. 487 footnote.

[5] M. A. Stein's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I, p. 132, note.

[6] *J.A.S.B.*, Num. Suppl., XLI, 1928, pp. N. 7-8.

[7] Stein, *op. cit.*, note 134.

[8] *History of Kanauj*, Benares, 1937, p. 203.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 204.

[10] *Op. cit.*, p. lxxxiii.

[11] *Op. cit.*

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Dacca Univ., p. 84.

[15] W. W. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 222, footnote.

[16] Cf. *Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, Vol. II, R. D. Banerjee, p. 159.

THE STATUS OF ŚŪDRAS IN THE *DHARMASŪTRAS*

By U. N. GHOSHAL

The materials in the *Dharmasūtras* enable us to trace with some fulness the status of the *varṇas* at the two opposite poles of the social system, namely the Śūdras and the Brāhmaṇas. The old Vedic dogma of origin of the four *varṇas* out of different parts of the Creator's body, furnishing the grand justification for differences between the *varṇas*, is mentioned by Vaśiṣṭha (IV. 3). To this Vaśiṣṭha adds (VI. 23-24), in the fashion of some of the older texts, a pointed contrast between the high qualities of the Brāhmaṇas and the evil characteristics of the Śūdras. It is in the background of such views that we can best understand the remarkable list of disabilities of the Śūdras in our present works. These disabilities may be summarized under three broad heads, namely, Social, Religious and Civil.

I. *Social disabilities.*—Repeatedly in the *Dharmasūtras* contact with the Śūdra is declared to be a sinful act on the part of the higher classes. To take a few examples, Gautama (IX. 11) forbids the *snātaka* to sip water offered by a Śūdra. According to Vaśiṣṭha (VI. 26–30; X. 31) a Brāhmaṇa by eating such food disgraces himself and his family, while by abstaining from the same he gains great spiritual merit.[1] Āpastamba (I. 5. 16. 33; I. 5. 17. 1) goes so far as to state that if a Śūdra touches one during his meal, the latter must leave it off. Gautama (XXV. 7) includes connexion with Śūdra women in the list of sins requiring to be expiated with a penance. Āpastamba (I. 7. 21. 13; *Ibid.*, 17) includes cohabiting of Aryan women with Śūdras and eating the remnants of a Śūdra's food in the list of acts causing impurity. Baudhāyana (II. 1. 2. 6) mentions serving Śūdras among acts causing loss of caste. In another passage (II. 3. 6. 22) Baudhāyana forbids a *snātaka* to go alone on a journey with Śūdras.[2] Viṣṇu (XL. 1-2) includes service of the Śūdra among sins rendering one unfit to receive alms, and requiring a penance for their expiation. In another place (LXXI. 48) Viṣṇu declares that the householder must not give advice to a Śūdra. Again, he says (LXXI. 64) that the householder must not dwell in a kingdom governed by Śūdras, thus showing that the latter was regarded as lying outside the pale of civilization. Finally, we may mention that marriages of men of higher classes with Śūdra women, though recognized, are viewed with strong disapproval in the *Dharmasūtras* and the issue of such marriages are not allowed to share in the inheritance.[1]

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[1] With the above *cf.* Śaṅkha-Likhita, No. 434.

[2] It may be added that a passage (IV. 1. 5) belonging to the later and less authentic portion of Baudhāyana's work imposes similarly a penance for eating Śūdra's food or for cohabiting with a Śūdra woman.

II. *Religious disabilities.*—The Śūdra by contrast with the other *varṇas* is an *ekajāti* and is, as such, excluded from the privileges attendant upon investiture with the sacred thread (*upanayana*). Āpastamba (I. 1. 1. 6) expressly excludes the Śūdras along with those who have committed evil deeds from the privileges of initiation (*upanayana*), Vedic study and kindling of the sacred fire. Vaśiṣṭha (IV. 3), quoting a Vedic authority (*Ṛgveda*, X. 90. 12), shuts out the Śūdra from sacraments. With him agrees Viṣṇu who declares (II. 3) that for the first three classes alone who are called twice-born, there are prescribed the whole series of sacraments beginning with impregnation and ending with cremation, to the accompaniment of *mantra* utterances. How much the presence of Śūdras at the domestic ceremonies was banned, is proved by a number of passages. According to Viṣṇu (V. 115) entertainment of a Śūdra at an offering to the gods (*daiva*) or to the manes (*pitrya*) is to be punished with a fine of a hundred *paṇas*. Elsewhere (LXXXI. 16) he forbids Śūdras even to look at a *Śrāddha*. The use of a Śūdra wife for gratification alone and her unfitness for religious performances are expressed with emphatic, almost brutal frankness in a number of texts. According to Vaśiṣṭha (XVIII. 17-18) a Brāhmaṇa must not approach his Śūdra wife after building a fire-altar for the Śrauta sacrifice, for such a wife is espoused for pleasure only. According to Viṣṇu (XXVI. 4-5) no twice-born man shall ever perform religious duties (*dharmakārya*) with his Śūdra wife, for such a wife can never cause religious merit (*dharma*), but is intended only for gratifying lust (*rati*).[2] Again, the *Dharmasūtras* take special care to prevent the Śūdra's participation in the privileges of sacrifice. According to Gautama (XX. 1) sacrificing for a Śūdra and accepting a Śūdra's money for performing a sacrifice, are acts for which a father must be cast off by his son. Similarly Vaśiṣṭha (XV. 11) includes one who sacrifices for Śūdras in the list of those who are to be cast off.

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[1] Vaśiṣṭha (I. 25–27) quotes a view permitting the twice-born classes to marry Śūdra women only to reject it. One whose only wife is a Śūdra is unfit for invitation to a funeral repast according to Gautama (XV. 18) and to make offerings to the gods according to Vaśiṣṭha (XIV. 11). Baudhāyana (II. 3. 6. 32) says that a Brāhmaṇa with a Śūdra wife, who lives for twelve years in a village with water obtainable from wells alone, becomes equal to a Śūdra. The son of a Śūdra wife, being not an heir, but a kinsman, is entitled to maintenance alone according to Gautama (XXVIII. 39) (*Cf.* Vaśiṣṭha, XVII. 38*f*; Baudhāyana, II. 2. 3. 32*f*).

[2] For a repulsive reference to the sinful consequences attending connection with a Śūdra woman immediately after a funeral repast, see Gautama (XV. 22).

The *Dharmasūtras*, above all, keep the privilege of Vedic study as a secret to be closely guarded against Śūdras. Gautama (XVI. 19), as also Viṣṇu (XXX. 4), forbids the study of the *Veda* in the neighbourhood of Śūdras. Baudhāyana (I. 11. 21. 15) requires a Brāhmaṇa to discontinue recitation of the *Veda* as long as he is within hearing or sight of Śūdras. Āpastamba (I. 3. 9. 6; *Ibid.*, 9), after declaring that the *Veda* must not be studied in a cremation-ground (*śmaśāna*) says that the Śūdra and the outcast are included under the last term. The climax is reached in Gautama who imposes (XII. 4–6) punishments of atrocious cruelty upon Śūdras intentionally listening to a recitation of the *Veda*, or else reciting or even remembering Vedic texts. Vaśiṣṭha (XVIII. 13) utters a comprehensive ban against the Śūdra's participation in the social and religious privileges of the higher classes. As the sinful Śūdra stock, he says from Yama's quotation, is manifestly a cremation-ground, the *Veda* must not be studied in the presence of a Śūdra. One must not, Vaśiṣṭha continues, give advice (*mati*) to a Śūdra nor eat the remnants of his food (*ucchiṣṭa*), nor teach him the sacred law (*dharma*), nor order him to perform a penance (*vrata*).

III. *Civil disabilities.*—The different scales of penalties for Śūdra and Brāhmaṇa offenders against person and property are well illustrated in Āpastamba (II. 10. 27. 8-9). Here we read that a man of the first three *varṇas* committing adultery with a Śūdra woman is to be banished, while a Śūdra committing the same offence with a woman of the first three classes, is to suffer capital punishment. In another place (II. 10. 27. 16-17) Āpastamba tells us that a Śūdra who commits homicide or theft or appropriates the property of others is to be punished with confiscation of his possessions and death, while a Brāhmaṇa committing the same offences is to be blindfolded. We have a still more glaring instance of the inequality of penalties and penances in the clauses of our present works relating to the punishments for murder. In Vaśiṣṭha (XX. 31*f.*) the penalty for the murder of a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya and a Śūdra consists of penances for eight, six, and three years respectively. In Āpastamba (I. 9. 24. 1*f*) it comprises payment of one thousand, one hundred and ten cows respectively along with a bull. Combining the two groups, Baudhāyana (I. 10. 19. 1*f.* combined with II. 1. 1. 8*f*) prescribes the respective payments of the same numbers of cows and the bull along with penances for nine years, three years, and one year respectively. Similarly Gautama (XIII. 14*f*) mentions payments of the cows and the bull as aforesaid together with keeping the vow of continence (*brahmacarya*) for six years, three years, and one year respectively. We may conclude this point by offering a few examples of punishments relating specifically to Śūdra offenders against the higher classes. For intentionally abusing or assaulting a man of the twice-born classes, the Śūdra is to be punished with mutilation according to Gautama (XII. 1), while the Śūdra speaking evil of such a man is to have his tongue cut off according to Āpastamba (II. 10. 27. 14). For criminal intercourse with a woman of the first three classes, the Śūdra is to suffer mutilation of his limb and confiscation of all his property according to Gautama (XII. 2) or else, capital punishment according to Āpastamba (II. 10. 27. 9). Even for assuming a position equal to the twice-born classes, the Śūdra is to suffer corporal punishment according to Gautama (XII. 7), Āpastamba (II. 10. 27. 15) and Viṣṇu (V. 19).

And yet it would appear that the Śūdras were too important or numerous a section of the population even within the Aryan pale, to be treated as a class without rights. To begin with their right to a relatively high social status, a somewhat obscure text in Baudhāyana (I. 5. 10. 20) hints at the employment of Śūdra cooks under the superintendence of Āryas (*āryādhiṣṭhita*), provided they observed simple sanitary rules. Āpastamba (I. 6. 18. 14) allows eating the food even of a Śūdra on the condition of his living under one's protection for the sake of spiritual merit (*dharmopanata* explained by Haradatta,[1] as *dharmārthaṃ upanata āśritaḥ*).[2] In another passage (II. 2. 3. 4*f*) Āpastamba distinctly sanctions preparation of food for the Vaiśvadeva ceremony (i.e. as explained by Haradatta, for use of the householder and his wife) by Śūdra cooks under superintendence of Āryas (*āryādhiṣṭhita*) or even without such supervision (*parokṣaṃ*). Only the Śūdra must observe the necessary sanitary precautions, and in the latter case his food must be placed on the fire and sprinkled with water.[3] After this it is intelligible that Āpastamba (I. 5. 16. 22) forbids food brought by an impure (*aprayata*) Śūdra to be eaten. Viṣṇu (LVII. 16) allows the food of certain classes of persons including a slave, a herdsman and a barber to be eaten, although they are Śūdras. Honour to an aged Śūdra fellow-citizen is enjoined by Gautama (VI. 10).[4] Āpastamba tells us how Śūdra guests apparently belonging to two distinct classes are to be entertained by Brāhmaṇas. According to him (II. 2. 4. 19-20) a Śūdra coming to a Brāhmaṇa as a guest shall be given some work and then entertained, or else the Brāhmaṇa's slaves shall fetch food from the royal stores (*rājakula*) and honour (*pūjayeyuḥ*) the Śūdra as a guest.[1] The kind treatment of Vaiśya and Śūdra guests by the Brāhmaṇa householder is enjoined by Viṣṇu (LXVII. 37).

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[1] Commentary on *Āpastamba-Dharmasūtra*. Ed. in Kashi Skt. Series, No. 93. Benares, 1932.

[2] Haradatta takes this qualifying clause to mean that the food of a Śūdra who lives under one's protection for the sake of wealth (*artha*) is not to be eaten. According to the same commentator, Āpastamba's text quoted above applies to times of distress, but this interpretation lacks corroboration.

[3] Haradatta, whom Bühler follows, would confine the scope of Āpastamba (I. 6. 18. 14) quoted above to times of distress.

[4] The text is to the effect that among fellow-citizens (*pauras*) even a Śūdra of eighty years or more shall be honoured by one young enough to be his son, by rising though not by salutation (*abhivādanaṃ*).

More important than the above as an illustration of the Śūdra's social status is the reference to his occupation. Following the older Vedic authorities the *Dharmasūtras* declare the Śūdra's duty (*dharma*) to be the service of the higher classes. But at the same time they assign the practice of mechanical arts as the Śūdra's alternative, or additional occupation. Thus Gautama (X. 56*f*), while declaring service (*paricaryā*) of other *varṇas* to be the Śūdra's duty (*dharma*) as well as means of livelihood (*vṛtti*), says that the Śūdra may live by practising the mechanical arts.[2] Viṣṇu who distinguishes (II. 4*f*) clearly between the *dharma* and the *vṛtti* of the four classes says that the Śūdra's duty is to serve the twice-born classes while his means of livelihood are all mechanical arts (*sarvaśilpāni*). We may refer in this connection to the remarkable text of Gautama (X. 69) which not only takes for granted interchange of occupations between Śūdras and other classes but also places them in such cases on the same social level. In this passage we are told that when Aryans and non-Aryans exchange their occupations, there is equality between them.[3]

While enjoining upon the Śūdra the duty of service, our present authors leave us in no doubt that he was entitled to the privileges of family life. Gautama (X. 53–55) prescribes the Śūdra's duty of offering funeral oblations, of maintaining his dependants, and of living with his wife.[4] How much the Śūdra's position was removed from that of a slave is proved by another passage. If the Śūdra places himself under the protection of an Ārya, continues Gautama in the same context (X. 61), the latter must support him when he is unable to work.

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[1] Haradatta takes the above to imply that the king has to keep stores of rice ready in each village for honouring Śūdra guests. This would imply State provision for Śūdra guests in the villages, matching no doubt the State guest-house in the capital spoken of by Āpastamba (II. 10. 25. 8-9).

[2] Maskari (commentator on *Gautama-Dharmasūtra*, Ed. in *Bibliotheca Sanskrita*, No. 50, Mysore, 1917) tries to reconcile Gautama's statements by saying in his commentary on Gautama (X. 56) that a good Śūdra shall simultaneously practise agriculture, etc., and service, while his opposite shall only perform agriculture, etc. Again he says (on Gautama, X. 59) that the Śūdra who is unable to perform service shall live by the occupation of a craftsman (*śilpin*), and failing in this, by the occupation of an artisan (*kāru*). It is, however, improbable that in actual practice the Śūdra would prefer service to an independent profession, or would even care to practise both.

[3] Explaining this passage Haradatta says that in such a case there does not exist the relation of master and servant between Aryans (identified with the three higher castes) and the non-Aryans (identified with the Śūdras). In such a case even a Brāhmaṇa who performs the occupation of a non-Aryan need not be served by a Śūdra. On the other hand, even a Śūdra who does the work of an Aryan must not be despised by others following non-Aryan occupations, because of his inferior birth. The explanation of Maskari is closely similar.

[4] Haradatta and Maskari agree in taking Gautama's injunction (X. 59) to a Śūdra to live upon the remnants of his master's food to apply to one who has not entered the householder's life.

We have seen how the *Dharmasūtra* texts quoted above permit the Śūdra the alternative or additional occupation of living by the mechanical arts. This evidently gives the Śūdra the title to acquire property by adopting an independent profession. We have indirect evidence of the Śūdra's acquisition of property and even of his hoarding wealth in the very texts which charge him with burdens of a different character. Gautama (X. 62) declares that the Śūdra must support his master of the higher caste when fallen into distress, the Śūdra's hoard (*nicaya*) serving this purpose. Again, according to Gautama (XVIII. 24*f*) a Brāhmaṇa for the purpose of completing a marriage ceremony (*vivāhasiddhi*) and of providing means of performance of religious rites (*dharmatantrasaṃyoga*), can take an article (*dravya*), evidently by force, from a Śūdra.[1] Again, according to Āpastamba (I. 2. 7. 20-21) a Vedic student (*Brahmacārin*) may take the wealth (*artha*) of a Śūdra for his teacher's fee (*Vedadakṣiṇā*) when the latter has fallen into distress, or according to others at all times.

As regards the Śūdra's title to religious rights we think that the extraordinary severity of Gautama's punishments for Śūdras for even hearing or remembering Vedic texts indicates a determined attempt made by them in some cases to invade this most cherished privilege of the Brāhmaṇas. Similarly, the heavy penance for sacrificing on the Śūdra's behalf would suggest that Brāhmaṇas sometimes could be found for performing sacrifices with the Śūdra's money. More significant for our present purpose is the express permission given to the Śūdras by our present authorities for performing sacraments and sacrifices to a limited extent. An authority quoted by Gautama (X. 52) permits a Śūdra to wash his hands and feet for the ceremonial sipping (*ācamana*), while Gautama himself (X. 53) expressly allows a Śūdra to offer oblations to his ancestors (*śrāddhakarma*).[2] In the same context Gautama (X. 65) quotes an authority allowing Śūdras to perform a select list of seven small Vedic sacrifices (*Pākayajñas*). We may quote here the specific instance of the *Rathakāras* (chariot-makers) to show how far a professional class recognized in the older Vedic works as belonging to the Śūdra caste and in our present authorities as deriving their origin from the union of Śūdra males and Vaiśya females, was credited with religious as well as civil rights during this period.[1] It has been shown in another place[2] how *Āpastamba Ś.S.* (XVIII. 10) alone among the *Śrautasūtras*, includes the *Rathakāras*, though alternatively with the *Akṣāvāpa* ('thrower of dice') and *Govikarta* ('huntsman') in the list of *Ratnins* ('Jewel-holders') at the *Ratnahavīṃṣi* ceremony of the Rājasūya. Again *Baudhāyana Gr. Sū.* (II. 5. 8. 9) by prescribing different seasons for the initiation (*upanayana*) of Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Rathakāras, implicitly admit the last-named to the most important of the Vedic sacraments. In the *Dharmasūtras*, however, including that of Baudhāyana this privilege is withheld from the *Rathakāras*.

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[1] The above follows Haradatta's reading *dharmatantrasaṃyoge* together with his explanation. Maskari's reading *dharmatantrasaṃge* meaning 'in the event of discontinuance of religious rites' practically leads to the same conclusion. It deserves to be remarked that according to Haradatta as well as Maskari just enough may be taken that is necessary, and taking more than that is a sin.

[2] In the passages of Baudhāyana (I. 5. 10. 20) and Āpastamba (II. 2. 3. 4*f*) quoted above permitting the use of Śūdra cooks, they are allowed the right of ceremonial sipping of the water (*ācamana*) after the fashion of their masters.

Turning, lastly, to the civil rights of the Śūdras, we may state that the clauses of the law of penances and of criminal law abovementioned for offences against Śūdras, are indeed proportionately much lighter than those prescribed for offences against the higher classes. But they at least imply that the Śūdra was invested with the rights of person and property. In particular the Śūdra, as we have seen, has a weregild of ten cows, and alternatively or in addition, his murder is visited with penance of one year (or three years). Again, the Śūdra is qualified in the *Dharmasūtras* to be a witness in judicial trials (*cf.* Gautama, XIII. 3; Vaśiṣṭha, XVI. 29-30; Baudhāyana, I. 10. 19. 13). Viṣṇu moreover mentions a penance for the Śūdra's giving false evidence (VIII. 17) as well as the form of the judge's address to a Śūdra witness (VIII. 23). Reference may be made, finally, to the important text of Gautama (XI. 22-23), which entitles cultivators, herdsmen and artisans, among others, to declare their customs (*artha*) through their proper spokesmen at the judicial trials. As there is little doubt that the classes here mentioned mostly belonged to the Śūdra caste, it would follow that some of the Śūdras had developed a stable organization under authorized leaders and that their customs had acquired binding authority in the law-courts.

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[1] For references to *Rathakāras* in the *Yajus saṃhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas*, see U. N. Ghoshal, *A History of Hindu Public Life*, Pt. I, p. 134*f.* For their mixed origin, see Baudhāyana (I. 9. 17. 6).

[2] *A History of Hindu Public Life, loc. cit.*

MISCELLANEA

THE BACKGROUND OF AJAKALĀPAKA (AJAKĀLAKA) YAKKHA AND ASSAMUKHĪ YAKKHINĪ IN THE INDUS MYTHOLOGY

In my article—*Indus Script and Tantric Code*[1]—I was interested *inter alia* in the question of continuity of the tradition of the Indus Valley civilization in the subsequent history of India. It may be recalled that in it, the Indus seals could not but be taken as belonging to three groups: (1) those used as anklets, a few in number; (2) those used for instructional purposes, also few in number; and (3) those serving the purpose of trade-marks and forming the bulk. It was shown that the continuity of the technique of the Indus seals belonging to the third group might be traced in that of the punch-marked coins, the inscriptions on which, consisting in a number of picture-signs, contain either the name of the manufacturer or that of the place of their origin. As regards the seals belonging to the second group, their obvious purpose was to indicate from which picture-sign a particular letter-sign was derived. And with regard to the seals of the first group, it was suggested that in their mythological devices one might get the key or clue to the decipherment of the inscriptions recording presumably the name of the divinity or divinities prominently represented. In one of these devices was found the Indus symbolical background of the Vedic allegorical verse speaking of the Tree of Life, *i.e.* the *Aśvattha* on which dwell two *suparṇas* (mythical birds) as inseparable comrades, one eating the fruit thereof and the other not eating but simply looking on (reflecting). If it be a correct surmise from an objective study of the Indus inscriptions that the script, as distinguished from the pictographs of Egypt and Sumeria, represents mostly a syllabic system of writing, one cannot help being tempted to think that the inscription below the mythological device records somehow or other the name of the two divinities as *sauparaṇa*, pronounced *suparṇa*. But until corroborated by a stronger evidence, this is nothing more than a pious wish or pure guesswork (Pl. II, fig. 1 of *the B. C. Law Vol.*, Part II).

I have just received a reprint from an informative and highly suggestive article—*Ṛgvedic River-goddesses and an Indus Valley Seal*—contributed by Dr. O. H. De A. Wijesekera to the *University of Ceylon Review*, in which he has creditably attempted to explain the details of the mythological device on another amulet seal (see Pl. II, fig. 2) with the help of certain descriptions in the hymns of the *Ṛgveda*. Here the seven female divinities in the register of the seal concerned appear in tunic and fast-moving gait. They are human-bodied but cow-hoofed and horse-necked and horse-faced. Another female divinity in the middle of the middle row, also cow-hoofed and horse-faced, figures in a kneeling posture and suppliant attitude before a standing male divinity within the arbour of two *aśvattha* branches. Behind this female divinity one can see a horse-necked and horse-faced bull. The Ṛgvedic references, exhaustively cited by Dr. Wijesekera, enable him to suggest that here most probably is a plastic representation of Vṛṣan, the male god, the river-goddess Sarasvatī and her seven sisters, also described as 'the seven milch-cows', 'the seven damsels' and 'the seven mothers' in other contexts.[1] Proceeding in this train of imagination, the bull itself might be taken to stand for the Vṛṣabha regarded as the symbol of the virile energy. Assuming his interpretation to be sound and correct, who knows that the happy day may not come in near or distant future when the inscription of six letter-signs above will be found to record the name of the seven female divinities in the register as *sapta priyaśa* (=*sapta priyāsaḥ*) meaning 'the seven damsels'!

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[1] *B. C. Law Volume*, Part II, pp. 461ff.

All these are by the way. My immediate concern is with two other amulet seals. The mythological device on one of them (Pl. II, fig. 3) presents in the upper row six cow-hoofed and horse-headed human figures, three male and three female, all in a walking posture, and in the lower row a male sacrificer in a kneeling posture behind a he-goat with its head turned towards him, while before it there is to be seen a standing divinity within the arbour of the same two *aśvattha* branches. Although the upper part of the divinity is missing, it seems very likely that there figured the same mule-god as that on the seal of Pl. II, fig. 2. The seal bears no inscription. It would seem almost certain that in the lower device we have the Indus mythical background of the Ajakalāpaka[2] or Ajakālaka[3] Yakkha tamed by the Buddha.[4]

The device on the second seal (Pl. II, fig. 5) shows a cow-hoofed and horse-faced female divinity, who has come out of her tree-abode to attack and catch hold of a conventionalized lion-like or tiger-like wild beast frowning at her. Here we have definitely the Indus mythical background of the Assamukhī Yakkhinī (Horse-faced she-demon) in the *Padakusala-mānavaka Jātaka* (Pl. II, fig. 6).[1]

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[1] The device may also be regarded as an Indus prototype of the later representation of the sun-god in a chariot drawn by seven horses.

[2] *Udāna*, IV, 5; also its Commentary, *J.P.T.S.*, 1886, pp. 94ff.

[3] Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, pp. 67ff.; Barhut, Bk. II, pp. 59ff., Bk. III, Pl. LVII, 61.

[4] Fausböll, *Jātaka*, Vol. III, p. 502; No. 432.

B. M. BARUA.

TRADE GUILDS IN SANSKRIT BUDDHIST LITERATURE

ABOUT seven years ago, I published a small paper on 'Economic Guilds in the Kuṣāṇa Period' in the *Indian Culture* and the study was based on inscriptions alone. I have now traced names of trade guilds in the Mahāvastu[2] which unfortunately have escaped the attention of previous writers. It is interesting to note that the *Samitarkara* guild mentioned in the Mathurā Brāhmī inscription[3] of the time of King Huviṣka, is also noticed in this list. It shows the posterior character of this work. The trade guilds may be enumerated as following:—

1. Goldsmiths—*Sauvarṇika-hairaṇikā*.
2. Makers of coral ornaments—*Prāvārikā*.
3. Perfumers—*Gandhikā*.
4. Jewel beautifiers—*Maṇiprastārakā*.
5. Cotton cloth makers—*Kārpāsikā*.
6. Makers of pot for storing ghee—*Ghritakuṇḍikā*.
7. Oil millers—*Tailikā*.
8. Makers of molasses—*Golikā*.
9. Curd makers—*Dadhyikā*.
10. Makers of candy sugar—*Khaṇḍakārakā*.
11. Makers of sweets—*Modakakārakā*.
12. Wheat flour dealers—*Samitakārakā*.
13. Flour grinders—*Cūrṇakuṭṭakā*.
14. Dealers in perfumed oil—*Gandhatailakā*.
15. Grinders of barley—*Śaktukārakā*.
16. Provision dealers—*Aṭṭavāṇijā* or *Aviddhakā*.
17. Fruit dealers—*Phalavāṇijā*.
18. Dealers in roots—*Mūlavāṇijā*.

There is a reference to *Kośāvikā* in this list, which might mean *Cocoon carters*, as the word *Kośa*[4] occurs in this sense in the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*.

It would appear on a perusal of this list of trade guilds, that it is quite different from the one mentioned in the Jātakas, and there is hardly any identical name in the two lists. Specialization in the economic life seems to have set in, and there are references to the process of making vessels,[1] and manufacture of needles by blacksmiths.[2] There are also references to the organization of these guilds in the same work. Thus the chief perfumer was known as गन्धिकमहत्तरक,[3] and the mechanic headman कर्मारग्रामिक.[4]

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[1] Barua, *Gayā and Buddhagayā*, Vol. II.

[2] Vol. III, pp. 442ff.

[3] *E.I.*, Vol. XXI, p. 55.

[4] III, 147.

BAIJ NATH PURI.

IRON INDUSTRY IN NORTHERN INDIA ON THE EVE OF TURKO-AFGHAN CONQUESTS

On the analogy of European history it was presumed that the period between the eighth and the twelfth century was a dark age in India. Valuable researches in the dynastic history of the north and south have filled up the blank, left by earlier historians of India, in the political history of India from the death of Harshavardhana to the invasion of Muhammad ibn Sam. But mere details of wars and conquests of the rival princes ruling simultaneously in the different parts of the country cannot dispel the idea of the general backwardness of India during the aforesaid period. It is presumed that India was mainly an agricultural country with a feudal type of socio-political organization. This idea, however, is proved to be erroneous when we make a close study of the technical literature produced during the age. Two outstanding works on such technical literature are Bhoja's 'Yuktikalpataru' and Vāgbhaṭa's 'Rasaratṇasamuccaya'. The former was written in the tenth century and the latter is believed to be a compilation of the thirteenth century. Like Vātsāyana's *Kāmasūtra* and Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* these two are a compendium of the knowledge gathered by previous writers in the fields of technique of production of industrial goods. I have made an humble attempt to inquire into the iron industry in this short paper, mainly based on those books. They reveal a surprising state of manifold activities in the production of producer's goods. These works also supply valuable data on the production of consumers' goods. The technical processes described by these works could not have been possibly undertaken by small scale farms. Minute subdivision of labour is presupposed in the production of many of those commodities, especially of the metallurgical goods. Many men must have been required to work under a common management, if not under the same roof. We cannot, however, expect production in

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[1] अथ खलु ये ते भवन्ति मूषोत्किरा वा मृत्तिका मृत्तिकामादाय भाजकानि कृत्वा चतुर्महापथे निक्षिपति। Vol. I, pp. 326-327.

[2] कर्मारो यो शक्नोति सूचीपि कर्त्तुं सो आचरियो। Vol. II, p. 87.

[3] Vol. I, p. 38.

[4] Vol. II, p. 83.

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middle ages on a scale similar to that prevailing today, because of the lack of power resources. Still the production of many goods by the complex roundabout processes, described in these works, must evoke both admiration and astonishment, when, we remember that it was not before the middle of the eighteenth century that England showed the way in the production of machine-made goods to the West.

Iron came to be used on a pretty large scale and for a greater variety of purposes. Utbi in his Tārikh-i-Yāmini [1] informs us that on both sides of the city of Mathurā, 'there were a thousand houses, to which idol temples were attached, all strengthened from top to bottom by rivets of iron'. But Indian blacksmiths did not manufacture pegs and rivets only. They are known to have produced beams also. About 239 beams ranging up to 17 ft. long and up to 6″ by 4″ or 5″ by 6″ section have been counted in the Gunduchabari at Puri. This Puri temple was built *c.* A.D. 1174. Graves [2] gives a detailed record of these beams: 95 beams at lintels of doors and 114 below the temple. He has also measured the length, breadth and height of the beams at the lintels of doors in outer compound wall, inner and outer doors of the temple and pillar plates. Iron beams are to be seen in the Bhuvaneshwar temple which was constructed in the seventh century A.D., and also in the Konārak temple.[3] In the Konārak temple Stirling [4] in 1824 counted 9 beams and Graves, 29 beams. Dr. R. L. Mitra noted the length of beams 21 ft. with average cross-section 8″ by 10″. But Graves found the largest beam being 35 ft. long and 7 to 7½ inches square weighing 6,000 lbs.

It may be mentioned in this connection that even today when India has made considerable progress in metallurgical skill, large beams are not being produced in sufficient quantity to meet even the most urgent needs of the government and educational institutions. The finds of these beams are not the only evidence of the North Indians' acquaintances with iron and steel, but literary works like Rasendrasārasaṃgraha, a Tantric work of the thirteenth or fourteenth century; the Yuktikalpataru of Bhoja, the Rasaratnasamuccaya refer to the varieties of iron. The Rasendrasārasaṃgraha quotes a passage from the Yuktikalpataru. Bhoja relates relative qualities of iron: 'Crouncha iron is twice better than Sāmānya iron, Kalinga iron 8 times better than Crouncha iron, Bhadra iron hundred times better than Kalinga iron, Vajra iron one thousand times better than Bhadra, Pandi iron again hundred times better than Vajra, Niranga iron ten times better than Pandi and Kantha iron million times better than Niranga iron'. These gradations of iron distinctly refer to the pig, cast and wrought iron. But the author of the Rasaratnasamuchchaya is more precise in describing the characteristics of each quality of iron. Munda[1] or cast iron has been classified thus: Mṛdu or easily malleable but unbreakable and glossy, Kuntha[2] which expands very little after hammering, and Kadara[3] which is breakable. Tīkṣṇa or steel has been classified into six varieties—Khara, Sāra, Hrinnāla, Tarabhatta, Vājira and Kālalauha. Kanta[4] has also different varieties: Bhrāmaka or iron which moves all other iron, Chumbaka and Karśaka, i.e. magnetic iron, Dravaka or iron which at once melts, Romakanta, i.e. iron which when broken shoots forth hair-like filaments. So these characteristics of iron and steel significantly point out that the manufacture of iron reached a high stage of development and the workers were acquainted with the science of metallurgy. Sir P. C. Ray[5] brought in several evidences from Sanskrit books regarding the process of killing iron. The Kashmir manuscript of Vrinda prescribes that iron is to be lighted first and then 'macerated in the juice of the emblic myrobalan and trewia nudiflora and exposed to the sun and again to be macerated in the juice of certain other plants and then to be rubbed in a mortar'.[6] Cakrapāṇi of the eleventh century A.D. prescribes a better method. After the bar of iron is rubbed with impalpable powder, as described by Vrinda, and then heated to fusion point and plunged into the the decoction of the myrobalans and roasted repeatedly in a crucible. The Rasaratnasamuccaya[7] informs us, that, if a piece of iron is rubbed with cinnabar, weighing one-twentieth of the weight of that iron, lemon juice and sour gruel, and roasted in a covered crucible forty times, Kāntam, Tīkṣṇam and Mundaṁ are killed. Tīkṣṇa iron can also be powdered if it is repeatedly heated and plunged into water.[8] The medieval blacksmiths were so expert in melting iron that fine powdered iron could pass through linen.[9]

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[1] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. II, p. 44.

[2] Journal of the Iron and Steel Institute, 1912, Vol. LXXXV, No. 1, pp. 200–02.

[3] Konaraka—the black pagoda of Orissa.

[4] Asiatic Researches, XV, p. 330.

Crucibles, swords and water-vessels were manufactured from iron. The making of the Jāranāya Yantram has been mentioned in the Rasārṇava[10] and the Rasaratnasamuccaya. Iron crucibles were twelve digits long. Regarding the ingredients for crucibles, Vāgbhaṭa[11] recommends: 'Earth, which is heavy and of a pale colour, sugar or earth from an ant-hill or earth which has been mixed with the burnt husks of paddy, fibres of hemp plant, charcoal and horse-dung pounded in an iron mortar and also rust of iron, are to

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[1] Rasaratnasamuccaya, Bk. V, śl. 71-72.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, śl. 84-89.

[5] History of Hindu Chemistry.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

[7] Bk. V, śl. 113-14.

[8] *Ibid.*, śl. 107-08.

[9] *Ibid.*, śl. 134-37.

[10] Rasārṇava, Bk. IV, 7.

[11] Rasaratnasamuccaya, Bk. X, 5-6.

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be recommended for crucible-making.' The Edilpur plate[1] of Kesavasena mentions 'water-vessels or iron'.

Weapons of war such as arrow-heads, spear-heads and swords have been mentioned by a host of medieval Muslim historians. Manufacture of swords is an old industry[2] of India. Utbi[3] says that the soldiers of Brāhmanpāl, the son of Āndpāl, used white swords, blue spears and yellow coats of mail. White swords evidently mean that the best steel[4] was used in the manufacture of sword, which when swung appeared to be only a flash of light, a radiant whiteness. Nizami in his *Taj-ul Ma-asir*[5] has given a more vivid picture of Indian swords used by the soldiers of Gwalior. 'That sword was coloured of caerulean blue, which from its blazing lustre resembled a hundred thousand Venuses and Pleiades, and it was a well tempered horse-shoe of fire, which with its wound exhibited the peculiarity of lightning and thunder; and in the perfect weapon the extreme of sharpness lay hid; like (poison in) the fangs of a serpent, and (the water of the blade) looked like ants creeping on the surface of a diamond.' This is not a mere poetic hyperbole. The elaborate description of the processes of manufacturing arms and weapons, found in Sanskrit technical literature, proves the truth of the statement made by Nizami. It is a well-known fact that industrial skill is developed and perfected by the localization of industries. Certain localities specialized only in the making of swords. Thus Yuktikalpataru[6] states that Benares, Magadha, Nepal, Saurāṣhṭra and Kalinga had a reputation for producing swords. According to Śārṅgadhara[7] who flourished in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, Khati-Khattara, Rishi, Vanga, Surpāraka, Videha, Madhyamagrāma, Vedideśa, Ṣahagrāma and Kalinjar were the centres of manufacture of swords. The best swords were of Benares, Saurāṣṭra, Risika and Aṅga and the swords of Kalinjar could stand the test of time. A comparative study of the works of different periods show that some localities developed their skill in course of time, while others fell into decay. Thus according to the Yuktikalpataru[8] the swords of Aṅga were light, dirty, and blunt-edged, but in the course of next three hundred years, i.e. by the thirteenth century when Śrāngadhara[9] is supposed to have written his work, the Aṅga swords became famous for their sharpness, strength and excellent handle. The decadence of Magadha in the medieval age is well known and a reference to the bad type of swords produced here, by Bhoja[10] in the tenth century illustrates the decay of an once famous industrial city. Bhoja in the chapter on Khaḍgaparīkshā dealt on the method of distinguishing between bad and good swords by the sound produced by swords. Śrāngadhara[1] devotes nine ślokas on swords of good quality and nine on bad quality. That sword which "आहते यत्र मधुरध्वनिः समुपजायते । पूज्यः स खड्गो नृपतेः शत्रुसञ्जयनाशनः" is worshipped by kings and that which is "तिर्य्यग्यस्य भवेच्चिह्नमपि सर्वाङ्गगोचरम् । खड्गाधमं तं नृपतिर्दूरादेव विवर्जयेत्" should be thrown away by the king. Other weapons of war[2] were bows and arrows, ardhachandra, nārācha and paraśu.

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[1] IB. 128.

[2] Agni P. 245, 21.

[3] Elliot and Dowson, II, p. 33.

[4] Yuktikalpataru, śl. 24.

[5] Elliot and Dowson, II, p. 227.

[6] Yukti, p. 170, śl. 24–29 (Cal. Ed. 1917).

[7] Śārṅgadharapaddhati, śl. 4672–79 (Ed. Peterson, 1888).

[8] Yukti, p. 170, śl. 27.

[9] Śārṅgadharapaddhati, śl. 4676.

[10] Yukti, p. 170, śl. 26.

B. P. MAJUMDAR.

THE NAIYĀYIKA TRILOCANA AS TEACHER OF VĀCASPATI

THE extant literature of the Nyāya system of Indian Philosophy does by no means give us a comprehensive idea of its former richness. Many important works are lost and perhaps irrevocably. Citations from some of them in extant philosophical works with approval or otherwise are the only source of information left to us. In some cases the quotations are vague. No idea of the exact contribution of these authors to Nyāya philosophy can be made out from them. But to a historian of Indian thought these quotations and references are extremely valuable. They must be collected and arranged so that a connected chronological link, though very thin, may be found.

Some two centuries separate Vācaspati, author of the *Tātparya ṭīkā* from Uddyotakara, author of the *Nyāya Vārtika*. It will be unwise to hold that in the teeth of opposition from the Buddhists the Nyāya Śāstra, the chief defender of the Vedic religion, remained inactive and Vācaspati rose up all on a sudden with his critical acumen to revive the school of Uddyotakara which he himself characterizes as very old (*atijarati*). There is no denying the fact that Vācaspati was a master mind. His works earned for him the title of *Sarvatantrasvatantra*, an independent writer on all the branches of philosophy. But a study of his works shows that he was mainly a Naiyāyika. It is probable that his work, the *Tātparya ṭīkā* overshadowed the works of many of his predecessors and in the struggle for existence, he only survived.

Vācaspati refers and acknowledges his debt to his teacher Trilocana whose work or works have been lost. But it is evident from the quotations that his work commanded great respect in his

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[1] *Op. cit.*, śl. 4658, 4666.

[2] Yukti, Athastrayukti, śl. 28-29.

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own school and in that of his adversaries. Vādideva in his *Syādvādaratnākara* mentions one *Prakīrṇaka* (Miscellany) as a work of Trilocana.[1] This may also be a section of a larger work.

Udayana, successor of Vācaspati, had high regard for our author. According to him, the school of Uddyotakara represents the youth of the *Nyāya Vidyā*. In course of time it became languished and Vācaspati after receiving stimulus (*rasāyana*) in the form of instructions from his teacher Trilocana, revived it.[2] Here Vardhamāna commenting on Udayana says that Trilocana was the spiritual father of Vācaspati.[3] The assertion itself arises in connection with the explanation of an introductory *śloka* of the *Tātparya ṭīkā* in which Vācaspati remarks that the views of Uddyotakara had been lost in the mire of bad treatises.[4] The cause of this temporary deterioration of this system is not far to seek. The bad treatises referred to were none but those of Dharmakīrti, a formidable opponent of the author of the *Nyāya Vārtika*, whose ruthless criticism necessitated Vācaspati to write the *Tātparya ṭīkā*.

The views of Trilocana have been quoted in the *Nyāya Vārtikatātparya ṭīkā*, *Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi*, *Apohasiddhi*, *Syādvādaratnākara*, *Pramāṇamīmāṃsā* and *Tarkikarakṣa*. Some of the quotations refer to topics in the *Nyāyasūtra*. But it is difficult to say whether he wrote any commentary on the *sūtras* of Gotama or any sub-commentary on the *Vātsyāyanabhāṣya* or the *Nyāya Vārtika* of Uddyotakara.

Haraprasād Śāstrī thinks that of the several Trilocanas mentioned by Aufrecht none goes beyond the Mahomedan conquest. S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa refers to a poet called Trilocana. We are not in a position to establish their identity with our author and our concern is with Trilocana, the logician alone.

The *Nyāyasūtra* (I. i, 4) defines perception as follows:—It is a determinate (*Vyavasāyātmaka*), unnamable (*aryapadeśaya*) and uncontradictory (*avyabhicāri*) knowledge arising from the contact of a sense-organ with its object (*indriyārtha sannikarṣotpanna*).[5] Old interpreters, such as Vātsyāyana, are of opinion that the condition 'determinate' excludes doubt from valid perception which must satisfy all the conditions stated above. The *sūtra* does not apparently distinguish between *nirvikalpaka pratyakṣa*—sensation which is bereft of any element of reasoning or thinking and *savikalpaka pratyakṣa*—perception characterized by naming and identifying it with a class. But Vācaspati here suggests that by the expression *Vyāvasāyātmaka* or 'determinate', the *sūtrakāra* kept in his view the latter variety. In contradistinction to the Bhāṣya he holds that the condition 'determinate' is not necessary to exclude doubt as an element in perception since the case is met by the other condition that it must be uncontradicted. He holds that the words *vyāvasāya, viniścaya,* and *vikalpa* are all synonymous and all of them signify perception as distinguished from sensation. Vācaspati maintains that neither Vātsyāyana nor Uddyotakara has raised the point as it is a simple one. He has of course followed his teacher Trilocana and asserts that such is the nature of things and it is supported by arguments also.[1]

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[1] तथा च त्रिलोचनः प्रकीर्णके . . . . p. 787.

[2] उद्योतकरसम्प्रदायो हि अमूषां यौवनम्। तच्च कालपरिपाकवशाद् गलितमिव। किन्नामात्र त्रिलोचनगुरोः सकाशादुपदेशरसायनमासादितममूषां पुनर्नवीभावाय दीयत इति युज्यते।
Nyāyavārtikatātparya pariśuddhi, p. 9.

[3] त्रिलोचनष्टीकाकृतो विद्यागुरुः—*Ibid.*, p. 9.

[4] इच्छामि किमपि पुण्यं दुस्तरकुनिबन्धपङ्कमग्नानाम्।
उद्योतकरगवीनामतिजरतीनां समुद्धरणात्॥

[5] इन्द्रियार्थसन्निकर्षोत्पन्नं ज्ञानमव्यपदेश्यमव्यभिचारि प्रत्यक्षम्।

Hemacandra in his *Pramāṇamīmāṃsā* makes the above point more clear. According to him Trilocana, Vācaspati and others hold that the definition of perception constitutes three conditions only: (i) that it must arise from the contact of the sense organ with its object; (ii) that it must be uncontradicted. They would take the word *yataḥ* as understood and the whole would mean that a knowledge or something else producing another knowledge and satisfying the above conditions is the means of a valid perception. The resulting knowledge is of two kinds, *avikalpaka* and *savikalpaka*, signified by the words *avyapadeśya* and *vyāvasāyātmaka*, respectively.[2]

In the same context Vācaspati refers again to another view of his teacher. The word *avyapadeśya* unnamable according to Uddyotakara in the aforesaid *sūtra* has been used to exclude verbal knowledge. Here he must have hinted at a knowledge that arises from both sense-contact and verbal suggestion. To Uddyotakara the resulting knowledge is verbal. But Vācaspati differs to say that verbal suggestion is only an aid, while the knowledge is perceptive

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[1] अव्यभिचारिपदेनैव संशयज्ञाने निरस्ते सविकल्पकप्रत्यक्षाचरो(वो)धार्थमुपादीयमानं व्यवसायात्मकपदम्। व्यवसायात्मकपदं साक्षाद्विकल्पस्य वाचकम्। तथाहि व्यवसायो विनिश्चयो विकल्प इत्यनर्थान्तरम्। स एवात्मा रूपं यस्य तत्सविकल्पकं प्रत्यक्षम्। तदेतदतिस्फुटत्वात् शिष्यैर्गम्यत एवेति भाष्यवार्तिककाराभ्यामव्याख्यातम्। अस्माभिः—त्रिलोचनगुरून्नीतमार्गानुगमनोन्मुखैः। यथामानं यथावस्तु व्याख्यातमिदमीदृशम्। *Tātparya ṭīkā*, p. 114.

[2] नैयायिकास्तु इन्द्रियार्थसन्निकर्षोत्पन्नं....प्रत्यक्षम् इति प्रत्यक्षलक्षणमाचक्षते। अत्र च पूर्वाचार्यकृतव्याख्याविमुख्येन संख्यावद्भिस्त्रिलोचन-वाचस्पतिप्रमुखैरयमर्थः समर्थितो यथा इन्द्रियार्थसन्निकर्षोत्पन्नं ज्ञानमव्यपदेश्यमव्यभिचारि प्रत्यक्षमित्येव प्रत्यक्षलक्षणम्। यतः शब्दाध्याहारेण च यत्तदोर्नित्यसम्बन्धादुक्तविशेषणविशिष्टं ज्ञानं यतो भवति तत्तथाविधज्ञानसाधनं ज्ञानरूपमज्ञानरूपं वा प्रत्यक्षं प्रमाणमिति। अस्य च फलभूतस्य ज्ञानस्य द्वयीगतिरविकल्पं सविकल्पं च। तयोरुभयोरपि प्रमाणत्वमभिधातुं विभागवचनमेतदव्यपदेश्यं व्यवसायात्मकमिति॥ p. 22.

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and it is clearer that the other knowledge through verbal suggestion is mediate, while that through perception is immediate. In support of his view Vācaspati quotes an authoritative verse from a current stock, but there is no certainty that it was composed by Trilocana. But it is said that he learnt it from his Teacher. It can, however, be inferred that Trilocana held the same opinion with regard to the point at issue.[1]

While examining 'Universal' of the Naiyāyikas, Ratnakīrti refers to the view of Trilocana. To him a Universal is the inherence of the Universal-particulars such as horseness and cowness in their substratum. And this universal serves to express a concept and to make it intelligible.[2]

In his *Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi*, Ratnakīrti twice quotes a passage from Trilocana's work in connection with the contribution of the attendant conditions (*Sahakārikāraṇa*) to the effect. Trilocana is said to have remarked:

'It is an effect that depends upon concomitant conditions and not the cause thereof. The causal efficiency to produce an effect is of two kinds, internal and external, the latter arising from the concomitant conditions. Hence we can explain the difference in the successive effects arising out of the difference in the successive concomitant conditions though the cause is permanent and the momentariness of existances cannot be proved.'[3]

Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi twice refers to our author in other connections.[4]

Vādideva in his *Syādvādaratnākara* quotes another passage from Trilocana's *Prakīrṇaka*, in which he refutes the Buddhist view of momentariness.[5]

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[1] तत्र गुरूपदिष्टा गाथा पठितव्या।

शब्दजत्वेन शाब्दं चेत् प्रत्यक्षं चाक्षजन्मतः। स्पष्टग्रहणरूपत्वाद् युक्तमैन्द्रियकं हि तत्। P. 126.

[2] यत्तु त्रिलोचनः अश्वत्वगोत्वादीनां सामान्यविशेषाणां स्वाश्रये समवायः सामान्यम्; सामान्यमित्यभिधानप्रत्यययोर्निमित्तम्। अपोहसिद्धिः p. 13.

[3] त्रिलोचनस्याप्ययं संक्षिप्तार्थः कार्यमेव हि सहकारिणमपेक्षते। न कार्योत्पत्तिहेतुः। तस्माद्द्विविधं सामर्थ्यन्निजमागन्तुकञ्च सहकार्यन्तरम्। ततोऽक्षणिकस्यापि क्रमवत् सहकारिनानात्वादपि क्रमवत् कार्यनानात्वोपपत्तेरशक्यं भावानां प्रतिक्षणमन्यान्यत्वमुपपादयितुमिति। pp. 39 and 58.

[4] pp. 70 and 73.

[5] तथा च त्रिलोचनः प्रकीर्णके—

सर्वेषां नाशहेतूनां वैकल्यप्रतिबन्धयोः। सर्वदासम्भवान्नाशः सापेक्षोऽपि ध्रुवत्वभाक्। एवञ्च ध्रुवभावित्वस्यानपेक्षतावष्टम्भस्य भग्नत्वान्नाशस्यानपेक्षत्वमसिद्धम्। किं च। अत्र कोऽयं नाशोऽनपेक्षतया विवक्षितः किं विनश्यतीति विनाशोऽनवस्थायिभावस्वभावः पर्युदासप्रतिषेधरूपः किं वा विनशनं विनाशोऽभावमात्रं प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधरूपम्। नाद्यः कल्पः। अनवस्थायिभावस्वभावस्याहेतुवत्त्वेन केनाप्यनभ्युपगतत्वेनासिद्धत्वात् द्वितीयपक्षेऽपि प्रसज्यरूपो यद्ययमहेतुस्तदा सदा सत्त्वमसत्त्वं वा स्याद् व्योमवत्। व्योमाम्बुरुहवच्च। तथाच

While discussing the points of defeat Varadarāja twice refers to the views of Trilocana. In a debate a party is to be declared defeated if he fails to understand the import of the thesis of his opponent even if it is repeated thrice, the point of defeat is called *avijñātārtha*.[1] Here Trilocana does not object if the thesis is repeated even four times.[2] In the other passage Varadarāja says that his explanation of the point of defeat *paryanuyojyāpekṣaṇa*[3] is such that there can be no objection of Trilocana and Vācaspati in any respect.

Rāghava Bhaṭṭa while explaining the *sūtra* (*anyetu sandehadvārenoparānaṣṭāvudāharaṇā bhāmān varṇayanti*) which refers to others who speak of eight fallacious instances, points out that by 'others' the author primarily meant Trilocana.[4]

The references to Trilocana discussed above do not seem to justify S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's opinion that Trilocana was a Vaiśeṣika writer. On the other hand, these go to connect him directly with the Nyāya system.

ANANTALAL THAKUR.

प्रथमपक्षे भावाभावयोर्यदि विरोधस्तदा कदाचिद्भावोपलम्भो न भवेत्। अथाविरोधस्तयोस्तदा भावाभावयोः सद्भावस्निग्धबान्धवयोरिव युगपदेकत्वा[त्रा ?]वस्थानं स्यात्। द्वितीयपक्षेऽपि समस्तवस्तूनां शाश्वतिकता प्रसक्तिः स्वविरोधिनो नाशस्य सदैवासत्त्वात्। ननु नास्माकं भावस्य किञ्चिद्भवति केवलमेवाक्षणायुः स्वकारणादुत्पन्नः क्षणान्तरे स एव न भवति। तथाच रहस्यम्,—न तस्य किञ्चिद्भवति न भवत्येव केवलम्। pp. 787-8.

[1] परिषत्प्रतिवादिभ्यां त्रिरभिहितमप्यविज्ञातमविज्ञातार्थम्। N.S. V. ii, 9.

[2] चतुरभिधानेऽपि न कश्चिद्दोष इति वदतस्त्रिलोचनस्यापि स एवाभिप्रायः तार्किकरक्षा। P. 337.

[3] अत्र त्रिलोचन-वाचस्पतिप्रभृतीनां न काचिद्विप्रतिपत्तिः। *Ibid*, p. 356.

[4] V. P. Vaidya, Notes on *Nyāyasāra*, p. 35.

REVIEWS

INDIA ANTIQUA, a volume of oriental studies presented by his friends and pupils to Jean Philippe Vogel, C.I.E., on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of his Doctorate. Published by the Kern Institute, Leyden, 1947, pp. 329 with a few illustrations and sketches.

Dr. Vogel, an orientalist of international fame, ought to have been honoured by his friends and pupils long ago. I agree with Sir John Marshall in pointing out that Dr. Vogel's achievements in the field of Indian archaeology are highly esteemed by the Indologists all over the world.

This volume consists of forty-three contributions from scholars of repute. Some of the articles are of great value and among them may be mentioned Bachhofer's *Maitreya in Ketumatī* by Chu Hao-ku, Bajpai's *A new inscribed Image of a Yakṣa*, Kempers' *Archaeology*, Bhattacharyya's *Some Remarkable Buddhist Bronzes in Baroda*, Bosch's *The Bhīmastava*, Casparis' *L'importance de la disyllabie en javanais*, Chhabra's *Yūpa Inscriptions*, Coedès' *L'année du lievre 1219 A.D.*, *The Sea* by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *The Sanskrit Suffix Titha* by Franklin Edgerton, *Mṛcchakaṭikā and King Lear* by Faddegon, Foucher's *'Deux Jātaka sur ivoire provenant de Begram, Skt. Utsava festival* by Gonda, Goetz's *The Coming of Muslim Cultural Influence in the Punjab Himālayā*, Herzfeld's *Early Historical contacts between the Old Iranian empire and India*, Sten Konow's Note on the *Eras in Indian Inscriptions*, *Traces of Laryngeals in Vedic Sanskrit* by Kuiper, Lamotte's *La Critique d' authenticité dans le bouddhisme*, *Mithilā in Ancient India* by B. C. Law, *Two Notes on Mathurā Sculpture* by L. De Leeuw, *The Sailendra Interregnum* by F. H. Van Naerssen, Paranavitana's *The subject of the Sīgiri Paintings*, Pott's *Plural Forms in Buddhist Iconography*, E. J. Thomas' *Nirvāṇa and Parinirvāṇa*, *Kaniṣka Year 14* by F. W. Thomas, *The validity of Tibetan Historical Tradition* by Tucci and *The so-called Sun god of Multan* by R. B. Whitehead. The other papers are of general interest and are not of high standard. The Presentation Volume as it stands is really a valuable addition to the rich stock of indological studies.

C. D. CHATTERJEE.

THE STŪPA IN CEYLON (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Vol. V) by S. Paranavitana, 1947, pp. 105 with xxii plates.

In this memoir Dr. Paranavitana has made an attempt to trace the evolution of the *stūpa* in Ceylon and to bring out the real significance and functions of its various parts by comparing the relevant Sinhalese and Pali references to the subject with that of the remains of the ancient Ceylonese *dagobas*. The book consists of seven chapters. In the first chapter the author has dealt with the historicity of the *stūpa*. He has tried to find out its real meaning and the difference between the *stūpa* and the *cetiya*. In the second chapter he has said something about the form of the *stūpa* and has dealt with the terraces, their mouldings and the dome. In the third chapter he has traced the development of the superstructure of the Ceylonese *stūpas*. From the *Mahāvaṃsa* account (chap. xxxii) it is clear that in early times Ceylon *stūpas* did not have the spire above the tee as they had in later times. It is true that the superstructure of Ceylon *stūpas* underwent an important development during the mediaeval period. Among the great *stūpas* at Anurādhapura only the Abhayagiri has enough of its superstructure still preserved. The Jetavana too had enough of its superstructure preserved till the end of the nineteenth century. The

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fourth chapter treats of the *Vāhalkaḍas* or frontispieces such as gateways, offsets or projections. These *Vāhalkaḍas* are from the architectural standpoint the most important features of the Ceylon *stūpas* and are the earliest examples of plastic art of the island. In front of every *Vāhalkaḍa* at Anurādhapura and Mihintale there is a stone altar, chastely moulded, for flowers and other offerings of the devotees. The four animals which once crowned the stelæ of the Kaṇṭaka Cetiya namely the lion, the elephant, the bull and the horse are also depicted on the carved semi-circular slabs of stone locally known as moonstones which are frequently found at the foot of the flights of steps in the ancient buildings of Ceylon. No Pali term corresponding to *Vāhalkaḍa* has been met with. The fifth chapter dealing with the precincts of a *stūpa* contains a few words about the origin and purpose of the various types of guard-stones, balustrades, steps, and moonstones. The author has referred to the *Mahāsudassana Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* which contains a description of the palace of a *Cakkavattī* monarch having posts or banisters, crossbars and copings in connection with flights of steps. The author is right in pointing out that in Buddha's time the people of India believed that a deity called *Vatthu-devatā* (house god) had his abode in every important house such as the residence of a king or a rich man. The sixth chapter deals with *Cetiyaghara*. In the *Thūpavaṃsa* the *Cetiya-ghara* in the *Nāga* world of Mānjerika is also called a *Dhātughara* or a relic house. A shrine of this class can also be referred to as *Dhātu-geha*. The author is also right in holding that the Pali terms *Thūpa-ghara*, *Cetiya-ghara*, *Dhātu-ghara*, *Dhātu-geha* and *Vaṭṭa-dhātu-ghara* and the Sinhalese *dāge* and *Vaṭadāge* are all used for the same type of structure. The seventh chapter contains an account of some uncommon types of *stūpas*.

The book under review is on the whole very interesting and instructive. Its value has been greatly enhanced by a useful index supplied by the author. The illustrations are no doubt worthy of the volume, but there are some misprints in pages 37 and 71 to which the attention of the author should be drawn.

B. C. LAW.

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By B. C. LAW

Paṇhā-Vāgaraṇa Sūya

The *Paṇhā-Vāgaraṇa Sūya* (*Praśna-vyākaraṇa sūtra*) is counted as the tenth *aṅga* of the Śvetāmbara *āgama*. It is otherwise known as *Praśna-vyākaraṇadaśā* for the simple reason that it consists of ten lectures or chapters (*ajjhayaṇas*), the five of which are devoted to the topic of *aṇhaa* and the remaining five to that of *saṃvara*. Abhayadeva Sūri wrote an authoritative commentary on it. It has been edited along with the text. Winternitz points out that it is a purely dogmatic presentation, which does not correspond either to the title of the work or to the table of contents in the *Thānaṃga* 10 and in the *Nandī*. Schubring (*Worte Mahāvīras*, p. 13) says that a later work took the place of the old *aṅga* which is lost. The title of the *sūtra*, *Praśna-vyākaraṇa*, implies at the first sight that the text is the catechism or book of questions and answers. But the text, as we now have it, is not of this nature. The contents of a *Paṇhā-Vāgaraṇa* as given in the *Sthānāṅga* and *Nandīsūtra* presuppose a canonical work consisting of 108 *praśnas*, 108 *apraśnas*, 108 *praśnāpraśnas*, *vidyātiśayas* and discourses of saints with *Nāgakumāras* and other *Bhavanapatis*. The present text does not meet these requirements. On the other hand, it appears as a methodical and elaborate exposition of the two topics mentioned above. As such it may be judged as a learned dissertation on the subjects and as an important literary production of the scholastic age. Abhayadeva is compelled to explain the title of the present *sūtra* in a manner to suit its contents. He says *praśnānāṃ vidyāviśeṣāṇāṃ yāni vyākaraṇāni teṣāṃ pratipādanaparādaśā daśādhyayana pratibaddhāḥ granthapaddhataya iti Praśnavyākaraṇadaśāḥ*. The *Praśnavyākaraṇadaśā* is a treatise comprising ten lectures that establish the expositions of certain select topics. The methodical expositions are all ascribed to Sudharman the fifth *gaṇadhara*, who addressed them to his pupil Jambuswāmin. The two main topics dealt with in this treatise are *aṇhaa* and its antithesis *saṃvara*. The term *aṇhaa* is equated with Sanskrit *āsnavaḥ* (*āśravaḥ*). Thus *aṇhaa* is taken to be the same as *āśrava* which goes to form an antithetical pair with *saṃvara*. The antithetical pair which occurs in the Pillar Edicts of Aśoka verbally corresponds with the *puṇya* and *pāpa* of Jainism. In these edicts *āsinava* stands in contrast to *kayāṇa*: *apāsinave bahukayāṇe*. It would seem that the word *āsinava* is employed there as a synonym of *pāpa* as opposed to *kalyāṇa* or *puṇya.* There is still a difference of opinion[1] as to whether the Asokan word *āsinava* corresponds to the Ardhamāgadhī *aṇhaa* or to the Pali and Sanskrit *ādīnava.* There is evidently no such Sanskrit word as *āśṇava* used in the Brahmanical or Buddhist works. Here we have *ādīnava* in its place but the Asokan term *āsinava* clearly pre-supposes a Sanskrit word like *āśṇava* as suggested by the Jain scholiast. So far as the meaning of the two words *āśṇava* and *ādīnava* is concerned, it is practically the same. Just as in Jain literature it has *āśrava* for its synonym, so in the *Amarakoṣa* the two synonyms suggested for *ādīnava* are *āśrava* and *kleśa.*[2] It is important to note that *aṇhaa* is characterized in our text as *anādika* (*ādivirahitaḥ*), 'beginningless', 'that of which the sinful action is the root cause', as explained by Abhayadeva. This suggests no doubt that our text is concerned not so much with the sins as with 'the innate proneness to sin'.

The five sinful deeds that one commits due to the innate proneness to sin stand as opposed to five great vows (*mahāvratas*) that follow from the principle of *saṃvara* or self-restraint. The five sinful deeds are enumerated as *hiṃsā* (harming life), *mosa* (lying), *adatta* (thieving), *abambha* (incontinence), and *pariggaha* (hankering after worldly possession). Each of them is taken up as a subject for separate treatment. The harming of life is deprecated by the Jinas as a sinful deed which is fierce, terrible, mean, rash, undignified, shameless, inhuman, fearful, dreadful in reaction, greatly fearful, horrible, frightful, unlawful, causing anxiety, reckless, unrighteous, uncompassionate, pitiless, leading to a hellish life and destructive in effect. This sinful deed serves to generate delusion and great fear and it brings about mental distress in fear of death. This is the first door to impiety. It is defined as violence done to life, driving soul out of the body, arousing suspicion in the mind of other beings, harming those who can be harmed, and that which should not be done. It consists in hurting, killing, doing violence, oppressing, killing in three ways of thought, word, and deed, emulating, ending the lease of life, and the like. Harming life is an iniquity of which the consequences are bitter. It is of various kinds and it has various modes. It causes pain and brings misery to others. It is an outcome of unrestraint. In this connection our text furnishes a long but interesting list of the fauna and flora, classified according to the number of senses possessed by them. Many are the root causes that lead beings to commit this sin. The main causes are, however, anger, pride, conceit, and greed, all of which are ultimately rooted in delusion. It stands to destroy all good things in men. In the same connection our text discusses the position of the professional boar-killers, fish-catchers, fowlers, hunters and the like. It also discusses the position of several cruel tribes and peoples such as the *Śakas, Yavanas, Śabaras, Barbaras, Kāyas, Muruṇḍas, Udas, Bhaḍakas, Tittikas, Pakkanikas, Kulākṣas, Gauḍas, Siṃhalas, Pārasas, Kroñcas, Andhras, Drāviḍas, Bilvalas, Pulindas, Arosos, Dumbas, Pokkaṇas, Gandhahārakas, Vālhīkas, Jallas, Romas, Māsas, Bakusas, Malayas, Cuñcukas, Cūlikas, Koṅkanakas, Medas, Pahlavas, Mālavas, Mahuras, Ābhāsikas, Anakkas, Cīnas, Lāhsikas, Khasas, Hāsikas, Neharas, Mahārāṣṭras* (*Maustikas*), *Ārabas, Ḍavilakas, Kuhaṇas, Kekayas, Hūṇas, Romakas, Roravas, Marukas* and *Cirātas* (*Kirātas*). The list of tribes and peoples notorious for their cruel habit and nature is sufficient to indicate that our text is a compilation of a post-Christian period.

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[1] D. R. Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, revised ed., pp. 107–109.

[2] *Amarakoṣa*, 3. 2. 29.

The second door to impiety is lying which is defined and characterized as telling an untruth which makes a person light and fickle, which is fearful, which causes enmity and brings ill-fame and the like. It is an immoral act in which the low-born persons indulge. It is cruel in its effect and it makes a liar untrustworthy. It is deprecated by the best of saints. It is linked up with the blackest of soul colourings and it only serves to increase a man's state of woe and degradation, and to bring about the cycle of re-births. It carries with it the idea of indulgence in falsehood, cheating, deceiving, crookedness, false deposition, and useless talks and the like. Anger, greed, fear and envy are the various mental factors that are behind lying. This door to impiety also includes the preaching and promulgation of false doctrines and misleading philosophical views of life. Some typical instances of false doctrines and misleading views are given. The first of them is typically the philosophical view attributed in the Pali *Nikāyas* to Ajita Kesakambala represented as an avowed *nāstika*. The Buddhist doctrine of the five aggregates is also put in the category of *nāstikya*. The *nāstikavāda* is taken to mean the denial of manly energy, the existence of heaven and hell, and the possibility of reward and retribution and the like. The instances of *āstikavāda* cited are shown to be equally misleading. The Jain teacher repudiates the idea of God as the creator and ordainer of all things and of all beings. He discards the theory of soul as a passive principle. Both the Sāṅkhya and the Vedānta doctrines stand self-condemned in his opinion. That there is a sectarian note in the statement and criticism of the views of other schools of thought is undeniable. The details of the modes of lying practised and committed with reference to persons and things are important as throwing light on the social condition and moral standard of the age.

The third door to impiety is taking away what is not given (*adattādānaṃ*). It is defined as an act of stealing, oppressing, bringing death and fear, an iniquity which is terrifying, a sinful

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deed which is rooted in covetousness and greed. It is undignified in its nature and it produces a bad name. It is equally deprecated by good men. By it one incurs the displeasure of persons, near and dear. It is full of passion and delusion. It goes by the name of theft, stealing other people's property, seeking gain from the belongings of others, greed for the wealth of others, cupidity, thieving, spoiling the hand with the ugliness of the act and the like. Robbery, dacoity and such other daring acts all come within the definition of taking away what is not given. Plundering, looting, carrying spoils and booties in the name of war are also included in this act of impiety. In this connection our text furnishes some details about warfare, weapons, and armaments. It also supplies some interesting information regarding different punishments meted out to the thieves and robbers. Their miserable life here and hereafter is described in detail.

The fourth door to impiety is known as incontinence (*abaṃbhaṃ*). It is defined as a sexual dalliance coveted in the worlds of gods, men and demons, which is a net and noose of amour, which is a hindrance to the practice of austerities, self-restraint, and chaste life, which brings about death, bondage, and coercion, and which is a cause of infatuation and delusion. It bears the name of sexual congress, sex-indulgence, delight in vulgar life, sexual passions and overt act. Even the *Vaimānika* gods have sexual enjoyments with the goddesses and family maidens. They too are not free from this kind of infatuation. The demons, *nāgas*, *garuḍas* and *supaṇṇas* too are no exceptions to the rule. Among men the monarchs, king-overlords, chaplains, high officers of the State, all run after this. The same passion is equally perceptible among the lower creatures. In this connection our text gives us the details about the physical forms, dresses, beautifying, wiles and guiles, and various pleasing artifices, by which women entice men. Incidentally the modes of generation are discussed, according to which, living beings are to be classified as viviparous, oviparous and the like. This classification is the same as that met with in Pali and other Indian texts.

The fifth door to impiety is known as *pariggaha* or hankering after worldly possessions such as varieties of gems, gold, jewels, perfumes, scents, unguents, conveyances, utensils, household furniture, landed properties, wealth and opulence. It is rooted in greed and it is an expression of craving and thirst for worldly things. So it goes by the name of craving (*taṇhā*), worldly attachment (*āsatti*) and it is characterized by the great longing for earning, acquisition, accumulation, hoarding, insatiety and the like. Even the gods are not free from this hankering after worldly possessions. The emperors, *Vāsudevas*, *Baladevas*, *Māṇḍalikas*, chieftains, *Tālavaras*, commanders-in-chief, millionaires, bankers, *Rāṣṭrikas*, *Purohitas*, and the like are all guided by it. Worldly possessions comprise all secular sciences and arts, worldly enjoyments, agriculture, industry and commerce by which men are implicated in various conflicts and clashes of interests. In this connection our text speaks of 64 sciences and arts (*catusaṭṭhi*).

After having dealt with the five doors to impiety the *Sūtra* takes up for consideration the five doors to *saṃvara* or self-restraint, one by one. They are spoken of as virtues that stand for the deliverance from all kinds of suffering. The first is called *ahiṃsā* (non-harming), the second, the truthful speech (*saccavayaṇaṃ*), the third, taking only what is given (*dattamanuṇṇā*), the fourth, continence (*bambhaceraṃ*) and the fifth, non-hankering after worldly possessions (*apariggahattaṃ*), which constitute the five great vows that are conducive to the good and welfare of the world.

The first principle of non-harming is praised as the island, the refuge, the destination, the basis, and *nirvāṇa* to the worlds of men, gods and demons. It is just another name for pity (*dayā*), forbearance, purity, goodness, welfare, protection, morality, self-control, self-restraint, self-guarding and the virtue which is the abode of the perfected ones (*siddhas*).

The truthful speech is the second door to self-restraint. This is the accepted principle of all noblemen, teachers and saints. It implies one's moral purity and uprightness, and it is a virtue which inspires confidence. It requires a person to abstain from praising himself and condemning others. In this connection the *Sūtra* speaks of 12 kinds of language, namely, *Prākṛta*, *Saṃskṛta*, *Māgadhī*, *Paiśācī* and *Apabhraṃśa*, each distinguished according to prose and verse. Some grammatical details are also given which are too well known to need any comment here.

The third door to self-restraint is accepting what is given. It implies an abstinence from taking away what is not one's own, from stealing and committing theft. This too is a virtue well praised and a noble principle of self-control and self-restraint.

The fourth door to self-restraint is continence or chaste-life. It is the root principle of the best of austerities, regulated life, knowledge, faith, conduct and perfect discipline. It implies moral rectitude which is cultivated as a path to deliverance. In its magnitude it is mighty like the Himalaya and it is extolled as something in the heart of the deep ocean. This is indeed the very fundamental principle of religious life.

The fifth door to self-restraint is non-hankering after worldly possessions. The non-hankering may be both internal and external. The external hankering is an obstacle to religious practices and the internal hankering leads a person to the incorrectness of method, recklessness, thoughtlessness, and moral contaminations. This is the principle of non-attachment which is conducive to the practice of *samitis* and *guptis*. This stands on the very top of the path which leads to deliverance and emancipation.

Of the five great moral vows (*pañcamahāvratas*) enforced by Mahāvīra the first four represented the four principles of self-restraint (*catuyāmasamvara*) as prescribed by Pārśvanātha for his followers. It is the fifth principle of non-hankering after worldly possessions that was added to the earlier list of four by way of an improvement. The five moral precepts as enjoined by the Buddha for the guidance of the conduct of the laity are somewhat different from the Jaina five great vows. The three principles of *ahiṃsā*, non-harming, non-stealing, and truthful speech, are common to both. The fourth Jaina vow of chastity (*brahmacarya*) is deeper in its significance than the Buddhist principle of non-excess in sexual indulgence. The Jain vow corresponds more with the Buddhist principle of *brahmacarya* which is prescribed for the recluses. The fifth Jain vow is implied in the Buddhist principle of non-participation in any worldly transaction by the recluses. Although the enumerations of the principles are somewhat different, they are all important to both the systems. We have a systematic exposition of the moral precepts in the Pali commentaries, particularly in Buddhaghosa's encyclopaedic work known as the *Visuddhimagga* or the Path of Purity. It will be seen that the Buddhist method of exposition is more lucid, direct, and clearly psycho-ethical. There is an important point of difference between the Jain and Buddhist presentations of the vows and precepts. In the Jain presentation a greater emphasis is laid on the side of abstinence from impious acts, while in Buddha's presentation much stress is laid on the positive aspect of virtues. It is not enough that a person abstains from doing a wrong thing inasmuch as a progressive man is expected to cultivate and develop friendliness, honest life, truthfulness, etc. But the difference is one of degree and not of kind.

SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIAL LIFE AS DESCRIBED IN EARLY MEDIEVAL INSCRIPTIONS

By Krishna Narain Seth

Inscriptions

Social prosperity which Northern India enjoyed during the reign of Emperor Harsha possibly continued for a few centuries following his death. While all social liberties and amenities of life fell to the lot of the first three castes of the Hindu society, the Śūdras forming the fourth and lowest caste were groaning under the pressure of social tyranny wrought by their so-called superior brethren.

Caste System

The advent of the caste system had resulted in throwing the entire mass of Hindu population into four separate and distinct camps, namely, Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras, and this existed with its moral sanctions during this period. Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas are seen keeping pace with each other in the race for social freedom, while Vaiśyas were trying to be in par with them. Social status of the first three castes, as against the fourth, is clear from the expressions 'महाजनः'[1] and 'समस्तमहाजनेन'[2] occurring in Ghaṭiyāla and Sīyaḍōṇi Inscriptions respectively. Śūdras could not improve their social position possibly during this period of Indian History and Ghaṭiyāla Pillar[3] Inscription, which mentions that Pratihāra Kakkuka constructed a market place and peopled it only with Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas 'विप्रवणिग्प्रकृतीनां' forming the big folk 'महाजनः', throws sufficient light on this point. It appears that Śūdras were social outcastes and were not allowed to reside even in the city along with the three higher castes. Had they enjoyed this privilege during this time, they would have also been mentioned in the above inscription. Denial of the right of residence was one of several social disabilities under which they were subjected. It further appears that even social communication was not agreeable to the people belonging to higher castes and if it would have not been a fact Pratihāra Kakkuka would have also gone to them as he went to the houses of Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas 'विप्रवणिग्प्रकृतीनां गृहं गत्वा प्रियेण च'. We are therefore inclined to suggest that there were practically no social relations between Śūdras and the first three higher castes.

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[1] *E.I.*, Vol. IX, pp. 280ff.

[2] *E.I.*, Vol. I, p. 177.

[3] *E.I.*, Vol. IX, pp. 280ff.

Brāhmaṇas who formed the highest caste were known during this period by means of their Gōtras and Śākhas. They got themselves divided into several sections on the basis of different Gōtras and Śākhas, in order to distinguish one from another. They claimed ancient Rishis as Pravaras of their Gōtras and the practice was to mention three Pravaras in relation to a particular Gōtra. The expressions 'मुन्तह्लगोत्राय त्रिप्रवराय' [1] 'Tryārshēyāya Gopāli-Sagōttrāya' [2] and reference to Bhāradvāja, Aṅgirasa and Bārhaspatya as three Pravaras of Bhaṭṭa Yaśodhara, who belonged to the Bhāradvāja Gōtra, and mentioned in Nanyaurā Plate [3] of the (Chandēlla) P. M. P. Dhaṅgadēva, corroborate the above fact. The practice of adding the words 'Sa' and 'Brahmachāri' before and after the names of Gōtra and Śākha respectively along with the use of the word 'Bhaṭṭa', which may be taken as a common respectable appellation for a Brahmaṇa, is noticed in several epigraphic records of this period. 'Sāvarṇṇasagōttra-Kauthama Chchhandōgasa-brahmachāri-bhaṭṭa Padmasārāya.' [4]

It may be pointed out that territorial divisions among Brāhmaṇas, a fact which can be inferred from a number of inscriptions, coupled with distinctions based on Gōtras and Śākhas must have resulted in creating a feeling of isolation among them. The spirit of separation or individuality delivered a death blow to the flexibility of caste system and made its bonds rigid. This rigidity manifested itself in division of the main castes into sub-castes, though it cannot be denied that this divisional process took varied periods of evolution in case of every particular caste and by the middle of eighth century A.D. Brāhmaṇas ceased to form one caste throughout Northern India without sub-divisions.[5] Hānsoṭ Plates of the Chāhamāna Bhartṛivaḍḍha record the grant of half of the Arjunadēvi village to Brāhmaṇa Bhāṭalla, a member of the community of Trivēdins residing in Saujñapadra, the adhvaryu of the Mādhyandina branch of Asurāyaṇa (?) Gōtra and a student of the Vājasanēya (Samhitā). The fact that Brāhmaṇa Bhāṭalla belonged to the community of Trivēdins 'ta(t)traividya—Sāmaṅyaya', a community which even in modern times forms a sub-caste among Brāhmaṇas, can be cited in support of our contentions.

It appears that Kshatriyas who formed a caste next to Brāhmaṇas had lost importance for their Gōtras and if they had not forgotten them, the practice of mentioning them with their names did not popularily exist during this period. Great prominence to which the factor of Kula or family is seen to be raised, probably resulted in discontinuance of the above practice not only among the

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[1] *E.I.*, Vol. XII, pp. 155ff.

[2] *E.I.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 241ff.

[3] *I.A.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 202ff.

[4] *J.R.A.S.*, 1904, pp. 642ff.

[5] *E.I.*, Vol. XII, p. 202.

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Kshatriya ruling aristocracy but presumedly also among the laity. Instability of political atmosphere in the country, in the absence of a paramount sovereign for the whole of Northern India, helped the growth of a number of ruling dynasties, a fact which greatly contributed to the importance of the Kula or family. The Inscriptions of different crown heads belonging to different houses only record the Vańśa or Kula to which they belonged and the expressions 'चाह्मानन्टपतिप्रख्यातवंशश्स्थिरं',[1] 'Srī-Rāshṭra (Kū)ṭa-Vaṁśō',[2] 'Śrī-Prattihāra-Vańśō'[3] and 'चौलुकिंकान्वियों'[4] confirm the truth of our statement.

It is significant that family name became so favourite with the rulers of the times that the practice of using it by them even as the Gōtra can clearly be seen in the expression 'प्रतीहारस्वगोत्रश्रीबपुक'[5] occurring in Buchkalā Inscription of the time of the (Pratihāra) P. M. P. Nāgabhaṭṭa. The above practice did not confine itself only to Kshatriyas but had its effects even over those who belonged to other caste, namely, Brāhmaṇas. Ēklingjī Inscription, which mentions the name of Śrī-Bappaka ('श्रीबप्पकच्छितिपतिः')[6] whom Āṭpur Inscription attributes a Brāhmaṇa ancestry, records that he was the moon amongst the princes of the Guhila dynasty, 'अस्मिन्नभूद्गुहिल[गो]त्रनेरन्द्रचंद्रः'[7], having his family appellation as his Gōtra.

It may be noted that Kshatriyas also formed one caste throughout Northern India before they got themselves divided into sub-castes. The formation of sub-castes among them appears to have taken place as late as in the last quarter of tenth century A.D. We are inclined to suggest that conversion of Kshatriyas into Rājputas, forming the ruling class also took place by this time. The fact, that Rājputas were divided into sub-castes by the closing years of the above century, can hold good if the word 'Dahiyakam' in the expression 'Kulaṁ Dahiyakaṁ Jātaṁ,[8] probably referred to Chachcha in Kinsariyā Inscription be presumed to be identical with what is popularly known as a Dahiyā Rājput.

It is not possible to say with any amount of certainty whether Vaiśyas, forming the third higher caste of Hindu society, were known during this period by their Gōtras or not. Though the inscriptions are silent on this point, it can be presumed reasonably, keeping the example of Kshatriyas in view, their immediate superiors in social order, that they were not using their Gōtras along with their names. Like Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas, in all likelihood, they too constituted one caste throughout the country before sub-castes made their appearance and when this division actually took place it is not possible for us to mention. It cannot be denied that we could not find any direct or indirect reference to modern sub-castes among them in the epigraphic records of those times.

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[1] *E.I.*, Vol. XII, p. 59.

[2] *E.I.*, Vol. IX, p. 252.

[3] *E.I.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 95.

[4] *I.A.*, Vol. VI, pp. 191.

[5] *E.I.*, Vol. IX, p. 200.

[6] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 166.

[7] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 166.

[8] *E.I.*, Vol. XII, pp. 59ff.

Besides main castes, existence of Hindu intermediary castes is also to be traced at this time in Northern India. Kāyasthas, who might be taken to have formed one single caste before they were divided into sub-castes, were one among them. The formation of sub-castes among them almost took place at the same period when it is supposed to be among Kshatriyas. What was the exact number of sub-castes among them, we do not know but the inscriptions inform us at least two of them, namely, Gauḍa and Māthur, the latter even at the present day forms a sub-caste among Kāyasthas. Kinsariyā Inscription attributes the composition of the praśasti to Mahādēva, son of Śrīkalya, a poet and belonging to the family of a Gauḍa Kāyastha 'गौडकायस्थवंशेभूच्छ्रीकल्यो नाम सत्कविः। सूनुस्तस्य महादेवः प्रशस्ति'[1] and Rājōrgaḍh[2] Inscription mentions some members of the Māthura Kāyastha family, who probably erected a temple of Śiva.

Caste Professions

The epigraphic records of this period bear testimony to the fact that Brāhmaṇas in addition to their priestly profession were at liberty to take up the professions of other two higher castes, namely, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas. Some of them had even captured royal authority and Āṭpur[3] Inscription of Śaktikumāra records that Guhadatta, a Brāhmaṇa ('Mahī-Dēva') founded the Guhila dynasty to which a number of rulers belonged. Admissions to high offices in the State were open to Brāhmaṇas and Dhīnīki Plates[4] mention Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa as the chief minister 'महामात्यभट्टनारायण' of the P. M. P. Jaikadeva of Saurāṣṭra.

It is significant that if some Brāhmaṇas were seen to have risen to imperial power, some of them were following the most ordinary profession of a Vaiśya, namely, selling of betel. Sīyaḍōṇi[5] Inscription mentions the name of a Brāhmaṇa Dhamāka, the seller of betel who gave an Uvaṭaka bought by him to Śrī-Umāmaheśvara. 'उवटकं ब्रा[ह्म]ण ताम्बोलिकधमाकेन क्रयित्वा महन्तधर्म्मार्थहेतो'.

It should not be forgotten that monopoly of Hindu thought was still enjoyed by Brāhmaṇas and their leadership in the academic sphere was unassailable by any other caste. Their syllabus of studies in all likelihood comprised knowledge in four Vedas 'चतुर्वेद'

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[1] *E.I.*, Vol. XII, pp. 59ff.

[2] An. Rep. Raj. Mus. Ajmer, 1918–19, p. 2.

[3] *I.A.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 191.

[4] *I.A.*, Vol. XII, pp. 155ff.

[5] *E.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 173ff.

including Ṛig and Atharva, in Saṁhitās, and in philosophy, though specialization in individual subjects differed with individual tastes. Ruling aristocracy of the times gave recognition to their intellectual superiority by making various grants to them. Haḍḍālā Plates[1] mention the grant of the village Viṁkala to Śri-Maheśvarāchārya, as a reward for his learning ('Vidyādhanam') by Mahāsāmantādhipati Dharaṇīvarāha.

If there was any caste, which had chances of throwing a challenge to Brāhmaṇas in the intellectual life of the country, it was that of the Kshatriyas alone. Though they primarily had a military profession, nothing desisted them from a study of literature and there is sufficient evidence to show that its prosecution was a favourite subject more with a ruler than with a commoner.

While Paṭhāri and Kiṇsariyā Inscriptions record Rāshṭrakūṭa Parabala as versed in all arts ('Kalāvān')[2] and Siṁharāja son of Vākpati as well versed in logic 'नयसूत्रयुक्त[: श्री]सिङ्हराज'[3] respectively, no inscription of this period probably mentions a Kshatriya of public life, who attained literary eminence.

It appears that unlike Kshatriyas the Vaiśyas, whom we may call a mercantile caste, could not rise up so as to embrace the conventional functions of the two higher castes. It is true that much credit for promoting economic prosperity of the State, a factor on which social happiness largely depends, went to them. They were probably doing a number of professions of whom the most important are that of Potters ('कुम्भकार'), distillers of spirituous liquor ('कल्लपालानां'), goldsmith ('हेमकार'), sugar-boilers ('कान्दुकानां'), seller of betel ('ताम्बूलिक'), and oil makers ('तैलिकानां'), and thus were providing people with articles of social comforts.

Marriage

It may be pointed out that Brāhmaṇas originally enjoyed an unfettered right of entering into marital contracts with ladies belonging to any of the four principal castes. The practice of marrying a Kshatriya wife by a Brāhmaṇa could be traced as early as the foundation of the dynasty to which Pratihāra Bāuka belonged. Jodhpur[4] Inscription mentions illustrious Harichandra, a Brāhmaṇa who had one of his wives Bhadrā, a Kshatriyā ('Vipraḥ Śrī-Harichandr=ākhyaḥ=patnī Bhadrā cha Kshatriyā'). Reference to Avantisundarī, Rājaśekhara's wife as 'The Crest—garland of the Chauhan family' and hence a Rājput princess at *Karpūra-mañjarī*, a play which was probably written in the tenth century A.D., proves continuance of the above practice among Brāhmaṇas during that period.

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[1] *I.A.*, Vol. XII, pp. 193ff.

[2] *E.I.*, Vol. IX, p. 252.

[3] *E.I.*, Vol. XII, pp. 59ff.

[4] *E.I.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 95ff.

Though the inscriptions do not mention any single instance where a Brāhmaṇa married a Vaiśya or a Śūdra wife, it can reasonably be inferred to, keeping in view Candrasena and Mātṛīsena, the two Pāraśava brothers of Bāṇa, that the practice of marriage even in the lowest caste existed among Brāhmaṇas during the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. It appears that Hindu society refused to give its sanction to a Brāhmaṇa-Śūdra marriage during later centuries and this change of outlook was possibly due to the rigidity of caste system. The fact of discontinuation of this practice might have been one of the factors, which brought out afterwards complete negation of such marriages, and in all likelihood ultimately culminated into total abolition of all social relations.

It may be pointed out that the institution of Anuloma marriages continued to be a living organ of the upper strata of the Hindu society to a quite later period possibly owing to its nature of adaptation to changing social conditions. It can safely be presumed by keeping in view such practice among Brāhmaṇas that Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas also originally enjoyed the privilege of marrying in castes lower to them. In all likelihood they were equally quick in joining hands with members of the highest caste against a Śūdra marriage, when a call of disapprobation came from the priestly class during later years.

It appears that a lower caste marriage though afterwards only confined to first three higher castes could not attract sufficient public notice. A lower caste woman was no more than a luxury of the rich and such marriages were not due to any high ideals. While we do not find an ordinary citizen of the State marrying a lower caste woman, public men of high social standings were contracting such marriages. The idea of marrying in different castes appears to have attracted the ruling aristocracy of the times most, and contemporary epigraphic records bear testimony to the truth of the above statement. Jodhpur and Āṭpur[1] Inscriptions mention that Harichandra Rōhilladdhi and Allaṭa, both of whom claimed a Brāhmaṇa ancestry, married a Kshatriya lady and Hariyadevī, a Hūṇa princess respectively.

It is interesting to note that Hindu society, while on one hand allowed a lower caste wife, tried to negative that privilege at the same time by introduction of indirect prohibitory legislations, as its policy was always to discourage such marriages. It appears that marriage with a girl of the same caste was a condition precedent to get the hand of a lower caste woman in marriage. Jodhpur Inscription of the Pratihāra Bāuka mentions that Harichandra first married the daughter of a Brāhmaṇa and as second wife wedded Bhadrā, a Kshatriyā. 'Tēna Śrī-Harichandrēṇa pariṇītā dvijātmajā(dvi)tīyā Kshatriyā Bhadrā mahā-Kula-guṇānvitā.'

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[1] *I.A.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 191.

It will not be out of place to say something about the caste of progeny of a lower caste woman. It is perfectly evident from Jodhpur Inscription that children born of a lower caste wife, were acquiring the caste of their mother and not of father, during the ninth century A.D. Though they were considered legitimate, the fact, that their caste was to be the same as that of their mother, widely played against the idea of contracting lower caste marriages, as in no way they improved their social status in society. The above inscription mentions that sons who were born of Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya wives to Harichandra became Pratihāra Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas ('Madhu-pāyinaḥ') respectively. 'Pratīhārādvijā bhūtā Brāhmaṇyāṁyē = bhavaṁt = Sutāḥrājñī Bhadrā Chayāṁt = Sūtē tē bhūtā madhu=pāyinaḥ'.

Food and Drinks

It can clearly be inferred from epigraphic records of this period that people had a tolerably good standard of living and things of social comforts were easily available to them. Their food comprised of wheat, barley, mung, salt, butter (ghṛita), oil (taila), milk and sugar. The practice of chewing betel-leaves with betel-nuts ('पुग') was common to both the sexes. It appears that spirituous liquor was freely distilled and consumed in the country and the State did not exercise any sort of control over it. The fact that public men were not abstainers of wine can be inferred from Sīyaḍōṇi[1] Inscription which mentions that merchant Nāgāka ('वणिक्क नागाकेन') made an endowment 'to the effect that the distillers of spirituous liquor, on every cask of liquor, were to give liquor worth half a vigrahapāladramma (?) to the God (Vishṇu)'. 'तथा समस्तकल्लपालानां मध्ये यस्य यस्य सत्कमद्यभाण्डं निपद्यते विक्रयं यातिं स चस चाचन्द्राकं यावद्विग्रहपाल सत्कद्रम्मार्द्धिका ताली दातव्या' The expression 'drinkers of wine' ('Madhu-pāyinaḥ'), already referred to, possibly suggests that Kshatriyas were the best consumers of wine during these times.

Dress and Ornaments

Love for beautiful articles of luxury was inherent among people of Hindu medieval India, but it is equally true that such instinct is more apparent in aristocracy than in common folk. Apart from the fact that they used fine garments ('चारुवस्त्रैश्च'),[2] the expression 'Prasphuṭat-Kaṁchukānāṁ' in Kaṇaswa[1] Inscription possibly refers to the use of bodices by ladies. It is interesting to note that ornaments were put on both by men and women. It appears that gold ('हेम') and pearls ('मुक्ता') were favourite substances for construction of ornaments, and some of them, as evident from Nagar[2] and Harsha[3] Inscriptions, were armlets ('केयूर'), ear-ornaments ('कर्णालंकार'), garland ('मुख्डमाला') and strings of pearls ('मुक्ताहारैः').

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[1] *E.I.*, Vol. I, p. 174.

[2] *E.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 119ff.

Ancient Indians were no strangers to use of cosmetics and pastes and to certain extent they excelled even moderners. Males received application of soothing unguents over their bodies, though such practice appears to have confined only to ruling aristocracy. Such pastes were prepared from sandal-wood ('मलयतरुवरैः') and camphor ('कर्पूरैः') and Nagar Inscription refers to application of an unguent which contained camphor powder wet with water. ('दत्ताङ्ग (ङ्गे) पिजलादिंद्रका तनुतरे कर्पूरधूलीधरा') But it appears that ladies were best customers of beauty goods and they did not spare any effort to beautify their person by use of them. They adorned their lips with red colour of betel-leaves ('त[ता]म्बूलराग') and their eyes with black collyrium ('काला(ञ्ज)नैः'). They also decorated their hairs ['(अ)लकानि ललितस्मित'].

Pastimes

As regards entertainments, gambling seems to have caught the fancy of both rich and poor. It appears that State did not exercise any restrictions over its public indulgence for they considered it laudable. Gamblers and gambling dens served as one of the sources for maintenance of State religious enterprises. Bijāpur[4] and Āhār Sāraṇēśvar Temple Inscriptions record payments of Pellaka-Pellaka(?) and one Pēṭaka ['द्यूते धराणामपि पे(टकं)'] respectively by gamblers for maintenance of Jain and Viṣṇu temples. Ruling aristocracy of the times was equally interested in pursuit of this pastime and Jhālrapātan[5] Inscription mentions Voppaka, brother of Deva, as a bank holder during the gaming parties of rich kings.

Satī

There is evidence to show that practice of Satī was still a living institution in Hindu society. It was considered sacred and was in high estimation of people. Ghaṭiyālā dēvlī[1] Inscription of Rāṇuka mentions performance of Satī by Saṁpalladēvī.

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[1] *I.A.*, Vol. XIX, p. 57.

[2] *Bhārat Kaumudī*, p. 267.

[3] *E.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 119ff.

[4] *E.I.*, Vol. X, p. 24.

[5] *I.A.*, Vol. V, p. 181.

Thus it can reasonably be concluded that Hindu society with its traditional four-fold divisions along with few intermediary castes and a rigid caste system was prosperous, though Śūdras were no better than social outcastes. People had enough to eat and drink and were quite progressive and advanced as regards use of ornaments and cosmetics. Gambling was one of their favourite pastimes and custom of Satī was still prevalent.

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[1] *E.I.*, Vol. XIX, App. p. 9.

MISCELLANEA

RAJA RAMNARAIN

Raja Ramnarain was the son of a Srivastava Kayastha, named Ranglal,[1] an inhabitant of village Kishunpur in the parganna Sasram (Shahabad District, Bihar).[2] Some contemporary records[3] do not reveal Ranglal's identity. However, Muzaffarnamah[4] and Khulasat-ut-tawarikh[5] refer to one Ranglal being enployed in the army of Aliverdi and fighting against Ghaus Khan in the field of Giria.[6] The latter two do not say whether this very Ranglal was the father of Raja Ramnarain. But two other MSS.[7] mention that Ranglal, father of Ramnarain, was a Dewan of Aliverdi, probably during his tenure of office as Deputy Governor of Bihar. It is certain that Aliverdi and his whole family patronized Ramnarain since his childhood.[8] He was practically brought up in Nawab Aliverdi's family.[9] Ramnarain himself describes in his letters[10] as 'a hereditary slave (of Aliverdi)', 'the child of your slave (i.e. Ranglal?)', 'one trained by you (Aliverdi) and the murdered Nawab (Haibat Jang)'. Ramnarain began his official career as a clerk in Bihar on a salary of Rs.5 only per month.[11] After that he was appointed the private secretary of Zainuddin, nephew of Nawab Aliverdi, in the beginning of his Deputy Governorship, through the help of Hidayat Ali, father of the historian Ghulam Husain.[12] When in 1745, Zainuddin opposed Mustafa Khan's rebellion, Ramnarain commanded one of the six brigades of Zainuddin's army.[1]

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[1] Ghulam Husain: *Seir Mutaqherin* (Valmiki Press Ed.) (hereafter 'V.P.E.'), Vol. II, p. 117.

[2] See Preface to the *Diwani-i-Manzoom* of Raja Ramnarain, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow.

[3] Seir Mutaqherin and Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan (of Yusuf Ali?) are silent about the relations of Ranglal with Aliverdi Khan.

[4] By Karam Ali, transcript in Oriental Public Library, Patna (hereafter O.P.L.), MS. No. 609, f. 80A.

[5] By Kalyan Singh, O.P.L., MS. No. 594, f. 29B.

[6] K. K. Datta: *Alivardi and His Times*, 1939, p. 31.

[7] *Gul-i-Raana* by Lakshami Narayan, O.P.L. MS. No. 701, p. 284; *Sahifa-i-khusgo* by Brindaban Das, O.P.L. MS.; *Riyaz-ul-Afkar* by Wazir Ali Ibrati, O.P.L. MS. No. 1784.

[8] Datta: *supra*, p. 165.

[9] V.P.E., *supra*, p. 117.

[10] Compiled by Munshi Vijayaram as 'Dastur-ul-Insha'. These letters contain many new facts regarding the history of Bengal and Bihar during mid-eighteenth century especially relating to Ramnarain himself. Most of these are written by him and a few by his brother, Raja Dhirajanarain. It is worthy of note that even up to this day, his family descendants reside in Raja Ramnarain's old house on the bank of Ganga at Patna. See f. 20A and f. 214A of 'Dastur'.

[11] *Ibid.*, f. 209A.

[12] Ghulam Husain: *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* (hereafter 'Siyar'), Vol. II, p. 593.

Ramnarain had some academic leanings too. He was well-versed in Persian and Arabic. It is said that he became a Persian and Urdu poet too, being for some time the pupil of Shaikh Ali Hazim, the famous poet of Isphan, who happened to be then at Patna.[2]

He ensured a capacity of administrative work so much that he became the Dewan of Jankiram, the Deputy Governor of Bihar.[3] In the latter's regime, he exhibited so many abilities in clearing up the accounts of finances and so much fidelity in managing its receipts and expenditures, that he came to be worthy of no less a station than that of the Deputy Governor of the province of Bihar.[4] He had very cordial relations with his master and in several letters[5] acknowledged his indebtedness to his master and helped him substantially in effecting a satisfactory arrangement of the finances of his government.

The *perwanna* of Nawab Aliverdi appointing Ramnarain, Deputy Governor of Bihar after Jankiram's death in 1752 is very interesting and is worthy of note. It shows how much the Nawab was pleased with Raja Ramnarain. The investiture of the post of Deputy Governor was received in 'a rich Qhylaat, to which was added a serpich, a sabre and an elephant'.[6] The *perwanna* runs thus:

نقل پروانه نواب مهابت جنگ بهادر دام اقباله

رفعت و عوالی پناه شهامت دستگاه برخوردار راجه رام نرائن مورد مراحم باشند ۔ درینولا از خبر کلفت اثر واقعهٔ راجه جانکی رام بهادر که از نوشته سرلیدهر هرکاره و چھٹی اقبالمندان جگت سیٹھه و مهتاب رائے و راجه سروپ چند بوضوح انجامید ۔ چون برادر رفیق و دلسوز بود به خدای عالم الغیب ظاهر که ازین واقعه سخت متاثر شد ۔ اما از مشیت آلهی چاره و تدبیر نیست ۔ رضا به قضا الله تعالی ازان جا که کار و بار ضروریست و هیچ امر مانع نیست ۔ آن نیابت و نظامت صوبهٔ بهار از طرف نواب صاحب به از جان نواب منصور الملک بهادر سلمه الله تعالی مقرر کرده شد ۔ و سند به مهر ایشان از متعاقب می‌رسد باید که خود را نائب مستقل دانسته

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[1] Datta: *supra*, p. 124; *Siyar: supra*, p. 177.

[2] Dastur: *supra*, f. 180A.

[3] Siyar: *supra*, p. 593.

[4] Seir: *supra*, p. 117.

[5] Dastur: *supra*, f. 235B and f. 272A.

[6] Seir: *supra*, p. 117.

بخاطر جمع و استقلال تمام در سرانجام امور نظامت بنوعیکه انظام سابق برهم نخورد - بلکه از بهر سابق حسن انجامد - مساعئ موفوره بکار برند - انشاء الله تعالیٰ بشرط راستی و دوستی نظامت سرانجام از سرکار و حسن سلوک با رعایا و برایا چنانکه دل میخواهد خواهد رسید - دریں باب تاکید دانند *

('May Raja Ramnarain,[1] The Exalted Lofty Brave Son, be receiving (our) kindnesses!! In these days, the painful news of the event (death) of Raja Jankiram Bahadur from the writing of Murlidhara *harkara* and the letter of Jagat Seth, Mehtab Rai and Swarup Chand has been known. As he was (our) sympathetic and friendly brother, I was affected (lit. grieved) very much by this happening, by God, The Omniscient. But there is no escape from the will of God. And one (you) should be pleased with the decree of God, The Almighty. As the business should be carried on and there should be no obstacle, the Deputy Governorship and Governorship(?) of the province of Bihar is conferred upon (you), on behalf of the Nawab Saheb, Better Than Soul, Nawab Mansur-ul-Mulk, May God Keep Him Safe. And the *sanad* with his seal would be reaching you later on. You should regard yourself as a permanent Deputy and should carry on and should try your best to carry on the administrative work (the functions of Nizamat, i.e. Governorship) with peaceful mind and with complete firmness in such a way that the previous administration may not be upset, nay it should be carried on more efficiently than the previous one. God willing, provided you are right and friendly the administration as regards the management of the *sircar* and good treatment with the subjects and people as our heart desires, will be done. You should regard it (the order—*perwanna*) as very important and urgent.')

'A sound financier and astute politician, Ramnarain governed Bihar efficiently being always mindful of the interests of Aliverdi'. He complied with the orders of the Nawab immediately and acquainted him with every detail of his government.[2] He established a system for the collection of customs in the province of Bihar.[3] He had also some sort of espionage-system.[4] According to the instructions of his master, he was very vigilant over the activities of a number of zamindars of Bihar. Prominent among them were: Chatradhari Singh, Udwant Singh, Pahlvan Singh, Kamga and Khan

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[1] Original is in Persian. It has been copied from 'Dastur'. I am indebted to Dr. M. G. Z. Ahmed, M.A., Ph.D., for the help rendered in translation of the *perwanna*.

[2] Dastur: *supra*, fs. 19B-20A; fs. 180B-182B.

[3] *Ibid.*, fs. 183B-184A; f. 195B.

[4] *Ibid.*, f. 164A, Spies were then called *harkaras*!!

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Marji. He even managed to realize the arrears of revenue which they had not paid to the Nawab's government.[1]

All along Ramnarain was loyal to his master. 'Ramnarain', says a contemporary Englishman, 'is an interesting character. He appears to have been one of the most faithful of the adherents of the house of Aliverdi Khan and on its extinction of the English connection. His gallantry in battle is referred to by Colonel Ironside.'[2]

An interesting adventure of Ramnarain in Aliverdi's time is noted by the historian Ghulam Husain. Shehmahmed-hassen (Shah Muhammad Husain), who lived at the court of Aliverdi, having been reduced to poverty, began some trade[3] reluctantly. He appointed an agent for the purpose. This agent who brought some 'quantity of sacu-timber[4] (from Gorakhpore) and as Radja Ram-narain, who in appearance shewed him much regard but in fact hated him heartily, was then building a palace, he was requested to purchase the whole quantity of timber at the common price, and to pay the money at once. Accordingly, the Radja's officers went, measured the timber, set their mark upon it and for a length of time left it there without further notice. The poor man sent the Radja word, requested him either to take up the timber and pay for it according to the terms agreed upon, or to release it entirely that any other might purchase it. The Radja proud of his power and superior rank, made a very strange and very improper answer; and it was in these terms: "I fear neither the West nor the East, as you seem to imagine; nor have I brought your timber, but out of the compassion; and you had better think so yourself".'[5] Shah Muhammad Husain could not appease the Raja in any manner and he had to suffer a lot.

Ramnarain continued to be loyal to the new master, Sirajuddaula. When M. Law, the Chief of Chandernagore, was asked to leave Murshidabad on the 15th of April, 1756, Nawab Sirajuddaula sent the following communication to Clive: 'Mr. Law I have put out of the city and have wrote expressly to my Naib[6] at Patna to turn him and his attendants out of the bounds of his Subaship, and that he shall not suffer them to stay in any place'.[7] But when M. Law arrived at Patna, 'he was well received by the Nawab's deputy Ramnarain, to whom the Nawab had written to provide him with all necessaries though he was at that very time assuring Clive and Watson that Ramnarain had been ordered to expel him from his territories'.[1] For the satisfaction of Mr. Watts, British Agent at Murshidabad, Nawab Sirajuddaula conveyed the following message through Ranjit Rai and Mir Bakr: 'I have turned the French out of Muxadabad, and wrote an order to Rajaram Narrain (Ramnarain) Bahadre, my *naib* at Patna, to turn them out of his bounds. If after this the English troops should come in order to fight them the Peace and Articles we have agreed to will no longer subsist. If you hearken to what these two men shall say 'tis well; if not, depart from hence.'[2] Ramnarain implicitly obeyed only those orders—to welcome the fugitive French—which he received from the Nawab.

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[1] *Ibid.*, f. 199B; fs. 240A–241B.

[2] Asiatic Annual Register, 1800.

[3] The following is the note of the translator: 'Called *Saal* by the Europeans; it is a kind of *sahvan* (?), called *Teck* by the French, and *Teeck* by the English'. See Seir: *supra*, p. 179.

[4] Shah Muhammad Husain had come to settle at Patna.

[5] Seir: *supra*, p. 179.

[6] The Governor of Patna was Raja Ramnarain, a Hindu, with the rank of Naib only. It was considered unsafe to entrust so important a post to a Muhammadan, or an officer with the rank of Nawab. S. C. Hill: *Three Frenchmen in Bengal*, 1903, p. 103f. n.

[7] Orme MSS. India XI, p. 2779, No. 120.

In the Purnea campaign of Sirajuddaula, he again proved faithful. The plot, which was laid down, that a part of the army should remain inactive, was not joined by Ramnarain.[3] The malcontents never hoped that Ramnarain would come. But when Nawab Sirajuddaula summoned Ramnarain for his assistance in his expedition against Shaukat Jang, the rebellious Nawab of Purnea, the Raja arrived with all his troops just when Mir Jafar, the Bakhshi and a few jamadars were about to declare in favour of Shaukat Jang.[4] The conspirators were disconcerted and the rebels were punished severely by Sirajuddaula.

In the great Bengal conspiracy of 1757, Ramnarain remained faithful to Sirajuddaula, probably 'counting upon the love and tender feelings of affection of the grandfather of the Nawab (Sirajuddaula)'. With the exception of three or four, such as Ramnarayan,[5] Meer Madan, Mohanlal and Ramram Singh of Midnapur, (all) joined in the 'great conspiracy' of 1757 against the Nawab.[6]

Mir Jafar, the usurper Nawab was never on good terms with Ramnarain. He hated him as one belonging to the old camp of his predecessor.[7] In conjunction with Clive, Mir Jafar marched towards Patna to dispossess Ramnarain of Bihar,[8] as he had not paid the revenues to the Nawab's treasury.[1] But the orders which Clive issued to his subordinates regarding the above were never carried out, 'because Sir Eyre Coote was dissuaded by Mir Ja'far's friends, who probably thought that the plunder of the deputy had better be left for their own hands'.[2] But soon Clive's attitude changed and a reconciliation was brought between the Nawab and Ramnarain. Ramnarain received investiture of his office again by the hands of Nawab Mir Jafar, for which he paid nine lakhs of rupees; and he received 'a definite promise that so long as he did not intrigue with foreign powers and provided his due share of revenues, he should not be dismissed'.[3]

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[1] S. C. Hill: *Bengal in* 1756-57, Vol. II, pp. 330, 334.

[2] Translation of the message from Persian, *ibid.*, p. 335.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, App. III, p. 174.

[4] Hill: *Three Frenchmen etc.*, *supra*, p. 77.

[5] 'Of all the Gentoos (Hindus) Ramnarain seems to have been the only man, who did not join in the conspiracy against Seerajah Dowlah and who had given the French party a warm reception at Patna, as he regarded it as an important source for Seerajah Dowlah in case hostilities should be renewed with the English'. Orme: *A History of Military Transactions in Indostan*, Vol. II, p. 166.

[6] K. K. Datta: *History of Bengal Subah*, 1936, Vol. I, p. 102.

[7] *Ibid.*; Seir: *supra*, p. 250.

[8] See Sir Eyre Coote's correspondence and journal, Orme MSS. India, VII, pp. 1608–50 and 1673–91.

Henceforth, Ramnarain was not under the direction of the Nawab but of the English. In 1759, Shahzada, the Emperor undertook the invasion of Bengal. Ramnarain, having received the news, tried to pacify the Nawab and the English on one side and Shahzada on the other. To Miren and to Clive, the Commander of the forces of the former, he wrote: 'That he had come out in military array, and wanted no better than to fight; but that he had not the means in his power; and he added, that if the English should arrive in time, he would not fail to shew his zeal and attachment'.[4] On the other hand, not thinking proper to write letter to the Western army (of Shahzada), he by the means of convenient persons, assured Shahzada and his General of his good will and attachment.[5]

In 1761, Mir Kasim after his accession, repaired to Patna, where Ramnarain held his residence with a professed view of calling that officer to account, as he disliked him since his very childhood.[6] The Vice-nabob solicited the help of English Generals like Major Carnoc and Sir Eyre Coote. And these officers assured Ramnarain of protection,[7] and refused to hand him over to the Nawab. But when they (the British Officers) were superseded, Ramnarain was handed over to the Nawab.[8]

'When as much money as possible had been extracted from him, he was put to death.'[9] Ghulam Husain says that he was drowned in the Ganga by Mir Kasim in 1763.[10]

KRISHNA KANTA MISHRA.

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[1] Grant: *A Sketch History of the E.I. Company*, 1813, p. 202.

[2] *Cambridge History of India*, 1929, Vol. V, p. 152.

[3] *Ibid.* [4] Seir: *supra*, p. 292. [5] *Ibid.*

[6] Grant: *supra*, p. 204.

[7] B. D. Basu: *Rise of Christian Power in India*, 1931, p. 138.

[8] Camb. Hist.: *supra*, p. 170. [9] *Ibid.*

[10] Hill: Bengal, *supra*, quotes *Seir Mutaqherin*, Vol. II, p. 93.

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WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR FIRST AFGHAN WAR?

In my researches on First Afghan War, a serious doubt arose as to the responsibility of the war. Except one or two, practically all scholars like Sir Henry Durand,[1] Sir John Kaye,[2] Sir Percy Sykes,[3] Keene, have thrown out the entire responsibility on Lord Auckland, under whose term of office, the war was declared. Mr. P. E. Roberts, holding the same opinion, goes to the extent of remarking that 'every re-reading of the evidence deepens and strengthens the conviction that the war was politically....... most disastrous, and, morally, ... least justifiable'.[4] Another historian seems to ignore the pros and cons of the problem and asserts firmly that 'Lord Auckland's policy is indefensible from all points of view'.[5] My conclusions on the topic differ from the views of scholars of this school.

It may be noted at the outset that from the beginning to the end, Lord Auckland acted upon the advice of home authorities in London. If ever he tried to add his comments or reflections to the home authorities' advices, or even persuaded the Court of Directors to adhere to his way of liking, he was instantly reminded that he is but a nominee of Melbourne Ministry. Besides, he was reminded of the instances of men, going against the wishes of authorities at home, being asked to relinquish the charge of whatever post they held immediately, or even to stand on trial for 'their such ignoble conduct' (as a member of Parliament in the eighteenth century liked to charge the 'Servants of His Majesty' as such) before the law-courts or Parliament.[6]

Let us now examine the facts and see where the responsibility lies. The Eastern Question opened in 1836. Russian influence in Persia was considered by the British Government as an 'imminent peril to the security and tranquillity' of the Indian Empire. They at once asked Auckland 'to counter-act the progress of Russian influence'[7] towards East. But Auckland to his utmost regret did not find any immediate danger. And so he expressed to the home authorities that he did not foresee any 'Russophobia', but, however, he would be contacting the Amir of Afghanistan, as directed.

But 'in Whitehall, the growth of Russian influence at Teheran has become a subject of increasing anxiety'.[8] For there was a deeply ingrained conviction among British statesmen and politicians of the day that 'near Herat, it is possible to pass from the Russian outposts . . . . . to India without encountering any formidable altitude —and this is possible nowhere else'.[1] The home authorities, in spite of the best assurances received from Lord Auckland of 'no immediate danger', tapped Lord Auckland again. They insisted upon him to send Alexander Burnes to Dost Muhammad, the Amir of Afghanistan.

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[1] *First Afghan War and its Causes*, 1879.

[2] *History of Afghanistan*, 3 Vols.

[3] *History of Afghanistan*, 1940, 2 Vols.

[4] *History of British India*, 1938, p. 312.

[5] Majumdar, Raychaudhri, Datta: *An Advanced History of India*, 1946, p. 753.

[6] The instances of Clive, Warren Hastings, and Lord Wellesley at least were before him.

[7] Sir Auckland Colvin: *John Russell Colvin*, 1895, p. 61.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

But Burnes failed to satisfy Dost, as the latter insisted the British to press Maharaja Ranjit Singh, to return Peshawar, which he had conquered a few years back. In the true spirit of friendship to the Maharaja, Auckland turned down the Amir's proposals. He did so for three reasons. In the first place, Auckland thought that 'he (Ranjit Singh) was the only man in the Sikh Empire who was true at heart to his allies',[2] then why such a friendship should be foregone? Secondly, Dost was less known to the English at that time.[3] Lastly, he was considered in official circles as an usurper and unreliable.

In the meantime, the siege of Herat has been raised. But Auckland continued to prosecute 'the measures which have been announced, with a view to the substitution of a friendly for a hostile power in the eastern provinces of Afghanistan, and of the establishment of a permanent barrier against the North West Frontier'.[4] The Tripartite Treaty of 1838 [5] was concluded with this very motive. Auckland had noted with great regret the admission of the Russian Agent, Viktevitch in Dost's durbar. He scented the mischief of Russians in this design. 'And though Russia was far off', the home authorities observed, 'yet there was no safety in mere distance'. It was true, as an author remarks: 'A people who had come with their armies in long months round the Cape, could not feel much security in consideration of remoteness'.[6] But Auckland was not at all disturbed by such an action of the Russians. He scented no design of Russians over India then, and so he considered the problem out of his jurisdiction. And with this idea, he tried to dispel the fears of home authorities about Russian designs in India. 'It is in Europe and Persia that the battle of Afganistan must probably be ultimately fought',[7] wrote the Private Secretary of Auckland as against Lord Palmerston's note contending that it 'was not European but an Indian question'.[8]

Throughout all these months, Auckland was in constant touch of and guided by home advices.[9] It was only the home despatch of

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[1] Sir T. H. Holdich's quotation in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. I, p. 14.

[2] Kaye: *supra*, Vol. II, p. 5.

[3] Roberts: *supra*, p. 314.

[4] *Cambridge History of India*, 1929, Vol. V, p. 499.

[5] Aitchison: *Treaties and Sanads*, Vol. VIII, p. 154.

[6] Colvin: *supra*, p. 75.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] See letters to Secret Committee in August, 1838; Despatch of March 20 and others.

June 25, 1836, that made Auckland to issue the Simla Manifesto (October 1, 1838).[1] That despatch was, nay, 'the guide of his conduct throughout, even perhaps when he questioned its wisdom'.[2] In no way, therefore, Auckland can be held responsible for adopting aggressive measures against Afghanistan by issuing the Manifesto.

Again, the decision to instal Shah Shuja in place of Dost Muhammad cannot be attributed to Auckland really. He was assured by Captain Wade in clear terms that Shah Shuja would be hailed in Kabul. This fact had its strong support when Sir George Lawrence declared that 'their (Afghans') hearts and affections were with their previous sovereign (i.e. Shah Shuja), now a wanderer beyond the Hindu Kush'. The Governor-General selected Shah Shuja as the successor to Dost on the ground that the latter was an intriguing fellow, while Shah Shuja was a dependent of British and the latter (Shah Shuja) would never negative the request of the British Government in the hour of need. Auckland, nevertheless, had, while deciding in the favour of Shah Shuja, the important directive of the home in his mind that at any cost, 'the independence and integrity of Afghanistan are essential to the security of India'.[3]

Again, the responsibility of Auckland in deciding that the troops from Afghanistan should not be withdrawn, does not lay; for he had in possession of sufficient instructions from home which showed that 'whereas in previous century they (Britishers) had only to fear such rivalry on the sea-coast, they now had certain notice of its gradual approach overland, from beyond the Oxus and Paropamisus'.[4] And again, he was asked to take note of the fact that 'for repression, for punitive measures (in Afghanistan) . . . . . . British officers were indispensable'.[5]

Sir John Kaye's charge that when the question about the prolongation of troops came before the Council of the Governor-General, 'either by some negligence or by some juggle, the opinions of the military members of the Council were not obtained', has been disproved now. The following home despatch[6] to Sir John Hobhouse shows in clear terms that 'if any words have any meaning, the words of this despatch commit every member of the Council, who signed it, to agreement with the views of the Governor-General'.[7] The despatch runs thus:

'With reference to your Honourable Committee's dispatch of December 31, last, on the subject of our position and policy in

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[1] Quoted in *extenso* by Sir John Kaye; *supra*, Vol. II, Appendix.

[2] For the first time attention drawn by Sir Auckland Colvin to June 25, 1836. Despatch in his *Apologia* for his father, p. 86.

[3] A. Lyall: *British Dominion in India*, 1914, p. 315.

[4] *Ibid*., p. 317.

[5] E. Thompson and G. T. Garratt: *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*, 1935, p. 341.

[6] Dated, March 22, 1841.

[7] Colvin: *supra*, p. 138

Afghanistan, we have the honour to forward, for the information of your Honourable Committee, the accompanying copies of Minutes recorded on the subject by the Governor-General and the Honourable Messrs. Bird and Prinsep.

'2. The perusal of these will most fully explain to your Honourable Committee our views and sentiments in regard to the important question reviewed in your dispatch above referred to.

'We have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, Honourable Sirs,

Your most faithful servants,
(*Sd.*) AUCKLAND,
J. NICHOLLS,
W. W. BIRD,
WILLIAM CASEMENT,
H. T. PRINSEP.[1]

The economy in expenditure in Afghanistan was not the work of Auckland. But the Court of Directors had asked him to do so. So, practically, they were responsible by this very unscrupulous and unforesighted action for the insurrections among Kabulis and later on for the brutal murder of the British officers in Kabul by the infuriated mobs of Afghans.

It is very difficult to say whether Auckland was responsible for disasters that followed. The jealousy among British officers[2] was to a large extent responsible for the disaster. Moreover, British officials were inexperienced of the scrupulous tactics of the Afghans. Their *chuprassies* and *khansamahs* even could not have an estimate of the tension brewing among the Afghans,[3] though they were residents and natives of Afghanistan. Above all, 'the government in Calcutta was extremely ill-informed of the strength and position of parties',[4] in Afghanistan. And what more disappointing fact was that in those days of mid-nineteenth century, there were no easy communications which may carry news from one corner of India to another quickly. And as such were the conditions, it was but natural for Auckland, when he heard of the terrible disaster, to be at a loss to do anything. He was wonder-struck to hear the heavy massacre of his countrymen.

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[1] Sir J. Nicholls was the Commander-in-Chief; the whole signatories of despatch comprised the Governor-General's Council; see Colvin, *supra*, 137-138.

[2] Burnes did not want Macnaghten to be the 'Envoy and Minister on the part of Government of India at the court of Shah-Shuja-ul-mulk', as is evident from his letters to his friends.

[3] The *khansamah* of Burnes did not know that a furious mob was being collected to murder his master on November 2, 1841.

[4] Colvin: *supra*, p. 80.

Thus, we see that in the whole affair, Auckland was not responsible for his actions. It was the force of the home authorities and that of the prevailing circumstances, that Auckland had to adopt such a policy which ultimately resulted in a total failure. It were the orders of home which explicitly demanded of him 'to interfere *decidedly* in the affairs of Afghanistan';[1] it were the prevailing circumstances which compelled Auckland, to desist from any diplomatic negotiation with Dost, to conclude the Tripartite Alliance of 1838 and to order for the British stay in Afghanistan (in order to save the British prestige[2]).

To the question then—who was responsible for First Afghan War?—the only answer is that Auckland was not responsible, at least, to such an extent as the scholars are inclined to think. It was a mixed folly of all. The responsibility of home lay more than Auckland and, in my opinion, the latter's responsibility can be reduced to the minimum, in view of the reasons put forth above.

KRISHNA KANTA MISHRA.

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.

[2] Some scholars are inclined to accept Auckland's contention that British withdrawal from Afghanistan with Shah Shuja would have been a national disgrace. It was, besides, also thought by Auckland's Government that on whom and in whose cause, so much has been spent and sacrificed, should not come back and pocket the same old pensionary at Ludhiana.

REVIEWS

JĀTAKA PĀLI, Vol. II, Pt. II, Nipātas 11–30. Vajirārāma Tipiṭaka. Edition by Revd. Nārada, 1948.

The present work is a laudable and useful undertaking in continuation of the previous publication. Whereas in other editions published from Ceylon, Siam, Burma and Europe are found to contain the Canonical Jātakas in verse embedded in the commentary, here the texts in verses are separated from the commentary setting, and accorded an independent position. The editor has adopted the modern critical method in so far as the variants are given in the footnotes on each page (for which the credit should be given primarily to Fausböll). But as it was pointed out before the *abhisambuddhagāthās* which were admittedly and evidently later additions are not clearly indicated. The omission of the ancient glosses which are no doubt an indispensable aid to the proper understanding and interpretation of the *gāthās* is regrettable. The edition, on the whole, cannot be treated as a work of research in so far as no attempt is made to give cross-references to other Pali Canonical texts and Indian works particularly the two Sanskrit Epics. The *gāthās* themselves were not all original Buddhist compositions, although they are all intended to indicate what was in the literary and cultural background of Buddhism. The *gāthās* were not productions of one and the same age. A critical examination of their metres and diction shows that the history of their growth covers a pretty long period. As the *Mūlapariyāya Jātaka* indicates, the ancient Buddhist theras undertook to compile the *Jātakas* to counteract the great popularity of the pre-Pāṇinian *Mahābhārata* (also pre-supposed by the Inscriptions of Aśoka). There are nevertheless many instances in which the Pāli verses closely resemble those in the Great Epic. In spite of all these drawbacks, the editor and the publisher are to be congratulated on the production of an excellent edition of the Pāli Jātakas in Sinhalese characters.

B. M. Barua.

HINDU KINSHIP (An important chapter in Hindu social history) by K. M. Kapadia, B.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Sociology, University of Bombay. Published by the Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1947.

This book contains an introduction and nine chapters on cult of manes, marriage and marital regulations, Hindu household, adoption and affiliation, inheritance and succession, vicarious liabilities and debts, birth and death impurities, organization of kin, and recapitulation.

In the first chapter the author says that the Vedic Aryans had a hearty and healthy love of earthly life. They had unbounded relish for the pleasures and delights. This spirit of exuberant joy and unsophisticated delight powerfully influenced their view of death and life beyond it. The most important aspect of the mane-cult is the persons who received the offerings. In the post-Vedic period the ritual of *śrāddha* appears to have developed. *Vṛddhi śrāddha* is sharply distinguished from the *Pārvaṇa śrāddha*. In the second chapter, the author has pointed out that the Indo-Aryans in the early Vedic times were establishing *sapiṇḍa* exogamy, though they were not governed by any law of sept-exogamy. Marriage with the mother's brother's daughter appears to be usual among the Indo-Aryans in the latter part of the Vedic age. The Vedic Aryans must have received hearty co-operation from their Dravidian neighbours in encouraging this kind of marriage.

In the third chapter we find that the father was the head of the family from very early times. Three pleas in favour of the polyandrous union were put forth by Yudhiṣṭhira himself. In the fourth chapter the author is right in pointing out that the practice of adopting a son was current from very early Vedic times. Adoption according to the Vedic texts appears to be free from any rigour of rules and restrictions. A son given in adoption does not completely sever his bonds of kinship with the natural family. In all important social relationships his connection with the natural family is as effective as that with his new family. In the fifth chapter the early sūtra writers did not go into the details of the descent of inheritance but specified proximity as the test of preference. The author has analyzed Vijñāneś-vara's treatment of the Law of Inheritance. He has also referred to the *Vyavahāra-mayūkha* of Nīlakaṇṭha in propounding the theory of blood propinquity. In the sixth chapter the author says that the ancient society starts from groups and subordinates the individual interest to the claims of these groups. The individual is but a part of the kindred. According to the Smṛti writers liability to pay debts extends up to the grandson and no further. Bṛhaspati has expressly negatived the great grandson's obligation to pay debts. Liability is always in the male line. In the seventh chapter the question of impurity is very often discussed on the considerations of the sex of the deceased. In the eighth chapter the concept of Hindu *gotra* extends to generations that cannot be counted or remembered. Some of the writers extend even the concept of *samānodakas* to uncountable generations. The relationship in both these concepts is vague and serves no purpose for a cultural history. The basic unity of the Hindu family was of three generations. Father, son, and grandson, are referred to as forming a compact unity in a sacrificial formula. In the last chapter the author has tried to show that among the Hindus family is the basis of kinship, and from very early times kinship was bilateral. The book under review is on the whole useful. The author has consulted original sources and has made proper use of them. The utility of the book has been greatly enhanced by supplying additional notes and references, bibliography and an index. In the Appendix he has given a short note on draft Hindu Code.

B. C. LAW.

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LES RELATIONS DU ŚATAPATHABRĀHMAṆA AVEC LA BṚHADĀRAṆYAKOPANIṢAD ET LA PERSONNALITÉ DE YĀJÑAVALKYA

By Louis Renou

Les informations dont nous disposons concourent à mettre en lumière le rôle de Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya, plus qu'aucun autre ritualiste ancien. Il est la personnalité qui s'est imposée dans cette période finale de l'exégèse védique, marquée par ces oeuvres auxquelles son nom se trouve attaché. Malgré le caractère secondaire des épisodes brodés par les Purāṇa (notamment le Viṣṇu III. 5, 2 sqq., cf. par ex. Muir Original Skt Texts III² p. 50), on ne saurait mettre en doute le point essentiel, qui est le suivant: c'est Yājñavalkya qui procéda à une réforme des traditions yajurvédiques, qui imagina de séparer les *yajus* des parties explicatives, dont il regroupa et développa la masse pour former ce qu'on appelle le Śatapathabrāhmaṇa. Le ŚB. (dans la recension Mādhyaṃdina; la version Kāṇva a ajouté un élément postiche) se termine par cette mention 'ces *yajus* blancs d'Āditya [l'ancêtre mythique dans la généalogie des maîtres] sont nommés du nom de Vājasaneya Yājñavalkya' (si tel est bien, comme l'emploi habituel du verbe *ā-khyā*-invite à le croire, le sens de la phrase, cf. Caland The ŚB. in the Kāṇv. Rec., I, p. 65). Il en résulte que la tradition attribue à ce personnage, sinon la rédaction, du moins l'inspiration des *yajus* mêmes, c'est-à-dire de la Saṃhitā dont le ŚB. constitue le commentaire immédiat.[1] Quant au ŚB. lui-même, il a pu porter aussi le nom de Yājñavalkya, s'il faut voir dans les *Yājñavalk(y)āni brāhmaṇāni* que cite le grammairien Kātyāyana, sinon le Brāhmaṇa entier, du moins les portions non-śāṇḍilya. Il est tout-à-fait improbable, malgré l'autorité de Weber (Ind. Lit.² p. 129), que cette expression vise le Yājñavalkya-kāṇḍa de la BĀU.: le sū. IV. 3, 105, auquel se réfère l'exception de Kātyāyana, concerne 'les traités de Brāhmaṇa et de Kalpa', non des chapitres d'Upaniṣad.

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[1] En fait Y° est donné comme le *ṛṣi* de VS. XXXIII. 55 à XXXIV. 58 (portion comprenant notamment l'Upaniṣad dite Śivasaṃkalpa, dont la tonalité générale rappelle les versets BĀU. IV. 4, 8 sqq. dans la portion proprement 'yājñavalkyenne' de l'Up.); mais on sait que ces attributions ont peu de consistance dans les traditions du YV.—L'Anukramaṇī de Kātyāyana (citée Weber Ind. Lit. 2, p. 144) connaît l'attribution des *yajus* 'blancs' à Yājñavalkya, que reprend postérieurement à l'époque védique la Yājñavalkyasmṛti III. 110 ('j'ai reçu, est censé dire Y°, l'Āraṇyaka du Soleil'), ainsi que le Mahābhārata XII. 318 (320), 3 ('j'ai reçu les *yajus* d'Āditya'). Au même passage, *śl.* 16, Yājñavalkya semble être posé comme l'auteur (*cakre*) du Śatapatha 'en son entier'.

Ce n'est pas à dire que le ŚB. (et moins encore la VS.) soit l'oeuvre de Yājñavalkya. Cette façon de s'exprimer n'a pas de sens dans l'Inde ancienne, au moins dans le domaine védique. Le Śatapatha est une oeuvre anonyme, qui se recommande de l'autorité de Yājñavalkya, comme plus tard le Kauṭilīya de celle de Kauṭilya. Comme on l'a jadis observé, le *vaṃśa* final projette Yājñavalkya dans une antiquité éloignée (tandisque, assez étrangement, les *vaṃśa* internes taisent son nom).

La manière même dont se présentent les attestations de ce nom ne laisse pas d'être instructive: elles sont continues, quoique rares, aux Livres I–V (respectivement 5 3 4 3 et une fois), elles font défaut aux Livres médians VI–X, elles reprennent fortement au Livre XI (18 fois), faiblement aux suivants (un au XII et au XIII, 0 à la partie '*brāhmaṇa*' de XIV) pour remonter considérablement dans l'Upaniṣad, qui compte non moins de 108 mentions. Cette répartition coïncide, on le sait, avec une ligne de partage que, pour de multiples raisons de forme et de fond, on a été conduit à tracer entre I–V et XI–XIV d'une part, VI–X d'autre part, autrement dit entre les Livres dits de Yājñavalkya et ceux dits de Śāṇḍilya: les premiers embrassant le rituel général et notamment le Soma, les seconds limités à l'Agnicayana (et à son complément ésotérique: l'Agnirahasya).

La fin du Livre X est donc une fin d'ouvrage: d'où la présence d'un *vaṃśa* terminal (qui se réfère au *vaṃśa* de XIV valable pour l'ouvrage entier: cf. la mention initiale *samānám ā́ saṃjīvipútrāt*, laquelle implique que VI–X a été fait, ou du moins parachevé, après les Livres yājñavalkyens): c'est ce *vaṃśa* que la version K. reporte maladroitement en fin de XIV. Et de même que, suivant la bonne règle, les Livres de Yājñavalkya se terminent par un Āraṇyaka (à savoir, les *pravargyabrāhmaṇa* de XIV)[1] et par une Upaniṣad (la Bṛhadāraṇyaka), de même les Livres de Śāṇḍilya s'achèvent par un Āraṇyaka, à savoir le Rahasya du Livre X, duquel se dégagent et s'ébauchent quelques thèmes d'Upaniṣad. Le mot *upaniṣád* lui-même surgit pour la première fois dans ce Livre X, qui contient (4, 5) la rubrique caractéristique *áthādeśā́ upaniṣádām* 'voici les thèmes de connexions-ésotériques', laquelle devait marquer le début de l'Upaniṣad projetée. Deussen Sechzig Up. p. 381 avait déjà remarqué la présence de quelques morceaux '*upaniṣad*-artig' du Livre X, le thème du *mánas* 5, 3; la *vaiśvānaravidyā* 6, 1; le thème du *bráhman* formant la *śāṇḍilyavidyā* ou, comme on l'a aussi appelé, l'hymne de Śāṇḍilya 6, 3. On peut y ajouter le dialogue de Sātaparṇeya et de Jābāla 3, 3 (cf. notamment la *kaṇḍikā* 8

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[1] Il y a la même différence chronologique et stylistique entre ŚB. X (du moins quant aux parties '*upaniṣad*') et ŚB. I–IX qu'entre BĀU. et ŚB.; on pourrait développer beaucoup à cet égard ce qu'a réuni Weber Ind. Lit. 2, p. 120.

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comparée avec BĀU. III. 2, 13, sur la vie future); le thème du sommeil 5, 2, 11 sqq., qui préfigure la théorie des trois états de conscience BĀU. IV. 3, 9 sqq. Une expression aussi pleine de sens que *vijñānam ānandáṃ bráhma* BĀU. III. 9, 28 est déjà toute formée dans le *ānandá evā̀sya vijñānam ātmā́* de ŚB. X. 3, 5, 13, et la suite de cette étude montrera d'autres convergences. Le caractère upaniṣadique de la fin de ŚB. X est si réel que les réflexions sur l'Aśvamedha 6, 4 et 5 terminant le Livre ont été transportées par la version K. au Livre final de manière à constituer le début de la BĀU.: et en effet l'exaltation de l'Aśvamedha est inattendue dans les Livres śāṇḍilyens qui n'ont pas traité de ce rite; elle convient au contraire pour un début orgueilleux d'Upaniṣad comme l'exaltation de l'*udgītha* pour le début de la ChU.; et d'autre part, enfin, la clausule *íti ha smāha śā́ṇḍilya evám etád íti* 6, 3, 2 donne une fin raisonnable pour un Livre. L' 'auteur' donne là, en quelque sorte, sa signature.

Dans quelle mesure peut-on espérer saisir la personnalité de Yājñavalkya à travers cette oeuvre considérable? Si, dans le ŚB. proprement dit (c'est-à-dire la BĀU. exclue), on voulait considérer comme étant 'de Yājñavalkya' l'ensemble I–V et XI–XIV, on serait amené à lui attribuer tous les thèmes majeurs de la spéculation des Brāhmaṇa, c'est-à-dire une suite de gloses rituelles ou d'excursus mythologiques, qui puisent dans un fonds commun. D'une pareille compilation, on ne dégagerait jamais des traits singuliers. Il faut de toute évidence se limiter aux passages où le nom de Yājñavalkya est mentionné, où il est à l'origine de tel enseignement particulier, de tel procédé rituel.

Dans l'Upaniṣad, la situation est assez différente.[1] Outre les nombreux fragments décousus qui se sont agglomérés à l'ouvrage, en tête et en queue comme toujours, le gros du texte consiste en une série de dialogues qui tous ont Yājñavalkya pour protagoniste. On est en droit de faire coïncider l'Upaniṣad, du moins sous sa forme ancienne et authentique, avec l'enseignement hérité de Yājñavalkya. La comparaison entre l'Upaniṣad, texte bref, mais plein de la pensée du maître, et le Brāhmaṇa, texte fort long, où le nom du ritualiste n'est attesté qu'incidemment et de manière souvent fuyante, s'avère dès l'abord difficile et même boîteuse. Ce n'est pas à dire qu'elle ne puisse et ne doive être tentée.

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[1] Hors du ŚB. et de la BĀU., le nom de Yājñavalkya n'est attesté qu'en de très rares domaines védiques: quelques passages du JB. (v. ci-après), empruntés plus ou moins littéralement au ŚB.; deux passages de SĀ., également transcrits (Keith JRAS., 1908, p. 374, Vedic Index II p. 189). La Yājñavalkyasmṛti, qui d'ailleurs offre quelques points d'attache avec le YV. Blanc (Kane History of Dharmaś. I p. 168 sqq.), est le type d'un ouvrage ultérieur, se réclamant d'une tradition antique. Plusieurs Up. dites de l'Atharvaveda, en fait, d'inspiration vaguement yoguique, font revivre le cadre yājñavalkyen de la BĀU. (Deussen Sechz. Up. p. 707 sqq. 819 sqq., 849 sqq.): elles ont du moins le mérite de souligner le rôle que la tradition attribue avec persistance à Y° comme maître du Yoga (cf. Yājñ. Smṛti III. 110 MhBh. XII. 310 (312), 8 et 318 (320), 98 Weber Ind. Lit. 2, p. 163): on pourrait sans peine relever dans le Y° de la BĀU. certains éléments de *yoga* diffus, autrement dit certains courants śramaṇiques, la part importante du *tapas*, le rôle du *karman* et du *kāma*, la recherche du salut.

Revenons d'abord à l'Upaniṣad afin de mettre en relief ce que la tradition appelle elle-même le Yājñavalkya-kāṇḍa, et qui embrasse les adhyāya 3 et 4 (= 6 et 7 dans ŚBM., avec une coupure interne moins bonne, que n'observe pas BĀU.-M.).

Le premier *adhyāya* se présente visiblement dans une gangue d'Āraṇyaka: c'est une série de genèses entrelacées de correspondances numériques non encore réduites à l'unité (la réduction à l'unité marque l'initiative propre de l'Upaniṣad).[1] L'un des fragments (*br.* 3), avec son développement sur le *sāman*, paraît même étranger aux préoccupations du YV. Peut-être l'ensemble est-il une sorte de *khila* de la ChU., dont on connaît les attaches avec le Sāmaveda comme avec Śāṇḍilya. L'*adhyāya* 2 poursuit le thème *āraṇyaka*, en l'orientant vers l'unité de l'*ātman*, c'est-à-dire au niveau de l'*upaniṣad*. Le dialogue Gārgya-Ajātaśatru, qui se retrouve dans KauU. 4, est estimé parfois plus 'authentique' dans la version de la BĀU. (cf. à ce sujet Deussen Sechzig Up. p. 51 Belvalkar-Ranade II p. 113), mais Frauwallner ZII. IV p. 20 nous semble convaincant quand il montre que KauU. 4 a été composé d'abord, avec utilisation de la doctrine de Yājñavalkya, autrement dit de BĀU. IV. 5. Le même auteur a noté que tel détail y est en contradiction avec ladite doctrine (p. 19).

Dans ce *kāṇḍa* initial, Yājñavalkya n'est nommé qu'à deux reprises: une fois (I. 4, 3) pour formuler un bref axiome qui est tout-à-fait dans la tradition des interventions rituelles du maître au cours du ŚB. (v. plus loin): comme plusieurs de celles-ci, cet axiome traite des relations de l'homme et de la femme (*tásmād idám ardha-vṛgalám iva svaḥ* 'nous sommes ainsi (homme et femme) chacun, comme qui dirait, une moitié', comme on a *puroḍāśavṛgalám* ŚB.). La seconde fois, il s'agit du fameux dialogue avec Maitreyī (II. 4), qui sera reproduit au Yājñavalkyakāṇḍa (IV. 5). Tout laisse prévoir que ce dialogue a été d'abord conçu pour IV. 5, où il est indubitablement mieux à sa place, et qu'il a été transporté à II. 4 à une époque où l'Upaniṣad n'avait pas encore condensé les morceaux épars autour du noyau premier. C'est cependant la priorité de II. 4 qui a été soutenue, notamment par Deussen op.c. p. 426 et 481. On se fonde surtout sur le fait que la parabole du sel (II. 4, 12) aurait été transformée et altérée en passant à IV. 5, 13. La vérité est qu'en dépit de certaines interpolations (le développement commençant par *néti néty ātmā́*, déjà interpolé III. 9, 26, est issu de IV. 4, 22) la version de l'*adhyāya* 4 est aussi bonne que la version du 2; elle est même mieux amenée, présentée dans un cadre plus littéraire, elle possède dans le détail quelques leçons plutôt meilleures[1]; et quant à l'image du bloc de sel, elle semble bien avoir sa forme propre à IV. 5, 13 où les deux parties de la phrase se répondent membre à membre: *ánantaraḥ/anantám, ábāhyaḥ/apārám, kṛtsnáḥ/kṛtsnáḥ, rasaghanáḥ/prajñānaghanáḥ*.

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[1] La réduction à l'unité, l'*ekībhāva*, est donnée il est vrai I. 4, 7 à 11, mais dans des épisodes déjà nettement upaniṣadiques qui sont extérieurs aux schèmes de correspondances.

Nous pouvons donc considérer tout le premier *kāṇḍa* comme étranger à Yājñavalkya. Et dès lors nous pouvons nous demander si les éléments n'en appartenaient pas au fonds de Śāṇḍilya, à ces éléments d'Upaniṣad qui, comme on a vu, cherchent à se dégager de ŚB. X.[2] Le *vaṃśa* final du Madhukāṇḍa mentionne Śāṇḍilya non moins de trois fois (et ignore Yājñavalkya). Les corrélations de détail ne manquent pas entre BĀU. I-II et ŚB. X (accessoirement ŚB. VI–IX): l'affabulation de BĀU. II. 1 (dialogue Gārgya-Ajātaśatru) émane de ŚB. X. 6, 1; l'allusion au 'mangeur' et au 'mangé' figure BĀU. I. 4, 6 et ŚB. X. 6, 2, 1; le rôle de *mṛtyu* BĀU. I. 3, 9 sqq. se compare avec ŚB. X. 4, 3, 1; 5, 1, 4; la mention des 'seize parts' de Prajāpati se retrouve BĀU. I. 5, 14 et ŚB. VII. 2, 2, 17, comme l'image du *puruṣa* 'dans l'oeil droit' BĀU. II. 3, 5 et ŚB. X. 5, 2, 13, ou celle du *puruṣa* dans le soleil BĀU. II. 1, 2 et ŚB. X. 5, 2, 1; l'expression *mūrtá* BĀU. II. 3, 1 et ŚB. X. 5, 3, 3; l'appellation Indra Vaikuṇṭha BĀU. II. 1, 6 et ŚB. X. 5, 2, 9.

Passons au troisième et dernier *kāṇḍa*, celui que la tradition dénomme Khila et reconnaît ainsi tacitement comme secondaire. Le genre *āraṇyaka* y reparaît avec force. L'*adhyāya* 5 fait défiler quinze chapitres très brefs, du type de ceux qu' atteste le ŚĀ.: une suite d'énigmes et de jeux verbaux en marge du rituel, où il n'y a rien de spécifiquement upaniṣadique. L'*adhyāya* final, au contraire, resserre la matière de plusieurs grands thèmes, la 'querelle des organes'—sujet commun de toute cette littérature—, la *pañcāgnividyā* (avec son corollaire sur les Deux Voies), qui est en conflit avec les doctrines du Yājñavalkyakāṇḍa et en accord avec la ChU.[1]; enfin des rites divers de souveraineté et de génération, donc d'essence 'domestique', qui forment comme un essai de '*gṛhya-āraṇyaka*' (cf. les fragments 'domestiques' dans ŚB. XI. 5, 4 et 6 et plus d'une formule de VS.). Là encore Yājñavalkya n'est pas nommé, sinon incidemment à propos d'une recette magique et au cours d'un *vaṃśa* mineur (VI. 3, 7); il y est appelé pour la première fois Vājasaneya Yājñavalkya et présenté comme le disciple de ce même Uddālaka Āruṇi, dont ailleurs (et nommément dans le Y° -kāṇḍa) il est l'adversaire à la joute rituelle. D'autre part les coïncidences entre BĀU. V-VI et ŚB. VI–X sont moins topiques que celles entre BĀU. I-II et les mêmes tranches du Br.: l'expression décisive *satyáṃ bráhma* BĀU. V. 4, 1 (avec tout le développement qui suit) provient sans doute de ŚB. X. 6, 3 (hymne de Śāṇḍilya).[2]

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[1] La formulation *syā́ṃ nv ahám . . . āho3 ná* IV. 5, 3 fait un effet plus archaïque que *kátham téna . . .* II. 4, 2; l'expression *priyā́ . . . satī́ priyám avṛdhat* 5, accusant mieux le contraste, justifie davantage la présence du participe 'contrastant' *satī́*; *āpīpat* (M.) 14 pourrait être aussi un archaïsme, nivelé par la lectio facilior de II. 4, 13. Enfin *prajñānaghanáḥ* 13 est peut-être plus satisfaisant que *vijñānaghanáḥ* II. 4, 12, ce second terme impliquant une discrimination, et l'autre, un état qui a transcendé toute différence.

[2] Il y a des connexions visibles entre ChU. et ŚB. X (ou, éventuellement, ŚB. VI–X): ChU. V. 11 à 24 (les cinq théologiens) et ŚB. X. 6, 1; ChU. IV. 5 sqq. (les quarts du *bráhman*) et ŚB. VII. 2, 2, 17; IX. 2, 2, 2; ChU. VI. 7, 1 (les seize portions de l'homme) et ŚB. X. 4, 1, 16; ChU. IV. 1 (la *saṃvargavidyā*) et ŚB. X. 3, 3, 6; ChU. III. 14, 4 (la définition du *bráhman*) et ŚB. X. 6, 3. Mais d'une part la ChU. a été affublée (secondairement?) d'un cadre sāmavédique et insérée dans les pré-occupations des *chandoga*; d'autre part il faudrait voir comment l'hypothèse d'une ChU. primitive yajurvédique s'accorde avec la présence dans ŚB. X d'éléments ébauchant eux-mêmes une *upaniṣad* similaire.

En regard de ces textes dispersés, inorganiques, se présente l'unité massive du Yājñavalkyakāṇḍa, c'est-à-dire des *adhyāya* 3 et 4. Cet ensemble est rempli par la personnalité du grand docteur. Malgré quelques dédoublements, le texte est un et cohérent, les épisodes s'acheminent vers un but (contrairement à la 'rupture' fréquente des épisodes du Br.) et attestent même quelque gradation de l'un à l'autre. C'est le tournoi de dialectique où Yājñavalkya défait successivement ses neuf compétiteurs, ce sont les deux dialogues directs entre le brâhmane et son protecteur, le roi Janaka du Videha, c'est enfin le 'testament de Yājñavalkya' qui parachève la doctrine.

Cet essor soudain de la pensée de Yājñavalkya fait un contraste saisissant avec les sèches et rares remarques liturgiques attribuées au même docteur dans le Br. Se peut-il qu'un même homme ou qu'un même enseignement ait eu deux faces si dissemblables?

A l'examen, si la dissemblance demeure (comment pouvait-on espérer qu'il en fût autrement?), certains indices, souvent menus, parfois précis, permettent de faire la jonction entre les deux rôles, entre le ritualiste et le 'philosophe'.

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[1] On a des raisons de croire sur ce point la ChU. plus ancienne, cf. Belvalkar-Ranade II p. 106. Pour les Deux Voies, la ChU., qui mentionne l'année succédant aux mois, et non le monde des dieux, est sur le plan des Br.; toute recherche du *loka*, comme celle que met en évidence la BĀU., est upaniṣadique, et par suite secondaire.

[2] De même l'équivalence *utkhá*/*prāṇá* BĀU. V. 13, 1 sort de ŚB. X. 6, 2, 8 et 10. La querelle des organes est préfigurée ŚB. X. 5, 2, 15; le motif des Deux Voies résulte de ŚB. VI. 6, 2, 4.

Dans le ŚB., et plus particulièrement dans le groupe I–V, Yājñavalkya borne son initiative à exprimer quelque opinion sur un point dogmatique. Il enseigne qu'en telle circonstance il faut presser le *soma* (IV. 6, 1, 10), offrir ensemble les omenta des animaux immolés à Prajāpati et ceux consacrés aux autres dieux (XIII. 5, 3, 6). Il pose que l'Agnihotra est un sacrifice domestique, non un *yajña* (c'est-à-dire un *havis*) II. 3, 1, 21, et ce détail annonce déjà l'instruction considérable qu'au Livre XI il impartira sur l'Agnihotra (cf. aussi BĀU. IV. 3, 1).

A propos du voeu préliminaire d'abstinence, il prend parti sur la question de savoir s'il faut ou non jeûner. 'Si l'on jeûne, on prend pour divinités les Pères; si l'on mange, on mange avant (que) les dieux (aient mangé). Il devra donc manger ce qui, une fois mangé, (compte pour) non-mangé' I. 1, 1, 9; et le KŚS. II. 1, 13 enregistre les deux thèses: c'est l'attitude habituelle de Kātyāyana, qui insère l'opinion d'un maître à titre de pratique ad libitum.[1] Toutefois, en un autre passage (XI. 4, 2, 17), Yājñavalkya préconise pour arroser de *ghṛta* les parts du gâteau un certain procédé qui est celui même qu'ailleurs (I. 7, 2, 10) le Br. donne comme le procédé normal, sans se référer à une autorité: il y a donc ici une discordance, d'ou il serait pourtant imprudent de conclure que I–V par exemple fût l'oeuvre de Yājñavalkya (les rares citations étant alors des 'interpolations') et XI–XIV celle d'un épigone?

A la *k.* III. 1, 1, 4 figure une remarque un peu plus générale. Un ritualiste a enseigné que 'la terre entière, étant divine, est un lieu de sacrifice aux dieux; en quelque endroit de la terre (qu'on se trouve), il suffit d'enclore (une aire) pour pouvoir sacrifier' (trad. amendée par M. Minard Subordination I p. 51). Mais Yājñavalkya, revendiquant les droits du brâhmane, corrige 'le lieu de sacrifice aux dieux, ce sont les officiants; là où des brâhmanes instruits, versés, savants, font sacrifier, il n'y a point à biaiser: c'est là, pensons nous, qu'est (le lieu de sacrifice) le plus près (des dieux)'.[2] On comprend que le même docteur, dans la BĀU. III. 1, 2, se reconnaisse (sinon en parole, du moins en acte) comme le *bráhmiṣṭhaḥ* 'le meilleur controversiste', et que, ibid. 3 sqq., il définisse par les officiants du culte l'accès à la vie future et l'*atimokṣá*.

Ailleurs (I. 9, 3, 16), choisissant une formule plutôt que celle communément admise, il justifie sa préférence en disant *íti tv èvâhám bravīmi*, comme si cette formule émanait de lui, alors qu'elle figure dans la Saṃhitā à la suite de celle qu'il écarte (VS. II. 26*b*); le KŚS. III. 8, 17 sq., éclectique comme sont en général les Śrautasūtra, donne l'une et l'autre.

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[1] Ce rapport entre ŚB. et le Kalpasūtra est celui même que présente la grammaire, entre Pāṇini qui se réfère à une autorité et les grammairiens ultérieurs qui sur cette base postulent un *vā*.

[2] Ceci fait penser à la définition du bon usage dans le Mahābhāṣya, à savoir par les gens qui l'incarnent: *ye brāhmaṇāḥ . . . kasyāś cid vidyāyāḥ pāragās tatrabhavantaḥ śiṣṭāḥ*.

La *k*. II. 4, 3, 2 amorce la description d'un de ces innombrables *daivāsura*, terminés inévitablement par la victoire des dieux. On ne voit pas pourquoi un épisode d'un type si classique est mis dans la bouche de Yājñavalkya. En revanche, c'est une intervention plus personnelle qui se présente II. 5, 1, 2 au cours d'un autre *itihāsa* où il est dit que Prajāpati créa successivement les oiseaux, la menue gent rampante hormis les serpents, enfin les serpents eux-mêmes. Le texte ajoute: 'Yājñavalkya de son côté déclarait qu'il n'y eut que deux sortes (de bêtes ainsi créées); mais elles sont de trois sortes d'après la *ṛc*'. Le passage visé de la RS. est VIII. 101, 14 (cf. *k*. 4). On constate qu'en ce passage (qui est repris JB. II. 229) le *brāhmaṇakṛt* semble se désolidariser de l'avis du chef de l'école.

Quelques autres passages mettent en lumière un trait curieux: un certain ton d'impatience, voire de violence, auquel certes les brâhmanes de l'Inde ancienne nous habituent trop souvent, du Veda à l'épopée, mais qui tranche ici avec le ton passablement uniforme de la compilation brâhmanique. Selon I. 3, 1, 21, l'officiant porte le beurre d'abord sur le foyer gārhapatya afin que l'épouse du *yajamāna* le regarde et qu'ainsi elle ne soit pas exclue du sacrifice; puis il le dépose à l'intérieur de l'autel. 'Ici certains disent: il ne doit pas le déposer à l'intérieur de l'autel, car c'est avec ce (beurre) qu'on fait l'oblation aux épouses des dieux; il exclut alors les épouses des dieux de la société (de leurs maris) et l'épouse du (*yajamāna*) est à l'écart de l'homme.—Mais Yājñavalkya dit à ce sujet: qu'il en soit pour l'épouse comme il a été prescrit: qui se soucie qu'une épouse soit à l'écart de son homme?' (K. 'qu'elle soit ou non à l'écart de son homme, quelle affaire est-ce là?'). On a contesté (Delbrück Idg. Verwandtschaftsn. p. 169-547) la misogynie que semble bien trahir la remarque, et Delbrück a raison sur le point que *paraḥpuṃsā*[1] ne signifie pas expressément 'impudique'; mais 'qui s'éloigne du cercle des hommes' (avec pw.) n'est pas non plus une traduction pertinente. Il n'est pas douteux, d'après l'ensemble des opinions de Yājñavalkya, qu'il y ait ici une remarque non exempte de cynisme. Au début du 'testament' (BĀU. IV. 5, 1) Yājñavalkya, qui se plaît à instruire Maitreyī et qui lui rend hommage, est censé formuler sur son autre épouse Kātyāyanī l'opinion qu'elle n'avait 'qu'une compréhension de femme'.[2]

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[1] 'Mécontente de son mari' Eggeling ne nous semble pas rendre exactement le sens; Eggeling a du moins raison de faire sentir la nuance de valeur entre les deux emplois successifs du mot, le premier simplement constatatif, le second empreint d'une teinte nettement péjorative.

[2] On a vu ci-dessus une remarque de Y° touchant l'homme et la femme. Une fois encore il exprime à ce sujet un avis. A propos du fait que l'officiant cache

Autre notation sarcastique: la viande de vache et de boeuf est interdite au cours de la *dīkṣā*, et cette interdiction fait l'objet d'une justification. 'Quant à moi, dit alors Yājñavalkya, j'en mange, pourvu qu'elle soit tendre!' (III. 1, 2, 21). Le Sūtra (KŚS. VII. 2, 23), considérant sans doute ceci comme une simple boutade, maintient la défense première.

I. 3, 1, 26: à un certain moment du Darśa, l'officiant regarde le beurre. Certains enseignent que c'est le *yajamāna* qui doit le regarder, et KŚS. II. 7, 8 donne ici encore l'alternative. Mais Yājñavalkya proteste: 'pourquoi (les patrons) ne deviennent-ils pas alors officiants eux-mêmes? Pourquoi ne récitent-ils pas quand il y a un excédent de prières à faire? Comment nos gens peuvent-ils ajouter foi à cela?' (cette dernière phrase omise K.).[1]

On peut ranger dans la même série III. 1, 3, 10 où, à la suite d'une onction des yeux commandée par le rituel, Yājñavalkya intervient: 'malade en effet est l'oeil de l'homme; le mien est sain'.

A III. 8, 2, 24 les adversaires du YV. Blanc, les Caraka, recommandent d'arroser d'abord le beurre (mêlé de lait aigri), puis l'omentum, arguant que ledit beurre, c'est le souffle. L'un d'eux va jusqu'à maudire Yājñavalkya qui pratique en sens inverse, et s'écrie 'cet officiant a intercepté le souffle, le souffle l'abandonnera'. Lui alors, regardant ses bras 'ces bras grisonnants!' (dit-il, et, ajoute la version K., 'vieux, usé par l'âge, couché'[2]), 'qu'est donc devenue la parole du brâhmane?' On ne peut plus clairement réclamer les droits d'une vieille expérience et regretter le déclin des moeurs (cf. Oldenberg Lehre der Up. p. 8).

IV. 2, 1, 6 il a été décidé de puiser deux *graha* pour les démons Ṣaṇḍa et Marka, tout en offrant ces puisées aux dieux. Alors Yājñavalkya: 'non pas! C'est pour les divinités que nous devons puiser, car c'est le signe même de la victoire' (variante chez K.). Et le texte ajoute: 'il fit de cela matière à spéculation, mais ne le mit pas en pratique'. Comment ne pas penser ici à son rôle comme 'faiseur d'*upaniṣad*', c'est-à-dire de thèmes spéculatifs sis au-delà de la pratique?

IV. 6, 8, 7 l'officiant conduit le roi (Soma); chacun prend un tison et le dépose sur chacun des *dhiṣṇya*. 'Ceux qui font ainsi,

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l'offrande à la vue des épouses divines (I. 9, 2, 12; mention omise K.), il observe 'c'est pourquoi les femmes des humains, tant qu'elles sont, mangent à l'écart des hommes'.

[1] Traduction un peu différente S. Lévi Doctrine p. 113 qui relie le dernier membre de phrase à ce qui suit 'comment arriveront-ils à avoir la confiance, cette confiance que toutes les bénédictions appelées par les prêtres dans le sacrifice sont exclusivement pour le sacrifiant?' Mais ainsi entendue la pensée perd sa pointe, elle est moins appropriée à l'humeur de Y°. *iti* marque la fin de son intervention.

[2] C'est bien le même Y° qui veut dans la BĀU. 'faire un (arrangement) définitif (*ánta*)' entre ses deux épouses avant de s'éloigner (II. 4, 1) ou, comme dit plus précisément IV. 5, 1 et 2, d'entrer dans une autre condition, de mener la vie de moine errant.

dit Yājñavalkya, tuent avec leurs propres tisons'. Et le texte donne, concurremment avec un autre usage, la pratique conforme à cette opinion.

Enfin, au cours de rites expiatoires: que faire si la vache d'Agnihotra se couche tandisqu'on la trait? Certains proposent des opérations compliquées. 'Qu'il la fasse se lever en la poussant du bâton!' dit Yājñavalkya XII. 4, 1, 10 (passage repris JB. I. 59 Oertel JAOS. XXIII p. 340, où le ritualiste, suivant l'usage de ce Br., est désigné par son patronymique Vājasaneya). Le KŚS. XXV. 1, 16 tient compte de cette observation, où il est permis de déceler quelque ironie à l'adresse de ceux qui cherchent bien loin des solutions toutes proches.

Cet ensemble de données n'a, comme de juste, aucun analogue immédiat dans l'Upaniṣad. Deux traits généraux s'y retrouvent cependant: d'une part le goût de Yājñavalkya pour les solutions simples et de bon sens, d'autre part une certaine brutalité de langage. L'un et l'autre trait sont présents dans l'invective qu'adresse le brâhmane à Śākalya (BĀU. III. 9, 25) qui lui avait demandé 'sur quoi le coeur est-il fondé?' (au terme d'une série de questions visant à reculer de proche en proche le domaine du connaissable): 'insensé (?) si tu crois que le (coeur) puisse être ailleurs qu'en nous-mêmes! S'il était ailleurs qu'en nous, les chiens le dévoreraient ou les oiseaux le déchireraient!' Et, sitôt après, ce même Śākalya est menacé de voir sa tête tomber (*ví-pat-*, traduit conventionnellement par 'éclater') s'il n'explique sur-le-champ ce qu'est le puruṣa: il est vrai que ce type de menace remonte aux portions 'yājñavalkya' du ŚB. (III. 6, 1, 23; XI. 4, 1, 9; 5, 3, 13), et se retrouve ailleurs dans l'Up., à l'adresse de Gārgī (III. 6, 1).[1]

Bien plus importante que cette poussière de maximes et de notations sommaires est la part que prend Yājñavalkya aux dialogues du Livre XI. ç'a été un tournant décisif dans le développement interne du ŚB. que l'apparition de ces dialogues. Ils sont les pièces d'autant de *brahmodya*, c'est-à-dire de ces joutes rituelles dont le Yajurveda nous a conservé la trace pour certains sacrifices importants. Mais autant le *brahmodya* inséré dans le culte apparaît fixé d'avance et comme figé, autant la controverse dont le ŚB. nous livre des échantillons était libre de forme et susceptible de prendre des développements imprévus, de s'encadrer dans un schème sommairement dramatique. Plus que les 'hymnes dialogués' du Rgveda où l'on sent trop l'*itihāsa* sous-jacent, ces *brahmodya*, avec leurs réparties parfois incisives, sont les vraies ébauches du théâtre indien.

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[1] C'est la menace typique à l'adresse de celui qui 'interroge trop loin' au cours du *brahmodya*. La ChU. y fait allusion, mais sous une forme, semble-t-il, secondaire, I. 8, 8 et passim. Le canon bouddhique la reprend (DN. III. 1, 20).

Tous ceux du Livre XI ont pour thème l'Agnihotra, dont nous avons vu que le Yājñavalkya 'ritualiste' se préoccupait déjà passablement. Presque tous ont pour héros ce même docteur, et pour promoteur le roi (samrāj) Janaka du Videha, réputé pour son savoir (*na tavāviditaṃ kiṃ cit* comme on dira de lui dans le MhBh. XII. 310 (312), 9) [1] autant que pour sa générosité,[2] et qui éventuellement participe aux tournois qu'il organise. Enfin l'action semble se passer chez ces Kuru-Pañcāla ou l'on a vu non sans raison la patrie des Upaniṣad.

Au premier de ces dialogues, le roi attaque d'emblée (comme feront si souvent les dialogues upaniṣadiques et ceux, de type ancien du moins, dans l'épopée): 'connais-tu l'Agnihotra?' (XI. 3, 1, 2). C'est une sorte d'épreuve que le roi savant fait subir au prêtre, peut-être pour s'assurer de son savoir avant de l'engager comme *purohita* (cf. l'épreuve d'Aṣṭāvakra dans le passage précité du MhBh.). Les questions se succèdent. Yājñavalkya y répond de manière concluante, et le roi satisfait le gratifie d'un millier de vaches: chiffre traditionnel pour ainsi dire, qu'on retrouve mentionné BĀU. III. 1, 1; IV. 1, 7; 3, 14 sqq.; 4. 7 (avec quelques enjolivements).[3] L'épisode est repris, avec des variantes de forme, dans JB. I. 19 (cité Oertel JAOS. XXIII p. 329), qui termine par cette addition significative *athainam upajagau* 'alors (le roi) devint son disciple' (comme le *saraṇaṃ gato* qui clôture tant de dialogues bouddhiques). Bien loin de tirer vanité de sa propre science, le roi s'incline devant celle du prêtre, lui demandant de l'instruire (BĀU. IV. 2, 1; et de même *ajñānāt paripṛcchāmi* MhBh. XII. 310 (312), 7; analogue XII. 318 (320), 109) ou se déclarant lui-même un *brahmán*, c'est-à-dire un 'controversiste' ŚB. XI. 6, 2, 10 (avec une autre nuance: *saṃsiddhim āsthitā janakādayaḥ* dira la BhG. III. 20). Nous sommes ici en plein catéchisme liturgique. Cependant la réponse ultime que fait Yājñavalkya à la question 's'il n'y avait pas d'eau (et moins encore, d'autre substance), avec quoi sacrifierais-tu ?', à savoir 'en vérité, rien n'existait alors: et (pourtant le sacrifice initial put avoir lieu, car) la réalité (même, *satyá*) fut offerte dans la force-de-créance (śraddhā)' (id. JB. I. 22), cette réponse traduit, en amorçant un *itihāsa* cosmogonique, une préoccupation spirituelle, un acheminement vers le plan intérieur qui est déjà d'essence upaniṣadique. Ce n'est pas un hasard si le *satyá* et la *śraddhā*[1] seront parmi les entités que Yājñavalkya lui-même exaltera dans BĀU. III. 9, 21 et 23.[2]

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[1] Dans le MhBh. également, Janaka met à l'épreuve par des questions-énigmes (type du *brahmodya* traditionnel) le jeune Aṣṭāvakra qui veut être admis à une 'controverse' à laquelle le roi lui-même préside (III. 133, fin). Dès la BĀU. (IV. 2, 1), Janaka est salué comme celui 'dont l'âme est chargée de ces *upaniṣad* (de ces interprétations-connectives)' comme la voiture ou le bateau du voyageur est chargé (de marchandises). Mais ce qui manque à Janaka ainsi muni, ce qui manque à l'*upaniṣad* propre, c'est d'expliquer l'au-delà de la mort. Ce domaine réservé, où la connexion ne suffit plus, mais où il faut la jonction (*yoga*) et l'intégration (*samādhi*, terme sous-jacent au *samāhitātmā* précité), est celui que Yājñavalkya va ouvrir au roi (IV. 2, 2–4): c' est le domaine de l'*abhaya*.

[2] Les riches *dakṣiṇā* offertes par Janaka au témoignage de la BĀU. III. 1, 1 (et cf. II. 1, 1 et passim) sont déjà connues de ŚB. XI. 6, 3, 1. Il y sera fait allusion MhBh. III. 132, 13 et v. ci-après.

[3] C'est la tradition du *sahásram* des Dānastuti ṛgvédiques. Qu'il s'agisse de vaches réelles, et non d'une monnaie (comme le veut M. Foucher, note p. 125 à la trad. par Senart de la BĀU.), c'est ce que montre assez, dans l'Up. même, l'expression *paśūn icchan* IV. 1, 1 ou encore le *gavāṃ sahasram avarurodha* III. 1, 1, etc.—Le MhBh. XII. 318 (320), 96 majore la récompense en *gokoṭi*.

Le dialogue suivant, XI. 6, 2, 1, repose comme le précédent sur l'Agnihotra. Janaka rencontre trois brâhmanes, dont Yājñavalkya.[3] Il les met à l'épreuve aussitôt sur la manière dont ils accomplissent le rite en question. La réponse de Yājñavalkya, qui vient en troisième lieu, est jugée la meilleure, mais elle reste encore au niveau de l'explication littérale. Le roi lui octroie cent vaches (seulement !), puis il conteste que Yājñavalkya sache comment les deux oblations dudit sacrifice surgissent, marchent, reposent, satisfont (l'être humain), retournent (sur terre) et (représentent) le monde renaissant. Là-dessus, le roi s'en va. Yājñavalkya dissuade d'abord les brâhmanes de relever le défi. Quel mérite y aurait-il à vaincre un *rājanya*, et en revanche, quelle humiliation d'être vaincu par lui ? Mais, comme il désire 'connaître l'Agnihotra', il court après le roi, le rejoint, l'interroge. Janaka répond au thème qu'il a lui-même proposé. Yājñavalkya (satisfait) lui accorde une faveur: le roi demande celle d'interroger à son tour Yājñavalkya quand il le souhaitera, et 'depuis lors Janaka devint un *brahmán* (c'est-à-dire un controversiste)'.[4]

Or la BĀU. fait une allusion très précise à ce récit du ŚB., en tête d'un dialogue (IV. 3, 1) qui tient à se situer dans le prolongement immédiat du débat brâhmanique. La formule *sá ha kāmapraśnám*

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[1] Ce terme n'est pas tant la 'foi' que l'intention qui se réalise par la 'force' intérieure: ce qui dirige un ensemble d'actes, leur donne un sens, en fait une réalité concrète, actuelle.

[2] Une seconde intervention de Yājñavalkya (XI. 4, 3, 20) suppose sans doute un dialogue tu par le rédacteur du ŚB. Il s'agit d'un sacrifice qui fut trouvé par Gotama Rāhūgaṇa, qui prit refuge auprès de Janaka, lequel le rechercha chez les brâhmanes et le découvrit enfin chez Yājñavalkya. De nouveau Janaka récompense celui-ci par un don de mille vaches, 'signe' du *brahmodya* virtuel.

[3] Le nom d'un des deux autres, Śvetaketu Āruṇeya, est, comme celui de son père Uddālaka Āruṇi, connu de BĀU. VI. 2, 1 où l'on interpelle ce personnage par *kumāra* en rappelant qu'il fut instruit par son propre père: ceci repose sur ŚB. X. 3, 4, 1; XI. 5, 4, 18; XII. 2, 1, 9.

[4] C'est à cet épisode que fait allusion JB. I. 22 (trad. Caland n° 6) dans une scène à laquelle participent cinq brâhmanes. Le JB. suppose connue la démarche initiale ('ce Janaka est instruit sur l'Agnihotra, il croit en savoir plus que nous'). En fait, cette version enjolive, élargit celle du ŚB., sauf sur le motif du 'voyage' des oblations, qui se réduit à la mention *itiṃ ca gatiṃ ca*.—Le cadre est repris ChU. V. 11 sqq.

evá vavre reprend ŚB. XI. 6, 2, 10 *sá hóvāca kāmapraśná evá me tváyi yājñavalkyāsad íti.*[1] La crainte qu'exprime Yājñavalkya d'aboutir à une victoire stérile ou à une défaite ignominieuse retentit sur telle phrase de BĀU. (IV. 3, 33) où le docteur, harcelé par le roi, se dit avec crainte 'il m'a repoussé de toutes mes (thèses) finales'.[2]

Le morceau qui fait suite dans le ŚB. (XI. 6, 3, 1) est le plus démonstratif pour l'étude des rapports entre le Br. et l'Up. C'est encore Janaka qui prend l'initiative (mais cette fois, sans participer au débat) d'un *brahmodya* entre Yājñavalkya et Vidagdha Śākalya, qui s'est offert comme champion de la partie adverse. L'affabulation de cette scène se retrouve BĀU. III. 1, 1-2, qui la développe quelque peu. Mais le questionnaire lui-même, relatif au nombre des dieux, ce catéchisme mythologique qui va du multiple à l'un (selon une tendance déjà connue du RV.), est reproduit presque identiquement dans un autre chapitre de l'Up., à savoir III. 9, dont le début simplifié est accommodé aux 'attaques' des sections précédentes. Les seules divergences dans la teneur qui présentent quelque intérêt sont, dans l'Up., la référence à la *nivid* du Vaiśvadevaśastra,[3] référence pédantesque, mais qui marque que l'Up. n'est pas une copie mécanique du Br. Plus instructif est le remplacement de *prāṇá* comme 'dieu unique' du ŚB. par *bráhma* dans BĀU.-M.; BĀU.-K. donne ici par superposition des deux versions *prāṇá íti sá bráhma tyád íty ā́cakṣate.*[4] L'Up. gonfle le texte de matières hétérogènes, dont on peut voir avec vraisemblance chez Deussen p. 449 comment elles se sont annexées au schéma rituel primitif. Cette annexion a entraîné maint désordre dans le texte de l'Up. L'interpellation à Śākalya: *tvā́ṃ svid imé brāhmaṇā́ aṅgārāvakṣáyaṇam akrata* BĀU. III. 9, 18 est hors de propos dans l'Up. où le cadre de la compétition a été omis; de plus elle arrive beaucoup trop tard; on l'attend au début comme dans ŚB. XI. 6, 3, 3 (où figure *ulmuka* au lieu d'*aṅgāra*). Le drame final (ŚB. 11) est aussi mieux venu dans le Br. que dans l'Up. (26) où la mort de Śākalya est maladroitement amenée et le passage entier dans le trouble. La formule de ŚB. 11 *anatipraśnyā́ṃ mā devátām átyaprākṣīḥ* a été utilisée, sous la forme d'une menace plus précise, dans une autre section de l'Up. (III. 6, fin) *anatipraśnyā́ vaí devátā* (K. meilleur: *-nyáṃ vaí devátām*) *átipṛchasi*.

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[1] La leçon *sám enena vadiṣye* BĀU.-M. (confirmée par *samūdā́te* qui suit BĀU.-K., meilleur que *samūdátuḥ* M.) est préférable à *sá mene ná vadiṣye* BĀU.-K., que défend Deussen p. 463 (mais cf. Oldenberg ZDMG. LXI p. 808 n. 3): le futur moyen sans préverbe est inusité en prose védique, et bien que l'expression négative trouve un recours spécieux en ŚB. XI. 6, 2, 5, il n'est pas douteux que le mouvement général commande 'je veux controverser avec lui; et quand ils eurent controversé sur l'Agnihotra . . .'.

[2] Nous entendons *ánta* à peu près au sens du *siddhānta* classique, ici comme dans le composé *áṇvanta* de IV. 1, 1 '(thèse) finale subtile'. Le (*siddha*)*anta* du brâhmane, c'est l'*upaniṣad* suprême qu'il suffit de poser, sans qu'on ait besoin de la commenter. L'*ánta* que le roi force Y° à dépasser, c'est la ligne de retrait *advaita*; au-delà on entre dans le domaine de l'intuition mystique auquel le *yoga* ouvre l'accès. Si mal ordonné qu'apparaisse ce qui suit la barrière IV. 3, 33, c'est dans un monde riche de résonnances pré-bouddhiques et—du point de vue de l'*upaniṣad* ancienne—hétérodoxe sinon hérétique que nous introduit cette partie du discours de Y°.—*Siddhānta* apparaît (avec le sens de 'intention'?) ĀśvŚS. XII. 8, 15.

[3] C'est-à-dire au texte conservé ŚŚS. VIII. 21, 1 et que JB. redonne sous une forme légèrement plus complète. On s'étonne que Senart ignore cette *nivid*, qui a sa place marquée dans l'Agniṣṭoma, et comme telle est donnée par Caland-Henry p. 360.

[4] Un peu comme le stade *vāyu-prāṇá* ChU. IV. 3 est transcendé par la *virā́j*, cf. Lüders SBB. 1916 p. 309.—L'étymologie du nom des Vasu, donnée correctement par le ŚB. (*eté hídaṃ sárvaṃ vāsáyante té yád idáṃ sárvaṃ vāsáyante tásmād vásava íti*, cf. les tours exactement concordants pour l'étymologie du nom de Rudra et des Āditya) est mutilée en *etéṣu hídáṃ sárvaṃ hitáṃ tásmād vásava íti* dans BĀU.-K., où Senart ne semble pas s'être aperçu que l'élément essentiel faisait défaut; cet élément

Toute la partie proprement '*brāhmaṇa*', sur le nombre des dieux, est reproduite dans JB. II. 76 (cité Oertel JAOS. XV p. 238) avec un scénario plus développé, JB. demeurant au reste plus voisin du ŚB. que de l'Up.

Bref, le Yājñavalkyakāṇḍa de la BĀU. nous apparaît comme l'élément authentique et essentiel de l'oeuvre. Or il est fait d'une série de dialogues où Janaka et Yājñavalkya jouent le rôle principal. Le point de départ strictement ritualisant, l'ambiance générale, maints détails de phraséologie, trahissent le souci d'imiter ou de prolonger les dialogues du Livre XI du Śatapatha. On peut dire que ce sont les *brahmodya* qui ont donné naissance à l'Upaniṣad, qui ont permis à l'Upaniṣad de se défaire du réseau où la maintenait l'Āraṇyaka. Il a suffi de faire glisser du plan rituel au plan spéculatif un exercice de joute dont le cadre était tracé d'avance, et où les matériaux mêmes de la spéculation étaient fournis par ŚB. X et XI. Si l'on rappelle en effet que ce Livre XI est celui où l'*ātmán* cherche son individualité en face des 'souffles' (2, 1, 2) (qu'on mesure le progrès par rapport à VI. 2, 2, 13; VIII. 1, 4, 3 où l'*ātmán* n'est pas encore ségrégé), où plus généralement la spéculation s'essaie autour des rites décrits sous I–V et notamment autour de l'Agnihotra qui a cristallisé les thèmes d'épreuve liturgique et de savoir sacerdotal, on sera disposé à admettre une sorte de ligne continue entre ŚB. XI et BĀU. 3-4, l'un et l'autre textes étant placés sous le patronage de Yājñavalkya.[1]

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est fourni par BĀU.-M., qui prolixement y surimpose la teneur de ŚB. XI: *etéṣu hī́dáṃ sárvaṃ vásu hitám eté hī́daṃ sárvaṃ vāsáyante tád yád idáṃ sárvaṃ vāsáyante tásmād vásava íti*.

[1] Signalons encore un 'emprunt': l'expression *yád idáṃ kurupañcālā́nāṃ brāhmaṇā́n atyávādīḥ kíṃ bráhma vidvā́n* BĀU. III. 9, 19 n'a guère de raison d'être dans l'Up.; elle doit provenir de ŚB. XI. 4, 1, 2 *kaúrupañcālo vā́ ayáṃ brahmā́* (et JB. II. 76).—*Áti-vad* qu'on a dans ladite phrase ne signifie pas 'décrier' (Senart), mais ('prétendre) surpasser en parole': c'est, comme *áti-pṛch-*, un terme typique du

On peut mettre en fait qu'il n'y a pas de révolution dans le passage des Br. aux Up., pas plus qu'entre tel hymne rituel ou mythologique de la Rksaṃhitā et tel hymne dit 'spéculatif'. C'est, dans les mêmes schémas et avec les mêmes conventions, l'approfondissement d'un autre aspect des corrélations et correspondances élémentaires qui sont comme le substrat de toute la pensée védique.[1]

Appendice.—Le récit de la compétition entre Yājñavalkya et les brâhmanes groupés par Janaka, compétition se terminant par la défaite et la mort de Śākalya, est repris dans le Vāyupurāṇa LX. 35, sqq. = Brahmāṇḍap. II. 34, 36 sqq.: résumé chez R. C. Hazra Studies in the Purāṇic records p. 252.

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brahmodya ŚB. XI. 6, 2, 5; PB. XII. 13, 15; JB. I. 22 et 205; ChU. VII. 15, 4 et 16, 1; MuU. III. 1, 4 et cf. Ruben ZDMG. LXXXV p. 240 n.

[1] Enfin, s'il est vrai que le fond et la forme de la BĀU. (et, médiatement, des autres Up. 'anciennes') dépend étroitement du ŚB. ou, au sens plus large, des exigences du *brahmodya* védique, on a là un indice non négligeable dans le débat, tacite ou formel, qui oppose depuis tant d'années les tenants de la priorité des Upaniṣad et ceux de la priorité du canon bouddhique. Le dialogue upaniṣadique est engagé profondément dans la tradition du Veda; il est une résultante, forme et fond, du Brāhmaṇa. C'est d'abord ce qu'il faut tenir présent à l'esprit avant d'imaginer que le sermon bouddhique ait pu agir sur l'Upaniṣad. Les traces de bouddhisme qu'on relève ici sont des germes plutôt que des réminiscences, et à bien des égards, même quand il prend l'antithèse, Yājñavalkya est le maître à penser (et à dire) du Buddha.

THE POLICY OF THE GRAND MUGHALS *VIS-À-VIS* THE RĀJPUT STATES

By H. GOETZ

What distinguished the Mug͟hal Empire from all other Muslim States in India was the fargoing conscious use made of Hindu soldiers, officers and high officials. Generally the rôle of Hindus in the State service had been restricted to clerical work, chiefly in the revenue department. Hindu troops, generals, even governors were occasionally employed already since the days of the later G͟haznavid sultāns, but this was always the exception, enforced by the weakness of some rulers, and first the Grand Mug͟hals raised it to a conscious and well-considered policy.

As a matter of fact, this Mug͟hal policy had in the beginning been inspired by the same motives which had, before, led to the employments of Hindu troops and officers, as the first Mug͟hal emperors, late-comers on the Indian political scene, had to face a common front of already established Muslim States and were, therefore, forced to find allies amongst the Hindu States still resisting Muslim advance, the most important of which were the Rājput kingdoms. But in the hands of Akbar the Great this makeshift alliance was transformed into one of the fundamental pillars of the empire. It was this alliance with the Rājputs which permitted Akbar to consolidate the shaky state of his father and grandfather, to subjugate the Muslim states of Kashmīr, Sind, Bengal, Mālva, Gujarāt, Khāndesh and Ahmadnagar, and to check the power of his Muslim nobles, of his brother Muhammad Hakim, his cousins the Mīrzās and of the orthodox party opposed to his reforms. It was this alliance which, notwithstanding all frictions, assured the absolute authority of his successors until the death of Aurangzēb, and the expansion of the empire into Assam and the Deccan. It was the estrangement of the Rājputs by Aurangzēb's religious intolerance which made possible the victorious advance of the Marāthas and made the later Mug͟hal emperors helpless tools in the hands of their Muslim, and at last also Hindu nobles, and which resulted in the disintegration of the empire.

However, it would be foolish to believe that the Grand Mug͟hals could rely on the Rājputs as followers of unquestioned reliability and servile loyalty. As a matter of fact the Rājputs were very difficult vassals who could be controlled only by the utmost tact and a clever policy exploiting their national weaknesses. The Rājputs were the best soldiers of the empire although they could not compete with the efficiency of the Muslims in military technique,

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mobility and strategy. But to the calculated caution of the Muslim adventurers they could oppose the dare-devil bravery of a feudal society, who were prepared to throw away their lives even for a ridiculous point d'honneur. They formed the assault parties who stormed the breaches which the mines of Muslim sappers had blown and the lost battalions who bore the brunt of the battle in victory and retreat.

But they provided also the garrisons for innumerable Mug͟hal forts, from the Deccan to the Khyber Pass and the swamps of the Brahmaputra. But this same dare-devil bravery made them likewise extremely sensitive in all matters of honour and etiquette, and of personal ambitions; and more than once Rājput nobles were massacred even at the imperial court because they started duelling in the midst of a durbār. The warriors who were prepared to shed their blood for the emperor, were not less liable to break out in rebellion on the slightest provocation.

But for the same reason they were divided amongst themselves, the more as they knew no loyalty outside their clan or their marriage relations. In order to control suchlike unruly warriors, the Mug͟hal emperors had to use these virtues and weaknesses of the Rājputs, their loyalty to bonds of blood, their clannish particularism and their mutual jealousies. This policy has so far never been studied in its entirety, although both Akbar's and Aurangzēb's relations to the Rājputs have been dealt with in detail by various historians, sometimes arriving at contradictory conclusions. These contradictions were unavoidable without a clear conception, as a whole, of the Mug͟hal policy *vis-à-vis* the Rājput States, which again was the result of the fact that the affairs of these States are only occasionally discussed in the Muslim chronicles, so that we must glean our informations from the casual references to Rājput rulers, nobles and contingents in the Mug͟hal armies or at the imperial court, or the brief records of their periodical rebellions. A considerable complementary material lies embedded in the Rājput bardic songs and chronicles which are so far hardly explored, though the chief informations have fortunately been incorporated into the historical accounts of the various State gazetteers. It is true that this material is not less onesided than the informations provided by the Mug͟hal chronicles. Whereas the Mug͟hal chronicles neglected Rājput history as the merely local affairs of 'idolaters', the bards, on the other hand, were not critical historians at all. They not only suppressed or excused all unglorious events, but sacrificed historical exactness to a heroic dramatization and elaboration of often childish anecdotes. But notwithstanding these embellishments there is always a nucleus of real facts in these traditions which not only complements the Mug͟hal chronicles, but often enough offers the key to a sober political analysis.

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In order to understand the Mughal policy *vis-à-vis* the Rajputs, we must discard the official interpretations, excuses and recriminations both of the Mughal eulogists and of the Rājput bards which are worth as much and as little as political propaganda everywhere and in all times. Instead, we must reconstruct the actual course of developments and try to analyze them in terms of a realistic power-political game, making due allowance for irrational psychological and ideological influences on both sides.

The Rājput States had regained their independence during the disintegration of the Tughluq Empire mainly in the contested desert area between Delhi, Jaunpur and Mūltān, and the kingdoms of Mālwa and Gujarāt. They were loose feudal conglomerations, stronger in resistance than in attack, and long disregarded by their Muslim neighbours. A serious clash was to be inevitable first when they became sufficiently consolidated as to represent a threat to the communication lines of another centralized Muslim empire. This general consolidation was at last attempted by Rānā Kūmbha and Rānā Sanga of Chitorgarh, and Rāo Maldeo of Jodhpur, and the Muslim empire with which it had to clash was that of the Mughals. Rānā Kūmbha had still been the champion of Rājput resistance against the warring sultanates. But when Bābur invaded Northern India, he could not think of advancing beyond Agra before he had defeated Rānā Sanga at Khānua and Medinī Rāi at Chanderi (1527). The victory was so crushing that soon afterwards (1534) Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt could storm and sack Chitorgarh, and that in 1536 Humāyūn found no opposition on his march through Mālwa into Gujarāt.

But in a feudal society the position of the suzerain was always precarious. The disasters of Khānua, Chanderi and Chitorgarh had broken not the Rājput nation, but merely the leadership of Mewār. This was now usurped by Rāo Maldeo of Mārwār whose father had still fought under Rānā Sanga at Khānua and whose great-grandfather Ranmall had lived as a refugee at the court of Rānā Mokal. During the struggle between Humāyūn and Shēr Shāh he attacked the surrounding States and took Dhūndhār (the later Jaipur), Ajmer, Bīkāner, Siwāna, Jalor, Sirohi and parts of Mewār, and secured these conquests by mighty forts. For this reason, however, he could not keep out of the struggle for Muslim supremacy, despite an ambiguous policy of double-crossing and treachery, and likewise suffered a crushing defeat from Shēr Shāh in 1544. But Shēr Shāh's death before Kālinjar soon afterwards and the quick disintegration of the Sūrī Empire saved Maldeo.

However, these conquests first of Mewār, then of Mārwār offered to the other Rājput States reasons to fear for their future. Bihārī Mall of Dhūndhār became a mansabdār of Humāyūn, and also

Bhīmrāj, brother of Kalyān Mall of Bīkāner entered the service first of Humāyūn, then of Shēr Shāh.

Akbar's early policy followed the traditional lines. But soon the position of Maldeo who was recovering from his defeat, became a problem for the safety of his communication lines to Mālwa which Adham Khān had conquered in 1560. In 1561 Akbar attacked Mārwār, took in 1562 the strong fortress of Mērtā and forced Maldeo into vassalage. It was on this occasion that Bihārī Mall and his son Bhagwāndās were presented to Akbar. It seems that it was Bhagwāndās who suggested to Akbar the new policy of an alliance with the Rājputs; for in all the following years he appears not only as Akbar's loyal follower, but also as his principal negotiator with the Rājput princes. His adopted son and heir Mān Singh became one of Akbar's most influential generals and governors, and soon afterwards Akbar married a Dhūndhārī princess at Sāmbhar. In 1568 he assisted Akbar in the famous capture of Chitor, during the siege of Rānthambhor, in 1569 he negotiated the submission of the Rāo of Būndī, in 1570 at Ajmer that of Rāo Kalyān Mall of Bīkāner and of his son Rāi Singh, and of Rāval Har Rai of Jaisalmer. In 1573 he even brought Umrāo Singh, son of Rānā Pratāp, into Akbar's service. The conditions of submission were very honourable, though the reception of a princess of each of these States into Akbar's zenāna met with some resistance, in spite of Akbar's fargoing religious tolerance. Nevertheless that latter measure was important and proved valuable in the long run. For as in a feudal society the bonds of blood relationship form the strongest source of political loyalty. And probably the Rājput alliance would have broken down much earlier under the strain of growing religious estrangement if Jahāngīr, Shāhjahān and Aurangzēb had not been nephews, cousins and uncles of the Rājput princes.

These alliances completely reversed the balance of power between the Rājput States. For Dhūndhār, Būndī, Bīkāner and Jaisalmer had so far been weak States, with difficulty maintaining their independence against the overwhelming superiority of Mewār and Mārwār. Now, as Mughal generals and governors, they could not only reckon on the support of the imperial authority but also had at their disposal enormous revenues from war booty, taxes and other exactions. For instance Rāi Singh of Bīkāner had on the zenith of his influence ten times the income of his father Kalyān Mall. Mān Singh, as governor of Bihār and Bengal, was not less better off than his adoptive father Bhagwāndās. But as price they had to serve as Akbar's henchmen to keep the still recalcitrant Rājput States in check, which proved the easier as the marriage alliances had added social animosity to the already existing political conflicts. For the diehards treated Akbar's allies not merely as traitors, but as social outcasts.

Thus Mān Singh of Amber (Dhūndhār) could be set against Rānā Pratāp and defeated him in the bloody battle of Haldīghāt (1576) whereafter the Sisodias were reduced to a precarious existence as guerrilla leaders. Likewise was Rāi Singh of Bīkāner used to wear down Mal-Deo's successor Chandrasen and then Rāo Sūrthān of Sirohi, from 1572–1581 he was the actual lord of Mārwār. Rāo Sūrjan of Būndī, finally, was employed in conquering the Gond Rāj in 1576. In the Panjāb Himālaya Bakht-Mall of Dhameri was played out against Jai Chand of Kāngrā.

Of course, Akbar knew very well that such a policy was not without danger. He, therefore, always gave the Rājput generals a Muslim colleague or deputy who would control him. For in the long run this policy could not work. In case the Rājput opposition collapsed, the loyal rājās might become too powerful and even think of rebellion, as it actually happened later in Jahāngīr's and Shāhjahān's reigns, and as denunciations let it appear probable even in Akbar's later years when the rebellion of Sultān Salīm promised a weakening of the imperial power. But in case the opposition submitted, the loyalists had to be disappointed. And this moment had to come as the same game of playing out one party against the other was, parallel, resorted to also within the recalcitrant States. Thus prince Udai Singh was in Mārwār supported against Chandrasen, as later on Sagra was set up by Jahāngīr against Pratāp Singh's son Amar Singh I. Moreover, the continued guerrilla war, even when successful, had to undermine the position of the rājās; the aristocracy, even when continuing to oppose the Mug͟hals, would in the long run dream of carving out their own independent principalities.

Thus, when Chandrasen died in 1581, Udai Singh made his peace with Akbar. Thereupon Rāi Singh had to return Mārwār, with the exception of Nāgaur and Phalodi which had formed only recent acquisitions of the Jodhpur kingdom. Rāi Singh was recompensated with high posts in Afg͟hānistān, Gujarāt and Khāndesh and fiefs comprising almost half of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār. Similarly was Mān Singh made governor of Bihār, Bengal and Orissa when the Mewār campaign had ended in a temporary stalemate, partly in consequence of the inaccessibility of the inner Aravallīs, partly because of a temporary estrangement between the emperor and Mān Singh. But these posts and fiefs, however glamorous they might appear, were outside Rājputānā, personal honours and estates, not additions to the patrimonial kingdoms.

Now Udai Singh of Jodhpur and his son Gaj Singh had to prove their loyalty by fighting the indomitable Sūrthān Singh of Sirohi, Muzaffar III of Gujarāt and finally Rānā Amar Singh of Mewār. But the Grand Mug͟hal could not grant more and more lands to his vassal rājās. As the rājās were played out against each other so they were held in balance by the great Muslim nobles. A solution of this difficulty had already been prepared by the switch-over from an aggrandizement of the loyal states to a rise of the personal rank and estates of the loyal rulers. With their death these honours relapsed to the crown. Gujarāt, Kāthiāwār, Bihār, Bengal were lost to Bīkāner and Amber after the death of Rāi Singh and Mān Singh.

However, the same succession quarrels which later on ruined the Mughal Empire, weakened also all the Rājput States. They were the common curse of polygamy otherwise a useful institution where bonds of blood were tantamount to political bonds. Also the long absence of the rājās from home in the imperial service facilitated intrigues in their back by ambitious sons, rāṇīs and other relatives. These quarrels offered to the emperors opportunities not only to resume former grants, either as a punishment, or as price for acknowledging a disputed succession, but also to divide a kingdom or at least to split off some bits as independent principalities. This game could be further complicated by thus transferring parts of one kingdom to a branch of another dynasty. By this device not only good old neighbours could be turned into deadly enemies; but also parallel branches of the same dynasty, each dreaming of reuniting the kingdom of their ancestors, could be played out against each other.

This new policy began to take shape already during the last decades of Akbar's reign, and became the dominant one under Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān. It started with the denunciations against Mān Singh of Amber after Haldighāt, and was first really put in action against Rāi Singh of Bīkāner; father-in-law and friend of Sultān Salīm, the latter was denounced to be a rebel by his own son Dalpat Singh and minister Karam Chand. Rāi Singh could crush the intrigues of his minister, but only by disobeying Akbar's orders which expected him to go to the Deccan with prince Dānyāl. Thereupon the northern half (Bhatner) of Bīkāner State proper was given to his son Dalpat Singh. After Rāi Singh's death the scales of fortune turned even more. For now Jodhpur had assumed the charge to watch over Amar Singh I of Mewār, and Sūr, Gaj and Jaswant Singh had risen high in the Mughal military service. Thus after Rāi Singh's death also Phalodi was retransferred to Mārwār; and when Dalpat Singh was deposed and killed in an internal revolution, his successor Sūr Singh, though regaining Bhatner, lost also Nāgaur.

However, the transfer of Nāgaur already formed part of a policy of splitting up also the Jodhpur dynasty. Bīkāner had already been the product of a secession in the 15th century. Now between 1596 and 1611 Kishangarh was founded on Amber territory after the disgrace of Mān Singh. Ratlam was founded on the Mālwa border as a frontier guard against Amar Singh I of Mewār. Finally in 1634, twenty years after also Mewār had submitted and proved loyal, Nāgaur was bestowed on Amar Singh, Gaj Singh's exiled eldest son. It was the most dangerous of all these 'favours', for the Nāgaur principality set at variance not only Jodhpur and Bīkāner, but as the Nāgaur dynasty represented the disinherited senior branch of the Jodhpur Rāṭhors, it was also a permanent threat and thorn in the side of the now ruling younger line. As Akbar had once set the Rāthor Rāi Singh of Bīkāner over Rāthor Jodhpur, Aurangzēb was after the death of Jaswant Singh to play out the Rāthor Indra Singh of Nāgaur against Ajīt Singh. And even later, in the 18th century, Nāgaur under Bakhat Singh was to contest the supremacy of Jodhpur under Abhai and Rām Singh.

Amber did not necessitate interference. Mān Singh had died in 1615. His next successors Bhāo Singh (1615–21) and Mahā Singh (1621–25) were weak debauchees. And the great Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh I (1625–67) still was a young boy at the time of his accession to the gaddi. Only later he rose in the imperial favour as one of Aurangzēb's chief supporters in the civil war, especially against Shāh Shujā and Dārā Shikoh. But his governorship in the Deccan proved a failure. Though in 1665 he forced Śivājī at Pūrandhār to surrender, his arrangements with the Marātha leader were disavowed by the emperor, his expensive campaign against Bījāpur was unsuccessful, and he died in 1667 at Burhānpur, heartbroken according to the Mughal, poisoned according to the Rājput records. Also Būndī was weakened in A.D. 1625 when Kotāh under Ratan Singh's younger son Mādho Singh was separated from the mother State under Ratan Singh's grandson Chhattarsāl.

This policy would in the long run have resulted in the dissolution of the Rājput kingdoms into a galaxy of petty principalities which then might easily have been turned into ordinary fiefs, and their rulers into average Mughal officers. In Europe the modern national monarchies of the 16th and 17th centuries had, by a similar process, grown from the feudal States of the Middle Ages. But with the absorption of the former Muslim kingdoms the Mughal Empire under Shāhjahān and Aurangzēb became more and more the expression of Muslim power and Muslim ideology in India. The Rājputs could thus expect in the long run to be tolerated, at the best, in the middle and lower ranks of the army and administration. And this apprehension, growing with the years, altered the attitude of the Rājput princes *vis-à-vis* the favours granted by the imperial court. What was the use of all those sacrifices in toil and blood if all the honours and grants ended only in being resumed, and the State left weakened and divided? As the imperial favour could not be trusted, why not secretly turn the powers and estates granted by the Grand Mughal into real possessions and to defend them even against the emperor? At every succession the empire broke temporarily up into factions. Might it not disintegrate, as in the 14th and 15th centuries, into minor kingdoms amongst which also that of a daring Rājput adventurer could find its place?

Such like ideas must have circulated already in Akbar's last years; they led to minor revolts during Jahāngīr's reign, immediately after his accession and later during the rebellion of prince Khurram and the *coup d'état* of Mahābat Khān. They broke out, at last, in a grand style under Shāhjahān. The two most conspicuous of these rebellions were those of Bundelkhand and Nūrpur. The rājās of Orchhā had profited from the fall of Medinī Rāi whom Sultān Bābur had in 1527 attacked and killed in Chanderi. Under Rudra Pratāp, Bhārati Chand and Madhukar Shāh they became the virtual lords of Bundelkhand, and Madhukar Shāh (1554–92) submitted to Akbar only after several rebellions. His successor Rām Shāh was a weakling. The more ambitious was his brother Bīr Singh Deo who ingratiated himself with Sultān Salīm by the assassination of Akbar's friend Abū'l-Fazl in 1602 and was by Jahāngīr raised to the throne of his brother soon after he had become emperor. Bīr Singh Deo used the imperial favour to build up a mighty and splendid kingdom in Bundelkhand. Shāhjahān, however, had no similar reasons for indulgence towards Bīr Singh Deo's son Jujhār Singh (1627–34) and started to investigate into denunciations brought forth by the new rājā's brothers. After a short visit to the court Jujhār Singh rebelled; but confronted with a conspiration of his brother Hardaur Singh with the rāṇī, he had to submit to Shāhjahān. In 1633 he deserted again from the Deccan front, fell over the Gondwāna Rāj, and was finally hunted down by Shāhjahān's troops. Bundelkhand was annexed, but continued to be in a state of latent revolt until Aurangzēb's intolerance blew the smouldering embers of sedition again into flames.

Dhameri, later renamed Nūrpur, had been played out against the obstinate rājās of Kāngrā. But already rājā Bāsu (1580–1613) took part in Sultān Khusrau's rebellion, and his successor Sūraj Mall (1613–18) used the defence of the imperial cause against the rājās of Kāngrā as a pretext for a similar rebellion. Jagat Singh (1619–46) and his son Rājrūp were more cautious. They used Sultān Khurram's rebellion only for an expansion of their State, then rose high in the imperial favour, fought in Wazīristān and the Deccan, and were at last made governors of Bangash and the Kāngrā Valley. In 1640 they made themselves independent. And in order to subdue them again, Shāhjahān needed two years of hard fighting, with the co-operation of the surrounding hill States, especially Mandī, Chambā and Basohlī.

Both rebellions had been crushed only in lengthy campaigns and must have aggravated the intransient tendencies on both

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sides. The lesson was too obvious: Though Shāhjahān could afford to be lenient, it was evidently necessary to weaken the States further. The rājās could not be dispensed with as the loyalty of the Rājput soldiers depended on them; but hundreds of petty rulers would serve this purpose much better than a few strong States. Though the great Rājput princes remained loyal, it had, on the other hand, been proved that the imperial power was not invincible, supposed other circumstances would weaken it sufficiently.

Such a situation turned up with the civil war between Shāhjahān's sons (1657–59). Sentimentally most Rājput rulers tended to side with Shāhjahān and Dārā Shikōh who had been tolerant, resp. even friendly to their Hindu subjects, in contrast to Aurangzēb whose intolerant Muslim extremism was already well-known. The rājās of Jodhpur, Būndī and Kotāh in fact fought in Dārā's armies at Dharmatpur and Samūgarh; the Rānā of Udaipur, though in sympathy, hesitated until the decision had fallen. Jai Singh of Amber, Karan Singh of Bīkāner and Champat Rāi of Bundelkhand, however, supported Aurangzēb. However, soon after his coronation Aurangzēb had to suppress a rebellion of several princes who just before had supported him. Their motives are not mentioned. Some probably had hoped for the opportunities offered by a prolonged civil war, and were disappointed at finding a harder fist to rule them than before. Others probably had expected a reward which was not granted. With Jodhpur a chief champion of Dārā Shikōh, could not Bīkāner expect the return of Nāgaur and Phalodi? But Aurangzēb had not shown such like intentions.

But to Aurangzēb this experience must have been a corroboration of the lesson of the Bundela and Nūrpur wars. Except Jai Singh of Amber, no prominent Rājput ruler had proved loyal to him, and even that one exception was doubtful. Remarks alleged to Jai Singh rather create the impression that he was not moved merely by loyalty, but by long-term Macchiavellian calculations very similar to those of the Orchhā and Nūrpur princes. Thus Aurangzēb transformed into a systematic policy of weakening and destroying the Rājput States, what so far had been not more than a cautious exploitation of opportunities offered by the princes themselves. And this policy was even openly proclaimed. The suppression of the Hindu fairs, the destruction of the Hindu temples, the introduction of the poll-tax, the campaigns against Satnāmīs, Jats, Sikhs, etc. formed the general background. The oppression of Bundelkhand, the degradation of the successors of the great Mīrzā Rāja, the offer of several Rājput gaddis to apostates, the deposition of Karan Singh of Bīkāner and of Bahādur Singh of Shekhāvatī, the alleged, attempted or achieved assassination of several princes, the instigated attacks of Ātmarām Gaur of Sheopur and of Pahār Singh of Indrakhī on Anirudh Singh of Būndī, of Amar-

Singh of Jaisalmer and Banmālīdās, an illegitimate son of Karan Singh, on Bīkāner, of Indra Singh of Nāgaur on Jodhpur, the disgrace of Jaswant Singh and the arrest of his family, the occupation of Khandela and of Mārwār, the invasions into Bīkāner and Udaipur formed the more specified features in the same picture. And in this picture the traditional rôle of the Rājputs in the Mughal political system likewise appeared in an ominous light: to fight the emperor's battles was not an honour, but part of a devilish scheme of extermination; for had not the Muslims made it always quite clear that every dead Rajput was one more Hindu gone to hell.

But just because this policy was so glaringly blunt, it did not work. Like so many other masters of the petty political intrigue, Aurangzēb did not realize the great forces he threw out of balance. When he needed the Rājput soldiers—more than ever, he forfeited their loyalty and had to rely on a predominantly mercenary army. When his war expenses rose to the limits of what the empire could bear, he ruined the economic life of whole provinces by the guerrilla war into which he drove an exasperated population. Nothing is so ruinous to a country than a war between plundering guerrillas and marauding armies without pay, separated by a broadening gulf of distrust and hatred. The situation must in fact have been much more serious than is generally assumed. From the Rājput records it appears that the paralysis of the imperial forces, and their defeats in the Deccan and Afghānistān were in a considerable measure due to sabotage of the Rājput contingents still serving in the Mughal army.

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Thus in the interval between the occupation of Mārwār and the conquest of Bījāpur and Golconda Aurangzēb had again to revise his policy *vis-à-vis* the Rājput States. With Bundelkhand, Mewār —allied with prince Akbar—and Mārwār in rebellion, the popular masses of the North seething with revolt, the Marāthas raiding in the South, the emperor had to return to the initial policy of Akbar, i.e. to keep in check the rebel Rājputs by other loyal Rājput States. These States were Amber under Bishan Singh and later Sawai Jai Singh, Bīkāner under Anūp Singh and Būndī under Anirudh Singh. For this purpose he had to make tacit concessions, especially to stop the interference with the religious affairs of these States. To these must be added also Mewār after Rānā Jai Singh had concluded peace with the emperor in 1681. As a result all these States became havens of refuge to Hindu religion, literature and science which experienced a renascence under Sawai Jai Singh, Anūp Singh, Anirudh's successor Budh Singh, and the Rānās Jai and Amar Singh II.

Of course, Aurangzēb had never regarded these concessions as more than a makeshift. Yet tied down in the Deccan in an ever expanding, seemingly victorious and yet never conclusive, but

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exhausting war he could no more revert this decision. Neither could his successors do anything else. No genuine new policy evolved, because the whole, carefully built up balance of power within the too vast empire was so thoroughly shaken that it would have been difficult to find even the foundations on which to reconstruct it. For after the balance between Muslims and Rājput nobles and soldiers had been removed, the administration was slipping from the hands of the emperors, and was bound to disintegrate when in Farrukhsiyar's time it had definitively become the instrument of a dictatorial party. But because the now predominantly Muslim army was the last instrument left to the emperors, their Rājput policy proved an utter failure. It vacillated between desperate and temporarily successful attempts to crush the Rājput opposition by force, and utter concessions because the army was urgently needed elsewhere. Thus the victories won broadened the gulf without laying any foundations for a permanent authority. The Rājput rulers gave in, but were merely playing for time in order to consolidate their position at home. Rājput troops were for some time still available for other theatres of war, but the Rājput States could no more be played out against each other in the name of the emperor. Such conquests as they made, they took for themselves. And when at last Muhammad Shāh tried to employ the most prominent rājās apparently still loyal to his court, they did so only in their own interest. Instead of using the Rājput princes as its tools, the imperial court had now been reduced to an occasional object of their policy.

Bahādur Shāh who as his father's Commander-in-Chief in the North had always been more pre-occupied with the Rājput affairs, first crushed Ajīt Singh in 1707 and occupied Jodhpur and Amber, but then had to leave the field to him in order to deal, in the Deccan, with Kām Bakhsh, returned in 1710 to Ajmer, but *vis-à-vis* the new Rājput league had to acknowledge the *de facto* situation, especially the restoration of the Mārwār kingdom, because the threat from the Sikh leader Banda proved much more serious. Again in 1714 Husain 'Alī Khān overran Mārwār and forced Ajīt Singh to submission, but was called back by the intrigues against his and his brother's dictatorship. Instead, Ajīt became governor of Gujarāt and Sawai Jai Singh settled the Jāt rising near Delhi; and both had their hands in the assassination of Farrukhsiyar. Under Muhammad Shāh the game was repeated. Ajīt Singh rebelled (1721) was attacked (1722) and murdered (1724). His successor Abhai Singh came (1726) to Delhi, and was appointed governor of Gujarāt. Likewise Sawai Jai Singh was in 1713 appointed governor of Ajmer, then of Agra, at last of Mālwa in 1732. However, neither Abhai Singh nor Sawai Jai Singh cared much to defend their provinces against the advancing Marāthas but regarded them mainly as temporary additions to their own power and revenues. But these struggles were a threat for the other States. Būndī was coveted by Amber-Jaipur, Bīkāner by Jodhpur. Thus the other rājās had to return home in order to look after their own affairs. By the time that the first Nizām assumed the governorship of the Deccan, all of them had left their garrisons.

A revival of imperial policy was tried under Ahmad Shāh. In 1750 the Bakhshī Salābat Khān undertook an expedition into Rājputānā in order to interfere in the triangular struggle between Bakht Singh of Nāgaur, Rām Singh of Jodhpur and Sawai Iśrī Singh of Jaipur. The expedition was a complete failure. Two years later the help of Mahārāja Gaj Singh of Bīkāner had to be summoned for restoring the imperial authority in the Hissar district which proved abortive because of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī's invasion of the Panjāb. On the other hand the emperor lost at that time one of his best prerogatives, that of coinage, though the name of Shāh 'Ālam II was preserved on the State coins even longer than in British India.

The relations between the Grand Mughals and the Rājput States, thus developed according to a very definite pattern, very similar to that of the relations between the great mediaeval vassals and the centralized national monarchies in 16th and 17th century Europe, or those between the British Crown and the Indian 'Native' States. It does not matter that a system of vassalage officially did not exist, that the Rājput princes as rulers in their own right were treated merely as great zamīndārs, that as members of the Mughal State they formed part of the mansabdārī system. For the Mughal administration represented an abortive attempt at transforming a feudal aristocracy into a military bureaucracy, and the story of the relations between the imperial authority and the Rājput States is part of the very story of this failure. But this failure can only be understood by penetrating beyond those legalistic constructions into the sphere of power relations. Successful government must take into account both the lofty ideals and aspirations, and the sordid and brutal urges of mankind. It can work the first only by paralyzing the latter by a balance of power, and it can overcome the frustration caused by the latter only by a successful appeal to the first. And again such an appeal can only be successful if these ideals can fulfil the hopes and needs of the time.

Akbar's Rājput alliances had represented a rarely well-balanced game of playing out the powers and aspirations of the Rājput States. He could not avoid disappointing his principal allies, but he could recompensate them. And his administrative reforms and religious policy contained the germs of a social evolution which might have made possible a gradual absorption of those feudal States into a modern society. But this social evolution died with

Akbar's reforms. Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān at least maintained the balance of power, and a minimum of religious toleration sufficient to recompensate the Rājput princes, as imperial officers, for the progressing disintegration of their inherited power. Aurangzēb, finally, tried completely to destroy the authority of the rājās. But by simultaneously abolishing all those social recompensations, he drove both the rulers and the ruled to exasperation. By upsetting the balance of power between the States, he enabled the rebellion to spread. And with the balance of power also between Mughals and Rājputs upset, his government not only turned into a ruinous military occupation, but also the authority of his house over the nobles became jeopardized. Like so many masters of the petty political intrigue, he was unable to understand the working of the fundamental social and psychological forces on which the Mughal Empire had been built. And the most important one of these had been the balance between Muslims and Hindus which could be preserved only in an atmosphere of religious tolerance.

JAINA CANONICAL SŪTRAS (VIII)

By B. C. LAW

Vivāga Sūya

The *Vivāga Sūya* (*Vipāka Sūtra*) is counted as the 11th *aṅga* of the Śvetāmbara Jain *āgama*. Winternitz calls it the text of the ripening of actions. As its name implies, it deals with the consequences or resultants, painful or happy, of past deeds. It contains stories on the retribution of good and bad deeds after the manner of the Buddhist *karma* stories in the *Avadāna-śataka* and *Karma-śataka*. The *sūtra* illustrates the painful consequences by ten anecdotes and happy resultants by ten stories, each illustrative anecdote or story forming a distinct section of two parts into which the text is divided. The stories after narrating the careers of persons concerned as human beings proceed to describe the courses of their transmigration until their attainment of liberation in the end. In the first part dealing with the painful consequences, eight out of ten persons concerned are males and two females, while in the second part all the ten persons concerned happen to be males. The *sūtra* is judged as a *kathānuyoga* type, inasmuch as it develops its themes with the help of appropriate narratives that are presented mostly in their bare outlines. As Siddhasena in his commentary on the *Tatthvārtha* (I. 20) explains, the title of the *sūtra* means that the text indicates and sets forth the felt consequences of deeds: *Vipākaḥ karmāṇāṃ anubhavastaṃ sūtrayati darśayati tad vipāka-sūtraṃ.* Although the word *karmaphala* meaning the fruits or results of deeds, may be taken broadly as a synonym of *karmavipāka*, in the Pali *nikāyas* a distinction is generally made between *phala* and *vipāka*, the first is taken to mean immediate results and the second after-effects or results that follow as consequences. The word *vipāka* carries with it the notion of maturity. Accordingly the word *vipāka* implies the resultants that become ripe from the totality of deeds in a particular birth.

The ten narratives in Part I are the stories of Mṛgāputra, Ujjitaka, Abhagnasena, Sakaṭa, Bṛhaṣpatidatta, Nandivardhana, Umbaradatta, Śaurikadatta, Devadatta and Añjusuta and those in Part II are the stories of Suvāhu, Bhadranandi, Sujāta, Vāsava, Jinadāsa, Dhanapati, Mahadbala, Bhadranandī, Mahaccandra and Varadatta. In general outlines the stories in each part are similar. Whether the course of transmigration starts in each case from past misdeeds or from past good deeds, it ends in the attainment of liberation. The turning point in each career takes place at a happy

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juncture where the person concerned is brought somehow or other into the august presence of Mahāvīra. The adoption of the life of a Jain recluse and the fulfilment of the duties incumbent thereon bring about the final liberation. Considered from this point of view the purpose of the stories is the same as that of the Pali *Apadānas* of the early Buddhist brothers and sisters. But as compared with them the Jain stories are uninteresting. An important point of distinction between them is that the *Apadānas* are related by the *theras* and *therīs* themselves, whereas in the Jain stories the course of transmigration is recounted by the Jain author and partly predicted by Mahāvīra himself.

The scenes of action of different stories are laid in a few cities of northern India bounded evidently on the south by the Vaitāḍhya (Vindhya) mountain. Their presiding deities are said to have been certain Yakkhas. The *sūtra* speaks of some Dhammaghosa class of Jain *theras* (II. 1) who are said to have wandered about with a retinue of 500 recluses. Whether it was their duty to preach the doctrine or to convey the message of piety is to be ascertained. From the description given in the *sūtra* it appears that the intention is to describe them as wandering teachers preaching the doctrine. The story of a *Dhammaghosaka* as met with in the Pali commentary on the *Dhammapada* leads us to think that it was the duty of a *Dhammaghosaka* to convey the message of piety to the people. The same may be inferred from the duty assigned by Aśoka to the agents employed for the purpose (*M.R.E.* Yerraguḍi version). Incidentally as noted by Mr. Kapadia[1] there are a few references having bearing upon social and religious life of the people but these are of very minor importance. From Jain doctrinal point of view the *sūtra* contains nothing new or important. Its purpose evidently is to discourage indulgence in five sinful deeds and to encourage the practice of five great vows, both of which have received a systematic treatment in the *Praśna-vyākaraṇa Sūtra*.

Rāyapasenaiya Sūya

The Rāyapasenaiya or Rāyapasenaijja or Rājapraśnīya sūtra[2] is counted as the second *upāṅga*. Malayagiri sūri, who was a

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[1] *The Canonical Literature of the Jainas*, p. 116 f.n. The *sūtra* mentions 16 kinds of diseases (section 22): asthma, cough, fever, burning sensation in the body, pain in the stomach or belly, fistula, piles, indigestion, an eye-disease, head-ache, loss of appetite, pain in eyes and ears, itching, dropsy, leprosy and a disease which rapidly consumed anything when eaten. The remedies are prescribed in section 23. Besides, the *sūtra* refers to human sacrifices (section 107), cruel ways of inflicting punishments for theft and adultery (sections 37, 63), various instruments used by jailors for inflicting corporeal punishments (sections 120-121), etc. (*The Canonical Literature of the Jainas*, pp. 136-137.)

[2] Rāyapasenaiya Suttam edited by Pandit Vecaradasa Jivaraja Doshi. The text has been edited with Malayagiri's commentary by the Āgamodaya Samiti,

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contemporary of Kumārapāla, wrote a commentary on it. As its title implies, it is a dialogue in which a king is the interlocutor. The kingly interlocutor is called Paesi (Sanskritized as Pradeśī) of Setavyā, a town which is placed in the half of the kingdom of Kekaya. Keśī, a follower of Pārśva, is represented as the gifted Jain recluse who answered the questions put to him by Pradeśī, met the arguments put forward by the latter while discussing the important problem of future life and rebirth according to the law of Karma. Pradeśī is in the rôle of a typical akriyāvādin of the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* and in that of a veritable *nāstika* denying the existence of soul as an entity apart from the body. This philosophical dialogue is contained in the second part of the *sūtra*, while the first part is concerned with the description of a grand worship of Mahāvīra by Pradeśī reborn as the god known as Sūryābhadeva. The turning point in the progressive career of Sūryābhadeva (which is to say that of Pradeśī) begins as usual from his interview with Mahāvīra. The Pali counterpart of this Jain sūtra is undoubtedly the dialogue known as the *Pāyāsi suttanta* in the *Dīgha Nikāya*. In the *Pali suttanta* the dialogue is put in the mouth of the Buddhist recluse, Kumārakassapa, the Flower Talker (*citrakathi*) and the chieftain Pāyāsi of Setavyā, a town within the kingdom of Pasenadi of Kośala, and a halting place on the southern road. Thus the scene of action is laid in both the texts in the town of Setavyā situated not far from Sāvatthī, the capital of Kośala.

The philosophical discussion contained in the Pali dialogue took place after the Buddha's demise, and it must have taken place almost immediately after the Buddha's *parinibbāna*, for we have a *Serīssaka-vimāna* story, which, in the body of the text, is said to have been narrated a century after the Buddha's demise. In this story the *nāstika* chieftain is represented as a god who became a dweller in the *Serīssaka* mansion and functioned as the protector of the caravan merchants in their journey across the desert of Rajputana. In the Pali dialogue Pāyāsi is represented as reborn immediately after his death as a god in a lower and lonely heavenly mansion, while his disciple Uttara is placed as a god in a higher and happier mansion. Both of them were visited from the earth by the thera Gavampati. In the Jain account the Serīssaka god of the later Vimāna story appears as the *Sūriābhadeva*. But in the Jaina treatment the philosophical discussion took place between Pradeśī and Keśī, the latter being a follower of Pārśva who is represented in the *Uttarādhyayana sūtra* as the contemporary of Mahāvīra and Gautama Indrabhūti. It is through Keśī that the followers of Pārśva

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Bombay, 1925; *vide* also Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, 16, 382ff.; Leumann, *Transactions of International Congresses of Orientalists*, VI, Leiden, 1883, III, 2, 490ff. H. B. Gandhi has translated and annotated it in 1938.

accepted also the discipleship of Mahāvīra. If the god Sūriābha had waited on Mahāvīra, the first heavenly rebirth of Pradeśī took place prior to the Buddha's demise. Evidently the Jaina account is a later literary manipulation bearing a peculiar stamp of originality. In the Buddhist account there is no attempt to magnify the greatness of the Buddha. Here the historical motive is more dominant than either literary or theological. The theological motive is not, however, altogether absent in the Buddhist narrative but it does not go beyond proving that Pāyāsi's first rebirth in a lower and lonely mansion, and his disciple's rebirth in a higher and happier mansion, were due to the fact that the former lacked reverence in offering a meal to the thera Kumārakassapa and his retinue, while his disciple was not wanting in it in offering the food on behalf of his teacher. The point of agreement in both the accounts is that although in the beginning of the philosophical discussion Pāyāsi or Pradeśī was not inclined to be convinced of the existence of an after-life, in the end he confessed that he was a believer. The arguments advanced by Pāyāsi or Pradeśī were all logical, relevant, and philosophical, while both Kumārakassapa and Keśī used some popular ghost stories by way of philosophical argument. Nevertheless the victory is claimed for the Buddhist thera and the Jain recluse. The inference to be drawn from both the accounts is that *nāstikya* as known at the time of Mahāvīra and the Buddha was neither the creed of Jainism nor that of Buddhism. The crass materialism was taken as something contrary to progressive life.

In the first part we have excellent literary descriptions of the city of Āmalakalpā, the āmrasālavana shrine, the Asoka tree, the Prithvīsilāpaṭṭa, king Śveta and queen Dhāriṇī of Āmalakalpā, physical characteristics, and mental and moral qualities of Mahāvīra, the celestial mansion of Sūryābhadeva, its beautiful pillars and opera-hall and pavilion, its maṇipīṭha, throne, Bhadrāsana and vehicles and conveyances. The grandeur of the worship is heightened by songs, dances, and instrumental music and enlivened by 32 varieties of dramatic representations (*abhinayas*). These are described as Candrāvatī, Sūryāvatī, the rise of the moon, the rise of the sun, and the like. The technical significance of them is not quite clear. In Nemichandra sūri's commentary on *Uttarajjhayaṇa* (XIII) there is mention of a *nāṭyavidhi* known as *Mahuyarīgīya*. Names of some of the musical instruments are given in this *sūtra* (s. 23). A list of nine materials associated with writing is also given (sec. 43). How far this mode of worship was consistent with the Jaina conception of austere religious life is not discussed. But the whole affair is described as a matter which concerned the celestial world. The details given of architectural varieties and decorations along with the *divyanāṭyavidhis* are important as bearing upon the development of the *śilpa* and *nāṭyaśāstras*. Corresponding to such

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a description we have pictures of various celestial mansions in the Pali *Vimānavatthu,* but the Pali descriptions pale into insignificance as compared with the Jaina narration. The Buddhist stories seem to belong to a much earlier stage of the Indian literary art and they are utilized only to encourage the practice of piety among the people and not as a means of heightening the glory of the Buddha in particular.

This text is of great importance as a literary piece of work. No doubt it begins with a long and tedious story in the style of the *Purāṇas* but the nucleus of the work as pointed out by Winternitz is really the dialogue between the king and the monk ending in the conversion of the former (*Rājapraśnīya Sūtra,* 65–79). According to Winternitz it is a splendid and lively dialogue in which the monk endeavours to prove to the king that there is a soul (*jīva*) independent of the body (*deha*), whilst the king thinks that he has proved the contrary by means of experiment. The king says that he has caught hold of a thief who has been cut up and hacked to pieces, but no trace of any soul has been found, whilst the monk retorts that he is even simpler than some people who wanted to make a fire and chopped up the fire sticks.[1] Dr. Barua in his *Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy* (p. 295) has made this point clear by saying that it is not possible to separate the soul from the body, pointing out that this is the soul and that is the body. It is possible in the case of a sword and its scabbard.

According to Winternitz the Sanskrit translation of the title *Rājapraśnīya* is probably erroneous. Presumably the work originally treated of king Prasenajit of Kośala in whose place Paesi was inserted. Winternitz evidently bases his contention on the supposition that the title of the *Upāṅga, Rāyapasenaijja,* as given in some of the *aṅgas,* is derived from Rājā Pasenaji (Pali, Pasenadi, Barhut, Pasenaji). But it is difficult to derive grammatically Pasenaijja from Pasenaji. Had it been derived from Pasenaji, the title would have been simply Pasenajja instead of Pasenaijja. The Pali dialogue definitely proves that the philosophical discussion took place between a thera and the ruler of Setavyā, and king Pasenadi is kept altogether out of the picture, although Pāyāsi happened to be a chieftain under him.

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[1] Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature,* Vol. II, pp. 455-6.

STUDIES IN THE *DHVANYĀLOKA*

By BISHNUPADA BHATTACHARYA

§ १ । स्वेच्छाकेसरिणः स्वच्छस्वच्छायायासितेन्दवः ।
त्रायन्तां वो मधुरिपोः प्रपन्नार्त्तिच्छिदो नखाः ॥

§ 1. [This is the benedictory verse of the *vṛtti* work. The *vṛtti* and the *kārikās* (though in the present case composed by the same author) constitute two separate and independent treatises, and we must always be particular in discriminating between these two works. So also, the *vṛttikāra* and the *kārikākāra* must *always* be looked upon as two different personages—*functionally*, though in some cases, and not infrequently too, they might be *numerically* identical. If we bear this important fact in mind it would be easy for us to grasp the cogency and import of some of the remarks of Abhinavagupta, the author of the °*Locana* commentary, which have caused much confusion regarding the identity of the authors of *vṛtti* and *kārikā* texts.][1]

According to Abhinavagupta, as also in the opinion of Bhaṭṭendurāja (Pratīhārendurāja) whose disciple he was, this verse illustrates all the three varieties of the suggested sense—viz. वस्तु, अलंकार and रस, the existence of which is sought to be established in this work. The commentary is worth quoting on this point: (१) नित्योद्योगिनश्च भगवतोऽसम्मोहाध्यवसाययोगित्वेन उत्साहप्रतीतेर्वीररसो ध्वन्यते । (२) किंच ते नखाः स्वच्छेन स्वच्छतागुणेन नैर्मल्येन । स्वच्छमृदुप्रभृतयो हि मुख्यतया भाववृत्तय एव । स्वच्छायया च वक्रहृद्यरूपयाऽऽकृत्याऽऽयासितः खेदित इन्दुर्यैः । अत्रार्थशक्तिमूलेन ध्वनिना बालचन्द्रत्वं ध्वन्यते । (३) किंच तदीयां स्वच्छतां कुटिलिमानं चावलोक्य बालचन्द्रः स्वात्मनि खेदमनुभवति । "तुल्येऽपि स्वच्छकुटिलाकारयोगेऽमी प्रपन्नार्त्तिनिवारणकुशलाः न त्वहम्" इति व्यतिरेकालंकारोऽपि ध्वनितः । किंच "अहं पूर्वमेक एव असाधारणवैशद्यहृद्याकारयोगात् समस्तजनाभिलषणीयताभाजनमभवम्, अद्य पुनरेवंविधा नखाः दश बालचन्द्राकाराः सन्तापार्त्तिच्छेदकुशलाश्चेति तानेव लोको बालेन्दुबहुमानेन पश्यति, नतु मा"मित्याकलयन्

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[1] For the authorship of the *Dhvanikārikās vide* the following important papers: (i) Professor Sivaprasad Bhattacharya's *Dhvanyāloka and Text of Dhvanikārikās* (Proceedings of the Sixth Oriental Conference, Patna); (ii) *The Authorship of the Dhvanikārikās* by Mr. A. Sankaran, B.A. (Hons.), in the Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference, Madras, 1924; and (iii) *A Dissertation on the Identity of the Author of the Dhvanyāloka* (*Dr. B. C. Law Volume*, Part I) and *A Supplementary Note* to the same (*Indian Culture*, Vol. XII, No. 2) by Dr. Satkari Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D.

बालेन्दुरविरतमायासमनुभवति इवेत्युत्प्रेक्षाऽपह्नुति-ध्वनिरपि। एवं वस्त्वलंकाररसभेदेन त्रिधा ध्वनिरत्र श्लोकेऽस्मद्गुरुभिर्व्याख्यातः॥

§२। काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिरिति बुधैर्यः समाम्नातपूर्व-
स्तस्याभावं जगदुरपरे भाक्तमाहुस्तमन्ये।
केचिद्वाचां स्थितमविषये तत्त्वमूचुस्तदीयं
तेन ब्रूमः सहृदयमनःप्रीतये तत्स्वरूपम्॥ १॥

बुधैः काव्यतत्त्वविद्भिः काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिरिति संज्ञितः परम्परया यः समाम्नातपूर्वः। सम्यक् आ समन्तात् म्नातः प्रकटितः। तस्य सहृदयजनमनःप्रकाशमानस्याप्यभावमन्ये जगदुः। तदभाववादिनां चामी विकल्पाः सम्भवन्ति।

§2. From this *kārikā* it can be easily gathered that Ānandavardhana only systematized and gave a definite shape to the *Dhvani*-theory which was known to his predecessors, and from whom he too had his lessons on the nature of the true essence of poetry. Abhinavagupta also notices it: परम्परयेति। अविच्छिन्नेन प्रवाहेण तैरेतदुक्तं विनाऽपि विशिष्टपुस्तकेषु विनिवेशनात् इत्यभिप्रायः। Thus it is plain that there was no definite treatise on *Dhvani* before Ānandavardhana's date. Compare also the concluding verse of the *vṛtti*-text:

सत्काव्यतत्त्वनयवर्त्म चिरप्रसुप्त-
कल्पं मनःसु परिपक्वधियां यदासीत्।
तद्व्याकरोत् सहृदयोदयलाभहेतो-
रानन्दवर्धन इति प्रथिताभिधानः॥ -उद्द्योत ४॥

The *kārikā* has been cited by Mahimabhaṭṭa in his व्यक्तिविवेक to illustrate the defect (काव्यदोष) known as प्रक्रमभेद (inversion of the order of words). Compare: "काव्यस्यात्मा..." इत्यत्र ध्वनिरितीतिशब्दस्य तावत् प्रक्रमभेदः। स हि काव्यात्मपदानन्तरं प्रयोक्तव्यः "काव्यस्यात्मेति" इति। अन्यथा ध्वनिनैवास्य संबन्धे विज्ञायमाने तस्य सर्वनामपरामर्शाभावे अभावो, भाक्तत्वं, वागविषयत्वं च न प्रतीयेत। तस्य अभिधानात्मन इतिना व्यवच्छेदात्, अन्यस्य च ध्वनेरनुपादानात्। स हि अभावादिधर्माधिकरणाभावेन सर्वनामपरामर्शयोग्योऽवश्यमुपादेयः। न चोपात्तः। यश्चोपात्तः स तदभिधानानुकारस्वरूपमात्रप्रधानो नार्थाभिमुख इति काव्यात्मन एवार्थस्य तदधिकरणभावो विज्ञायते, न ध्वनेः। स हि तत्र संज्ञामात्रम्। यत् स एवाह— "काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिसंज्ञित" इति।—व्यक्तिविवेक। विमर्श २ पृ० ३९३ (*Haridās Sanskrit Series* Edn., Benares). Most probably, Mahimabhaṭṭa took his hints from the comments of Abhinavagupta who notes the प्रक्रमभेद. Cf.: एवं तु युक्ततरम्। इतिशब्दो भिन्नक्रमो वाक्यार्थपरामर्शकः। ध्वनिलक्षणोऽर्थः काव्यस्यात्मेति यः समाम्नात इति। शब्दपदार्थकत्वे हि ध्वनिसंज्ञितोऽर्थ इति

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का सङ्गतिः ? एवं हि ध्वनिशब्दः काव्यस्यात्मेत्युक्तं भवेत्, गवित्ययमाहेति यथा। न च विप्रतिपत्तिस्थानमसदेव, प्रत्युत सत्येव धर्मिणि धर्ममात्रकृता विप्रतिपत्तिरित्यलमप्रस्तुतेन भूयसा सहृदयजनोद्वेजनेन ॥—°*Locana*, p. 11.

The frequent use of the term सहृदय in the texts of the *kārikā* and *vṛtti* had led Prof. Sovani to posit the theory that *Sahṛdaya* was the author of the *kārikā*-text. (*Vide* his paper in the *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, 1915). But, in fact, सहृदय refers to the 'connoisseurs' of poetry.

Jayaratha in his विमर्शिनी (Comm. on Rūyyaka's अलंकारसर्वस्व) notes that there were twelve rival theories opposed to the Dhvani theory, though ध्वनिकार notes in the first *kārikā* only three different views of his opponents, for these are the most important of all. His observations are as follows: तदेवं यद्यपि "तात्पर्यशक्तिरभिधा लक्षणाऽनुमिती द्विधा। अर्थापत्तिः क्वचित् तन्त्रं समासोक्त्याद्यलंकृतिः॥ रसस्य कार्यता भोगो व्यापारान्तरबाधनम्। द्वादशेत्थं ध्वनेरस्य स्थिता विप्रतिपत्तयः॥" इति नीत्या बहवो विप्रतिपत्तिप्रकाराः संभवन्ति, तथापि "काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिरिति" इत्युक्तनीत्यैव ध्वनेर्विप्रतिपत्तिप्रकारत्रयमिह प्राधान्येन उक्तम् ॥—*Vimarśinī*, p. 4 (NSP. Edn.). Thus the three principal contentions of the rival theorists can be stated as follows: (1) नास्त्येव ध्वनिरिति; (2) भक्तिरेव ध्वनिरिति; and (3) अनिर्वाच्यो ध्वनिरिति। As Abhinavagupta puts them: (1) तत्र समयापेक्षणेन शब्दोऽर्थप्रतिपादक इति कृत्वा वाच्यव्यतिरिक्तं नास्त्येव व्यङ्ग्यम्; (2) सदपि वा तदभिधावृत्त्याक्षिप्तं शब्दावगतार्थबलाकृष्टत्वाद् भाक्तम्; (3) तदनाक्षिप्तमपि वा न वक्तुं शक्यं कुमारीष्विव भर्तृसुखमतद्वित्सु इति त्रय एवैते प्रधानविप्रतिपत्तिप्रकाराः।—°*Locana*, p. 14. In the following text the author would refute these contentions one by one and would finally establish the separate existence of the suggested sense and a fourth function of words, viz. *suggestion* (व्यञ्जना) which conveys that sense.

§३। तत्र केचिदाचक्षीरन्—शब्दार्थशरीरं तावत् काव्यम्। तत्र च शब्दगताश्चारुत्वहेतवोऽनुप्रासादयः प्रसिद्धा एव। अर्थगताश्चोपमादयः। वर्णसंघटनाधर्माश्च ये माधुर्यादयस्तेऽपि प्रतीयन्ते। तदनतिरिक्तवृत्तयो वृत्तयोऽपि याः कैश्चिदुपनागरिकाद्याः प्रकाशिताः, ता अपि गताः श्रवणगोचरम्। रीतयश्च वैदर्भीप्रभृतयः। तद्व्यतिरिक्तः कोऽयं ध्वनिर्नामेति।

§3. Those who are अभाववादिन्'s can again take up three different positions, and as such the first objection noted above can have three sub-varieties (अवान्तरभेदाः). These are, in the words of Abhinavagupta: "तत्र अभावविकल्पस्य त्रयः प्रकाराः। (१) शब्दार्थगुणालंकाराणामेव शब्दार्थशोभाकारित्वात् लोकशास्त्रातिरिक्त-सुन्दरशब्दार्थमयस्य काव्यस्य न शोभाहेतुः कश्चिद् अन्योऽस्ति

योऽस्माभिर्न गणितः—इत्येकः प्रकारः। (२) यो वा न गणितः स शोभाकार्येव न भवतीति द्वितीयः। (३) अथ शोभाकारी भवति तर्हि अस्मदुक्त एव गुणे वाऽलंकारे वाऽन्तर्भवति, नामान्तरकरणे तु कियदिदं पाण्डित्यम्। अथाप्युक्तेषु गुणेषु अलंकारेषु वा नान्तर्भावः, तथापि किंचिद्विशेषलेशमाश्रित्य नामान्तरकरणम्, उपमाविच्छित्तिप्रकाराणामसंख्यत्वात्। तथापि गुणालंकारव्यतिरिक्तत्वाभाव एव। तावन्मात्रेण च किं कृतम्? अन्यस्यापि वैचित्रस्य शक्योत्प्रेक्षत्वात्। चिरन्तनैर्हि भरतमुनिप्रभृतिभिर्यमकोपमे एव शब्दार्थालंकारत्वेनेष्टे, तत्प्रपञ्चदिक्प्रदर्शनं तु अन्यैरलंकारकारैः कृतम्। तद्यथा 'कर्मण्यण्' इत्यत्र कुम्भकारादुदाहरणं श्रुत्वा स्वयं नगरकारादिशब्दा उत्प्रेक्ष्यन्ते। तावता क आत्मनि बहुमानः? एवं प्रकृतेऽपीति तृतीयः प्रकारः॥"—°*Locana*. The first of these subcontentions is discussed in this passage. "शब्दार्थशरीरं...काव्यम्"—शब्द and अर्थ constitute the body of poetry. *Vide* Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*, I.: "शरीरं तावदिष्टार्थव्यवच्छिन्ना पदावली": Also, Bhāmaha—"शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यम्" *Kāvyālaṁkāra*, I. 16. The position of these Negativists (अभाववादिन्) might be expressed thus: All are agreed on the point that शब्द and अर्थ make up the body of poetry. And we have already recognized the elements that enhance the beauty of the poetic creation by embellishing शब्द and अर्थ. For example, figures of speech like अनुप्रास and उपमा adorn शब्द and अर्थ respectively. We have recognized too गुण's like माधुर्य, etc., that belong to the particular arrangement of sounds (वर्णसंघटना). We have also heard of such *vṛttis* as उपनागरिका, etc., viz. परुषा or नागरिका, उपनागरिका or ललिता and कोमला or ग्राम्या—which, in fact, are not different from अनुप्रास and are merely varieties of the same, and as such can be reasonably subsumed under the latter:[1] *Rītis* like वैदर्भी, गौडी and पाञ्चाली, that are not independent of गुण's like माधुर्य, etc., have also come to our notice. What then is this novel element called ध्वनि, which you are striving to raise to the highest position and endeavouring to show as being quite different from the existing elements of poetry like गुण's and

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[1] Bhāmaha recognizes two different varieties of अनुप्रास, ग्राम्यानुप्रास and उपनागरिकानुप्रास (though not mentioned by name). *Vide Kāvyālaṁkāra*, II, 5-6. Udbhaṭa recognizes three different वृत्ति's ग्राम्या, उपनागरिका and परुषा. His definitions and illustrations of these three वृत्ति's are as follows:—

(१) शषाभ्यां रेफसंयोगैष्टवर्गेण च योजिता।
परुषा नाम वृत्तिः स्यात्ह्लह्रह्याद्यैश्च संयुता॥
तत्र तोयाशयाशेषव्याकोशितकुशेशया।
चकाशे शालिकिंशारुकपिशाशामुखा शरत्॥

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अलङ्कार's?[1] Thus according to these dissenters, गुण's and अलङ्कार's alone can make a poetic art beautiful and attractive, and as

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(२) सरूपसंयोगयुतां मूर्ध्नि वर्गान्त्ययोगिभिः ।
स्पर्शैर्युतां च मन्यन्ते उपनागरिकां बुधाः ॥
सान्द्रारविन्दवृन्दोत्थमकरन्दाम्बुविन्दुभिः ।
स्यन्दिभिः सुन्दरस्यन्दं नन्दितेन्दिन्दिरा क्वचित् ॥
(३) शेषैर्वर्णैर्यथायोगं कथितां कोमलाख्यया ।
ग्राम्यां वृत्तिं प्रशंसन्ति काव्येष्वादृतबुद्धयः ॥
केलिलोलालिमालानां कलैः कोलाहलैः क्वचित् ।
कुर्वती काननारूढश्रीनूपुररवभ्रमम् ॥
सरूपव्यञ्जनन्यासं तिसृष्वेतासु वृत्तिषु ।
पृथक् पृथगनुप्रासमुशन्ति कवयः सदा ॥—

Udbhaṭa's काव्यालंकारसारसंग्रह, pp. 5-6. (*Bombay Sanskrit Series* Edn.). For an etymological meaning of the term वृत्ति, compare °*Locana*: "तथाहि अनुप्रासानामेव दीप्तमसृण-मध्यमवर्णनीयोपयोगितया परुषत्व-ललितत्व-मध्यमत्वस्वरूपविवेचनाय वर्गत्रयसम्पादनार्थं तिस्रोऽनुप्रासजातयो वृत्तय इत्युक्ताः। वर्त्तन्ते अनुप्रासभेदा आसु इति।....."—p. 17. Abhinavagupta reminds us that Bhāmaha does not mention the term वृत्ति in his treatise but recognizes only ग्राम्यानुप्रास and उपनागरिकानुप्रास, while, though it has been first used by Udbhaṭa still he identifies the three वृत्ति's with three different varieties of अनुप्रास. This shows that वृत्ति's are not essentially different from अनुप्रास. *Vide*: अनतिरिक्तत्वादेव वृत्तिव्यवहारो भामहादिभिर्न कृतः। उद्भटादिभिः प्रयुक्तेऽपि तस्मिन्नार्थः कश्चिदधिको हृदयपथमवतीर्ण इत्यभिप्रायेणाह—गताः श्रवणगोचरम् इति।—°*Locana*, p. 19. Rudraṭa, however, recognizes five different वृत्ति's—viz. मधुरा, प्रौढा, परुषा, ललिता and भद्रा, as against the above three mentioned by Udbhaṭa. Namisūdhu, the commentator, quotes a Prakrit author called Hari, who enumerates eight different वृत्ति's: तथाहि अष्टौ हरिणोक्ताः। यथा—"महुरं परुसं कोमलमोजस्सिं निट्ठुरं च ललियं च। गंभीरं सामषं च अट्ठभणिति उनायव्वा ॥"—Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṁkāra*, p. 17 (NSP. Edn.).

[1] We are to note that ancient authors like Daṇḍin and Vāmana, etc., recognized two separate elements called गुण's and अलंकार's. It is in Vāmana that we meet with an attempt to draw a clear-cut line of division between the two. As he states: काव्यशोभायाः कर्त्तारो धर्मा गुणाः। तदतिशयहेतवस्तु अलंकाराः।

But Daṇḍin, who is older, seems to confound them, as Bhoja, the author of the सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण, notes. As he remarks: "नानालंकारसंसृष्टेः प्रकाराश्च रसोक्तयः" इत्युक्तम्। तत्र "अलंकारसंसृष्टेः" इतीयत्येव वक्तव्ये नानालंकारग्रहणं गुणरसानामुपसंग्रहार्थम्। तेषामपि हि काव्यशोभाकरत्वेन अलङ्कारत्वात्। यदाह—"काव्यशोभाकरान् धर्मानलंकारान् प्रचक्षते। ते चाद्यापि विकल्प्यन्ते कस्तान् कार्त्स्न्येन वक्ष्यति ॥ काश्चिन्मार्गविभागार्थमुक्ताः प्रागप्यलंक्रियाः। साधारणमलंकारजातमन्यत् प्रदर्श्यते ॥—(काव्यादर्श)। तत्र 'काव्यशोभाकरान्' इत्यनेन श्लेषोपमादिवद् गुण-रस-भाव-तदाभास-प्रशमादीनप्युपगृह्णाति। मार्गविभागकृद्गुणानामलंक्रियोपदेशेन श्लेषादीनां गुणत्वमिवालंकारत्वमपि ज्ञापयति ॥"—*Op. cit.* pp. 703-704 (NSP. Edn.). *Vide* also Taruṇavācaspati's comments on *Kāvyādarśa*, II. 3. But Bhoja's interpretation of the *Kāvyādarśa* text itself seems to be based on misconception, and it can be explained in a way so that

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ध्वनि can be included under neither of these two elements, it is, *prima facie*, impossible to recognize the claim of ध्वनि to the rank of a decorative element in poetry, and to the highest position at that.

§४। अन्ये ब्रूयुः—नास्त्येव ध्वनिः। प्रसिद्धप्रस्थानातिरेकिणः काव्यप्रकारस्य काव्यत्वहानेः। सहृदयहृदयाह्लादिशब्दार्थमयत्वमेव काव्यलक्षणम्। न चोक्तप्रस्थानातिरेकिणो मार्गस्य तत् संभवति। न च तत्समयान्तःपातिनः सहृदयान् कांश्चित् परिकल्प्य तत्प्रसिद्ध्या ध्वनौ काव्यव्यपदेशः प्रवर्त्तितोऽपि सकलविद्वन्मनोग्राहितामवलम्बते।

§4. Others might argue: 'There is no such element as ध्वनि or *suggested sense.* For, to be true poetry it must conform to the prevalent standards of poetic composition. Otherwise, it would fail to charm the connoisseurs of poetic art. And ancient critics like Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Udbhaṭa, Vāmana, etc., recognize as true poetry only those compositions which have their शब्द and अर्थ beautified by the गुण's and अलंकार's unanimously agreed upon. But, you, who are going to posit ध्वनि, deviate from these established standards and would not even blush to call a composition true *kāvya*,

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the distinction between गुण's and अलंकार's, which is so fundamental according to Daṇḍin's view, remains, as originally intended. As Vidyābhūṣaṇa Pandit Rangacaryya Raddi Shastri observes in his own comm.: एवं सामान्यतः अलंकारनिरूपणे प्रतिज्ञाते प्रसङ्गतः पूर्वं निर्णीतानामलंकाराणां पुनर्निरूपणं पिष्टपेषणवद् विफलं स्यादिति तान् परिहृत्यैव निरूपणं क्रियते इति कथयति—काश्चिदिति। काश्चित् श्रुत्यनुप्रासवृत्त्यनुप्रासयमकादयः। अलंक्रिया· शब्दालंकाराः। मार्गविभागार्थम् गौडवैदर्भमार्गयोर्वैसादृश्यद्योतनार्थम्। प्रागपि प्रथमपरिच्छेदे। उक्ताः।: तत्र श्रुत्यनुप्रासः ५२ श्लोकेन वृत्त्यनुप्रासः ५५ श्लोकेन यमकं च सामान्यतः ६१ श्लोकेन निर्दिष्टम्। तत्प्रयोजनं तु श्रुत्यनुप्रासो वैदर्भैरङ्गीकृतः न गौडैरित्यादिना मार्गभेदकथनम्। अतः तेऽलंकाराः न पुनर्निरूप्यन्ते इति भावः। अन्यत् पूर्वोक्तात् अन्यत्। साधारणमुभयमार्गसमानम्। गौडवैदर्भानुमतमित्यर्थः। अलंकारजातम् स्वभावाख्यानमुपमा इत्यादिना अग्रे निरूप्यमाणोऽलंकारसमूहः। प्रदर्श्यते विविच्यते। यमकस्य पूर्वं सामान्यतः लक्षणमुक्तम् तद्विशेषप्रकारनिरूपणं तु—तत् तु नैकान्तमधुरमतः पश्चाद् विधास्यते। (१.६१) इति पूर्वप्रतिज्ञानुरोधेनैव तृतीयपरिच्छेदे सोदाहरणं प्रपञ्चितमस्तीति ज्ञेयम्।—p. 114. (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Government Oriental Series, Class A, No. 4). *Vide* also MM. Premcand Tarkavāgīśa's comments on KD., II. 3. As for Udbhaṭa's view, compare Rūyyaka's *Alaṁkāra-sarvasva*: उद्भटादिभिस्तु गुणालंकाराणां प्रायशः साम्यमेव सूचितम्।—p. 7. We should note also the statement of Udbhaṭa, which has been cited by Mammaṭa in his *Kāvyaprakāśa*, Chap. VIII: एवं च समवायवृत्त्या शौर्यादयः संयोगवृत्त्या हारादय इत्यस्तु गुणालंकाराणां भेदः। ओजःप्रभृतीनामनुप्रासप्रभृतीनां च उभयेषां समवायवृत्त्या स्थितिः—इत्यभिधानमसत्। According to Hemacandra this is a citation from Udbhaṭa's भामहविवरण. *Vide*: इति भामहविवरणे यदुद्भटोद्भटोऽभ्यधात्—काव्यानुशासनटीका, p. 17.

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even though it might lack गुण's and अलंकार's (as in गतोऽस्तमर्कः).[1] So it is mere obstinacy to assert ध्वनि to be the soul of poetry (काव्यात्मा), as it throws overboard the recognized norms of poetic criticism.'

उक्तप्रस्थानातिरेकिणो मार्गस्य—refers to the ध्वनिमार्ग. Abhinavagupta explains it as: नृत्तगीताक्षिनिकोचनादिप्रायस्येत्यर्थः। If suggestion (व्यञ्जना) or the suggested meaning (व्यङ्ग्य) were something different from word and sense it would fall outside poetry, which consists of word and sense. The extra-verbal acts or their meaning are not poetry whatever else they might be just as the dance, musical tune, gesticulations and movements of the eyes, oggling, etc., though they communicate a meaning, agreeable or otherwise, are not instances of poetry.

न च तत्समयान्तःपातिनः......अवलम्बते—Now, the followers of the Dhvani school might confute the arguments of the Negativists by asserting that though ध्वनि might not be recognized by the opponents, yet those who are affiliated to this school and who are true सहृदय's would regard ध्वनि as the best kind of poetry, and as such it matters very little whether the opponents agree to it or not. This, the opponents state, is not the sound way of reasoning. For ध्वनि is merely a chimera, and no definition, howsoever ingeniously devised it might be, can make an imagination a reality. As Abhinavagupta so humorously puts it: "ननु ये तादृशमपूर्वं काव्यरूपतया जानन्ति, त एव सहृदयाः। तदभिमतत्वं च नाम काव्यलक्षणम् उक्तप्रस्थानातिरेकिण एव भविष्यतीत्याशङ्क्याह—न चेति। यथा हि खड्गलक्षणं करोमीत्युक्त्वा 'आतान-वितानात्मा प्रावियमाणः सकलदेहाच्छादकः सुकुमार-श्चित्रतन्तुविरचितः संवर्तन-विवर्तनसहिष्णुः अच्छेदकः सुच्छेद्यः उत्कृष्टः खड्ग' इति ब्रुवाणः, परैः 'पटः खल्वेवंविधो भवति न खड्ग' इत्ययुक्ततया पर्यनुयुज्यमान एवं ब्रूयात्—'ईदृश एव खड्गो ममाभिमत' इति, तादृगेवैतत्। प्रसिद्धं हि लक्ष्यं भवति न कल्पितम् इति भावः।"—°*Locana*, p. 23.

§५। पुनरपरे तस्याभावमन्यथा कथयेयुः न सम्भवत्येव ध्वनिर्नामापूर्वः कश्चित्। कामनीयकमनतिवर्तमानस्य तस्योक्तेष्वेव चारुत्वहेतुष्वन्तर्भावात्। तेषामन्यतमस्यैव वा अपूर्वसमाख्यामात्रकरणे यत्किञ्चन कथनं स्यात्। किंच वाग्विकल्पानामानन्त्यात् सम्भवत्यपि वा कस्मिंश्चित् काव्यलक्षणविधायिभिः प्रसिद्धैरप्रदर्शिते प्रकारलेशे ध्वनिर्ध्वनिरिति यदेतदलीकसहृदयत्वसंभावनामुकुलितलोचनैर्नृत्यते, तत्र हेतुं न विद्मः। सहस्रशो हि महात्मभि-

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[1] Cp. लक्षणे गुणालंकारादिनिवेशोऽपि न युक्तः। "उदितं मण्डलं विधोः" इति काव्ये दूत्यभिसारिकाविरहिण्यादिसमुदीरितेऽभिसरणविधिनिषेधजीवनाभावादिपरे "गतोऽस्तमर्कः" इत्यादौ च अव्याप्त्यापत्तेः। न चेदमकाव्यमिति शक्यं वदितुम्। काव्यतया पराभिमतस्यापि तथा वक्तुं शक्यत्वात्। काव्यजीवितं चमत्कारित्वं चाविशिष्टमेव॥—Jagannātha-Paṇḍita's रसगङ्गाधर. पृ. ७(NSP. Edn.).

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रन्यैरलङ्कारप्रकाराः प्रकाशिताः प्रकाश्यन्ते च। न च तेषामेषा दशा श्रूयते। तस्मात् प्रवादमात्रं ध्वनिः। न त्वस्य क्षोदक्षमं तत्त्वं किंचिदपि प्रकाशयितुं शक्यम्। तथा चान्येन कृत एवात्र श्लोकः—

यस्मिन्नस्ति न वस्तु किंचन मनःप्रह्लादि सालंकृति
व्युत्पन्नै-रचितं च नैव वचनैर्वक्रोक्तिशून्यं च यत्।
काव्यं तद् ध्वनिना समन्वितमिति प्रीत्या प्रशंसञ्जडो
नो विद्मोऽभिदधाति किं सुमतिना पृष्टः स्वरूपं ध्वनेः॥

§5. Now the Dhvani theorists might argue: 'Let ध्वनि be included under गुण's or अलंकार's. That is quite immaterial and does not shake our position in the least. For, though ध्वनि might be regarded as one of the numerous figures of speech, still none of our predecessors had termed it as such or raised it to the position of the soul of poetic art.[1] And it is for the first time that we do so, and as such we can reasonably claim the credit due for this innovation.' To this the Negativists (अभाववादिन्'s) might reply: 'If you admit ध्वनि to be merely a variety of गुण or अलंकार, there is no justification for raising such a hue and cry for merely giving a new appellation to some already existing अलंकार. You might call a घट a कलश, but that would not add anything to our knowledge. And if you succeed in discovering a new turn of expression or a new shade of meaning it would be only a new figure of speech. It is a fact that the list of figures is being continually swelled by the speculations of critics. But that does not warrant such a fanfare. The discovery of a new figure or the invention of a new structure of speech may be creditable indeed. But it exceeds all limits of decorum and modesty to claim that the discovery is of a major principle which escaped the ancient doctors.' "तेषामन्यतमस्यैव......स्यात्—न तु प्रज्ञातिशयवतां 'प्राज्ञा वस्तुनि युध्यन्ति न तु सामयिके ध्वनौ' इति नीत्या नाम्नि विवादो युक्तः।"—Jayaratha's विमर्शिनी—p. 120 किञ्च ....विद्मः—Even if the ancient authors failed to notice any peculiarity which you may name ध्वनि, still it is not proper, on the part of the Dhvani theorists, to wax eloquent in self-approbation and to raise such a pother over their achievement. For as the modes of expression are infinitely varied,[2] it is humanly impossible

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[1] As Abhinavagupta puts it: ननु भवत्वसौ चारुत्वहेतुः शब्दार्थगुणालंकारान्तर्भूतस्य। तथापि ध्वनिरित्यमुया भाषया जीवितमित्यसौ न केनचिदुक्त इत्यभिप्रायमाशङ्क्य तृतीयमभाववादमुपन्यस्यति।—*loc. cit.*

[2] Cf. "आसंसारमुदारैः कविभिः प्रतिदिनगृहीतसारोऽपि। अद्याप्यभिन्नमुद्रो विभाति वाचां परिष्पन्दः॥"—Quoted by Rājaśekhara in his काव्यमीमांसा। Compare also रसगङ्गाधर—

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to exhaust the list of अलंकार's and गुण's, and, as such, if a new figure of speech be discovered it does not behove one to be devoid of all sense of decorum and dance frantically on that account. As Daṇḍin states: "काव्यशोभाकरान् धर्मानलंकारान् प्रचक्षते। ते चाद्यापि विकल्प्यन्ते कस्तान् कार्त्स्न्येन वक्ष्यति ॥"—*Kāvyādarśa*, II. 1. सहस्रशो हि....प्रकाशन्ते च—Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* defined only four अलंकार's—viz. उपमा दीपक, रूपक and यमक, while writers on poetics like Daṇḍin, Medhāvin, Bhāmaha and others discovered a good many additional figures, so that the number of figures of speech reaches well over sixty in later works like the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*.[1] Compare also Bhāmaha's statement: इति निगदितास्तास्ता वाचामलंकृतयो मया। बहुविधकृतीर्दृष्ट्वाऽन्येषां स्वयं परितर्क्य च ॥—*Kāvyālaṁkāra*, V. 69. तस्मात् प्रवादमात्रं....शक्यम्—So, ध्वनि is merely a figment, and cannot stand critical test. तथा.. श्लोकः—The verse, as Abhinavagupta records, is by Manoratha, a poet and contemporary of Ānandavardhana: "तथा चान्येनेति—ग्रन्थकृत्-समानकालभाविना मनोरथनाम्ना कविना।"[2] The verse records a sarcastic fling at the Dhvani theorists, for their departure from the traditional views on poetry. Vidyādhara, in his *Ekāvalī*, faithfully reproduces Ānandavardhana's statements recording the views of the अभाव-वादिन्'s though in some cases he adds a few fresh arguments of his own. We give below the relevant extracts from the *Ekāvalī*:

"वाग्भङ्गीनां तु पर्यालोचने एकस्मिन्नेव विषयेऽनन्तप्रकारः सम्पद्यते, किमुत विषयभेदे।" यथा—"इह भवद्भिरागन्तव्यम्" इति विषये "अयं देशोऽलंकर्त्तव्यः" इति, "पवित्रीकर्त्तव्य" इति, 'सफलजन्मा कर्त्तव्य" इति,' "प्रकाशनीय" इति, देशस्यास्य भाग्यान्युज्जीवनीयानी'ति, "तमांसि तिरस्करणीयानी"ति, "अस्मन्नयनयोः संतापो हरणीय" इति "मनोरथः पूरणीय" इत्यादिः ॥—p. 556.

[1] So late a writer as Viswanatha himself is credited with the discovery of a new figure of speech called निश्चय which is defined as: "अन्यन्निषिध्य प्रकृतस्थापनं निश्चयः पुनः" (X. 39), and he illustrates it by—"वदनमिदं न सरोजम्....", etc. Note also his arguments in favour of its recognition as an altogether novel figure which he winds up with the remark: इति पृथगेवायमलंकारश्चिरन्तनोक्तालंकारेभ्यः—*Sāhityadarpaṇa*, p. 29 (Kāne's Edn.).

[2] Compare MM. Kāne's comments on this remark of Abhinavagupta: 'An additional argument for asserting that the theory of ध्वनि in poetry had been propounded before आनन्दवर्धन is this that आनन्द° quotes a verse which the लोचन ascribes to मनोरथ, a contemporary of आनन्द° in which the theory of ध्वनि is ridiculed—"काव्यं तद्ध्वनिना....ध्वनेः।" *Vide* राजतर° (IV. 497) for मनोरथ and others and IV. 671—"मानी मनोरथो मन्त्री परं परिजहार तम्." The सुभा° (51, 58, 440) quotes verses of a मनोरथ. If this मनोरथ is identical with the मनोरथ who flourished in the reign of जयापीड (which does not look likely) the ध्वनिकारिका's were composed between 800–815. Perhaps the लोचन is somewhat wrong in making आनन्द° a contemporary of मनोरथ.'—*History of Alaṁkāra Literature*, LXIV.

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शब्दार्थवपुस्तावत् काव्यं, वपुषि च केनाप्यात्मना भवितव्यम्, आत्मा च ध्वनिरेव, तस्य चाभावं मन्यमाना लोकायतिका इव केचन नास्ति ध्वनिरित्याचक्षते।....ननु ध्वनिर्नास्तीति प्रतिज्ञाविरोधः। ध्वनिरित्यनेन विधिः, नास्तीत्यनेन च निषेधः, तयोश्च परस्परविरुद्धयोरेकस्मिन् धर्मिणि तिमिरातपयोरिव सहानवस्थानदुःस्थयोरेव निवारितत्वात्। न चात्र विरोधपरिहारप्रयोजकयोः देशकालयोरन्यतरस्याप्युपादानमस्ति येन विरोधः समाधीयेत। किं च प्रतीतः प्रतिषिध्यते ध्वनिरप्रतीतो वा। आद्येऽपि "क्वचिन्नास्ति", "क्वचिदपि नास्ती"ति वा। प्रथमे सिद्धसाधनम्। अस्माभिरपि ध्वनेः क्वाचित्कनिषेधप्रतियोगित्वस्याभ्युपगतत्वात्। न द्वितीयः। प्रतीतस्य सार्वत्रिकनिषेधप्रतियोगित्वे व्याघातात्॥ अथ लब्धसत्ताक एव ध्वनिस्तथापि यदि न करोति काव्यस्य कामनीयकम्, तर्हि किमनेन अजागलस्तनायमानेन। उतस्वित् करोति, तर्हि गुणालंकारान्तर्भूत एव। तथाविधस्य च नामान्तरकरणे नैपुणं कियन्नाम। अत्रानुमानमपि। ध्वनिर्गुणालंकारेभ्यो न व्यतिरिच्यते। चारुताहेतुत्वात्। यदेभ्यो व्यतिरिच्यते न तच्चारुताहेतुः। अविमृष्टविधेयांशादिदोषवत्। चारुताहेतुश्च ध्वनिः। ततो न व्यतिरिच्यते तेभ्यः—इति॥ ननु गुणालंकारव्यतिरिक्ता अपि रीतयो वृत्तयश्च यथा चारुताहेतवस्तथैव ध्वनिरपि भवतीति चेदुच्यते तत्र विचारानुगुणम्। गुणातिक्रमेणोपजातमहिमानः कथमपि न भवन्ति रीतयः। वृत्तयस्तावत् अलंकारान्तर्भूता एव परुष-मधुर-मध्यमार्थनिरूपणाय दीप्त-मसृण-मध्यमवर्णारब्धानां तासामनुप्रासजातिरूपतयाऽभ्युपगमात्। जातिश्च जातिमतो नातिरिच्यते। तस्मादभिधाव्यापारवैचित्र्यानन्त्यात् चारुत्वविधायिनः संभवतोऽपि सामान्यलक्षणेनैव परिगृहीतत्वात् चिरन्तनैः पृथक्त्वेनाप्रदर्शितस्य गुणालंकारयोरन्यतरस्य कस्यचित् ध्वनिरिति पारिभाषिकं नामान्तरं विधाय यदेतन्निरतिशयतर्कताटङ्कितशेमुषीकत्वमात्मनः ताण्डवयितुमुद्युञ्जते भवन्तस्तत्र को वेद किं निमित्तमिति॥—*Op. cit.*, pp. 23–29. (*Bombay Sanskrit Series* Edn.)

§६। भाक्तमाहुस्तमन्ये। अन्ये तं ध्वनिसंज्ञितं काव्यात्मानं गुणवृत्तिरित्याहुः। यद्यपि च ध्वनिशब्दसंकीर्त्तनेन काव्यलक्षणविधायिभिर्गुणवृत्तिरन्यो वा न कश्चित् प्रकारः प्रकाशितः, तथापि अमुख्यवृत्त्या काव्येषु व्यवहारं दर्शयता ध्वनिमार्गो मनाक्स्पृष्टोऽपि न लक्षित इति परिकल्प्यैवमुक्तम्—"भाक्तमाहुस्तमन्ये" इति॥

§6. भाक्तम्—भक्ति+अण्. भक्ति is used here as a synonym of लक्षणा and गौणी, which are two different वृत्ति's according to the Mīmāṅsakas. It is explained by Abhinavagupta to refer to both: (१) भज्यते सेव्यते पदार्थेन प्रसिद्धतया उत्प्रेक्ष्यते इति भक्तिर्धर्मोऽभिधेयेन सामीप्यादिः। तत आगतो भाक्तः लाक्षणिकोऽर्थः। यदाहुः—"अभिधेयेन सामीप्याव् सारूप्यात् समवायतः। वैपरीत्यात् क्रियायोगात् लक्षणा पञ्चधा मता॥" इति। (२) गुणसमुदायवृत्तेः शब्दस्यार्थभागस्तैक्ष्ण्यादिर्भक्तिः, तत आगतो गौणोऽर्थो भाक्तः॥ भक्तिः प्रतिपाद्ये सामीप्य-तैक्ष्ण्यादौ श्रद्धातिशयः। तां प्रयोजनत्वेन उद्दिश्य आगतो भाक्तः इति गौणो लाक्षणिकश्च॥ मुख्यस्य चार्थस्य भङ्गो भक्तिः॥ इत्येवं मुख्यार्थबाधा, निमित्तं प्रयोजनमिति त्रयसद्भाव उपचारबीज-

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मिति उक्तं भवति॥—*Op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.[1] अन्ये—refers to Udbhaṭa, Vāmana, etc. Udbhaṭa, in his gloss on Bhāmaha's काव्यालंकार—called भामह-

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[1] It is to be noted that Kumārila in his *Tantravārttika* on Śabara's *Bhāṣya* on *JS*. I. 4. 23, distinguishes between लक्षणा and गौणी as two separate functions. We quote here the passage, though somewhat long, for easy reference: "....अत्र तु सर्वगौणवृत्तीनां लक्षणमुच्यते। ननु च सहचरण-स्थानादीनि अन्यान्यपि अक्षपादप्रभृतिभिः (*Vide* Gautama's *Nyāya Sūtra*) गौणनिमित्तानि उक्तानि। लोके च दृश्यते—यष्टीः प्रवेशय, मञ्चाः क्रोशन्ति अश्वसहस्रेणामुको राजा जित इति। तान्युपसंहर्त्तव्यानि। लिङ्गसमवायेनैवोपसंहृतानीति केचित्। वृत्ति-समवेतेतरप्रत्ययवद्धि यष्टिसहचरितादिप्रत्ययो भवति। अथवा गौण्या वृत्तेरिह निमित्तमभिधीयते, न लक्षणायाः। किंचानयोर्भेदोऽप्यस्ति। वाढमस्ति। कुतः?—"अभिधेयाविनाभूतेप्रतीतिर्लक्षणेष्यते। लक्ष्यमाणगुणैर्योगाद् वृत्तेरिष्टा तु गौणता॥" तत्र यथैवाकृतिवचनः शब्दस्तत्सहचरितां व्यक्तिं लक्षयति तथैव यष्टिमञ्चाश्वादयः तत्-संबद्धपुरुषलक्षणार्था भवन्ति। "अग्निर्माणवक" इति तु नाग्नित्वाविनाभावेन माणवकः प्रतीयते। किं तर्हि—'वह्नित्वलक्षितादर्थाद् यत् पैङ्गल्यादि गम्यते। तेन माणवके बुद्धिः सादृश्यादुपजायते॥' सर्वत्र च तत्सिद्धिकरादौ इयमेव प्रस्तरप्रभृतौ यजमानादिशब्दानां वृत्तिरिति त उदाहृताः॥—*Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 354. (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series Edn.). Comp. "तत्सिद्धि-जाति-सारूप्य-प्रशंसा-लिङ्ग-भूमभिः। षड्भिः सर्वत्र शब्दानां गौणी वृत्तिर्व्यवस्थिता॥"—Cited in the *Jaiminīya-Nyāyamālā-vistara* of Mādhavācārya. Mammaṭa, in his *Kāvyaprakāśa*, Chap. II, cites Kumārila's definition of लक्षणा. But he seems to have an erroneous idea as to the interpretation of the *kārikā*, for he cites it in support of the view that लक्षणा and गौणी are but variants of the self-same function, which, as will be seen from the extract from the *Tantravārttika*, is just the reverse of what Kumārila held. His commentators too failed to notice this incongruency and had obviously no idea of the context in which the *kārikā* was originally read: For example, Caṇḍīdāsa observes: उक्तं चान्यत्रेति। लक्षणातो भिन्ना गौणीति ये मन्यन्ते तन्मतं रिक्ततरमिति सूचनपरम्।—p. 50 (*Saraswatī Bhavana Texts*. Ed. by Prof. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya, M.A.). The reason why Kumārila considered गौणी to be different from लक्षणा seems to have been this, that while सामीप्य, विरोध, समवाय, etc., are all primary relations (साक्षात्संबन्ध), सादृश्य or similarity, according to the Bhaṭṭas, is merely a derivative one (परम्परासंबन्ध)—viz. तद्भिन्नत्वे सति तद्गतभूयोधर्मवत्त्वं सादृश्यम्—and as such in गौर्वाहीकः, etc., the secondary sense is indirectly conveyed. For example, the term गौ, first of all, conveyed by अभिधा or *denotation*, गोत्व, as according to Mīmāṅsakas all terms have a universal connotation (cf. "संकेतितश्चतुर्भेदो जात्यादिर्जातिरेव वा") which by *indication* (लक्षणा) conveys the idea of जडत्व and मान्द्य, which on their part again convey, by a second लक्षणा, their substratum or आधार—the वाहीक. Thus, in fact, गौणी is identical with लक्षितलक्षणा as in द्विरेफ. Compare: "लक्षितलक्षणा हि गौणी"—*Nayanaprasādinī* on चित्सुखी, p. 152 (NSP. Edn.). Caṇḍīdāsa, with apparent good reason, endeavours to show that the distinction between लक्षणा and गौणी is more technical and scholastic than real. We quote here the following extracts from his commentary on the *Kāvyaprakāśa*: ननु गौर्वाहीक इत्यादावपि वाहीकादेर्गोतादात्म्यादिरेव अविवेकित्वाद्यतिशयप्रतीतिफलोपासनीया, गवादिभेदराहित्यमात्रप्रतीतौ हि गोगतधर्मादिसदृशधर्माधिकरणत्वमात्रप्रतीतिफलायां "गोसदृशो वाहीक" इत्यादिप्रयोगनिर्विशेषत्वम्। न चैतद्भेदप्रत्ययस्थगनादेव तद्धर्मातिशयप्रत्यय इति न्याय्यम्। न चैवंविध-

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विवरण, a work no longer extant—recognized लक्षणा as a separate function. Cf. भामहेनोक्तम्-"शब्दाश्छन्दोऽभिधानार्थाः" (काव्याल° I. 9) इति अभिधानस्य शब्दाद् भेदं व्याख्यातुं भट्टोद्भटो बभाषे—"शब्दानामभिधानम् अभिधाव्यापारो मुख्यो गुणवृत्तिश्च" इति। वामनोऽपि "सादृश्याल्लक्षणा वक्रोक्ति"रिति।—°*Locana*, p. 32. Thus, these authors had made a distinct and appreciable advance upon the so-called Negativists who recognized only अभिधा as the sole function of words and वाच्यार्थ as the only possible sense, since in accepting indication (लक्षणा) as an additional function they had just touched the fringe of suggestion (ध्वनि). For, लक्षणा, to be valid,

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युक्तिप्रसरनिषेधे प्रकृतेऽपि जागर्त्ति अज्ञाडिण्डिमारावः (?)। तस्मात् अलीक एव एतावान् उपचारकैतवविवेचनाय प्रयास इति चेत्। सत्यम् एतत्। किन्तु प्राचीनप्रणयमनुरुन्धानेन ग्रन्थकृता इत्यमभिहितम्। वस्तुतस्तु सम्बन्धस्वरूपभेदमाश्रित्य कथञ्चित् निर्वाह्यो गौणशुद्धविभाग इति। एतच्च संबन्धभेदमात्रात् वृत्तिभेदाङ्गीकारोऽतिप्रसञ्जक इति मत्वा लक्षणायामेव गौणीमन्तर्भाव्य परिगणयता सूक्ष्मदृशाऽ सूचितमेव मन्तव्यम्। सर्वथैवाभेदाध्यासस्य प्रयोजनमिति च साध्यवसानगौणे वक्ष्यति। यद्वा सम्बन्धान्तरं लक्ष्यलक्षकयोः साक्षात् दत्तपदं भवति, सादृश्यं तु गोवाहीकादेर्धर्मसाजात्यरूपं न तथा इति गौणशुद्धव्यपदेशः॥—*Op. cit.*, pp. 48-49. Also: जातिमात्रमभिधाविषय इति नये लक्ष्यमाणस्याक्षिप्यमाणस्वलक्षणस्य ये गुणाः, यद्वा लक्ष्यमाणा मुख्यार्थविशेषतया प्रतीयमाना ये गुणा-स्तद्योजनात् सजातीयगुणवत्त्वलक्षणात् सादृश्यात् उज्जीविताया वृत्तेर्गौणतेति। साक्षात्सम्बन्धराहित्यात् गौणी न लक्ष्यतइत्यर्थः। नन्वेतावता च वैषम्यं नात्यन्तवैजात्यावहम्। तथाहि मुख्यार्थबाध-सम्बन्ध-रूढि-प्रयोजनान्यतरानुरोधस्तावत् उभयत्र समानः। साक्षादसाक्षात्त्वेन सम्बन्धमात्रवैचित्र्य किंचिदवान्तरवैधर्म्यमाधत्ते इति लक्षणाविशेष एव गौणी॥—*loc. cit.* The following extract from Appaya Dīkṣita's *Vṛttivārttika* would be found useful: तत्सादृश्येन प्रतिपादकत्वरूपा गौण्यपि लक्षणाप्रभेद एव, तत्सादृश्येऽपि तन्निरूपित-सादृश्याधिकरणत्व-परम्परासंबन्धसत्त्वात्। नहि साक्षात् संबन्धे विशिष्टबुद्धियोग्यसंबन्धे वा सत्येव लक्षणेति नियमः। चक्षुरादेर्घटनैल्यादिषु संयुक्तसमवायादिवद् विशिष्टबुद्ध्ययोग्यस्य परम्परासंबन्धस्यापि प्रत्यासत्तित्वोपपत्तेः। व्यतिरेकलक्षणास्थले तन्निरूपित-विरोधाधिकरणत्वादिपरम्परासंबन्धमात्रेण तादृशेन लक्षणाक्लृप्तेश्च। एतेन—"सादृश्यं न संबन्धः" इति गौणी लक्षणातो भिन्ना, विशिष्टधीयोग्यस्यैव संबन्धत्वात्। संयोगे सति "दण्डी देवदत्त" इति वत्, सादृश्ये "सिंहवान् देवदत्त" इति विशिष्टबुद्धेरदर्शनात्—इति निरस्तम्। विशिष्टबुद्ध्यनियामकपरंपरासंबन्धमात्रस्य प्रत्यासत्तित्वोपपत्तेस्तावता लक्षणाक्लृप्तेश्च दर्शितत्वात्। तस्मात् सादृश्यगर्भतदन्यसंबन्धनिमित्ततया गौणी शुद्धाचेति लक्षणाया एव द्वैविध्यम्॥—*Op. cit.*, p. 18 (NSP. Edn.). Madhusūdana Saraswatī, however, in his वेदान्तकल्पलतिका, supports the Mīmāṅsaka view differentiating गौणी from लक्षणा. We cite below his illuminating observations: शक्यवृत्तिलक्ष्यमाणगुणसंबन्धो गौणी। यथा सिंहो माणवक इत्यत्र सिंहपदस्य सिंहवृत्तिशौर्यादिगुणलक्षणस्य तद्वति माणवके वृत्तिरिति। अत एव लक्षणा गौणीतो बलवती, गौण्या वृत्तिद्वयात्मकत्वात्। तदुक्तम्—"अभिधेयाविनाभूते"ति।.... गौण्यास्तु वृत्तिद्वयात्मकत्वात् न लक्षणायामन्तर्भावः। न च सादृश्यसंबन्धेन सिंहपदस्य माणवके वृत्तिर्लक्षणैवेति साम्प्रतम्, सादृश्यस्य शाब्दबोधे भानाभावप्रसङ्गात्, शक्यसंबन्धस्य स्वोपस्थापकत्वाभावात्, संबन्धिभानार्थमेव तस्य वृत्तित्वाभ्युपगमात्। तस्मात् लक्षणावैलक्षण्यात् अतिरिक्तैव वृत्ति-र्गौणीति चतुरस्रम्।....व्यञ्जनाख्याऽपरा वृत्तिरित्यालंकारिकाः। ते तु गौणीं लक्षणामध्येऽन्तर्भाव्य मुख्या लक्षणा व्यञ्जना चेति त्रैविध्यमाचक्षते॥—....—*Op. cit.*, pp. 39-41. (*Saraswatī Bhavana Texts*, Benares.)

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must either be based on रूढि or have some प्रयोजन. And in a प्रयोजनमूला लक्षणा, the प्रयोजन must always be conveyed by suggestion.[1] Though Udbhaṭa, Vāmana and others had no idea of the existence of suggestion in a case of लक्षणा, still by recognizing लक्षणा, based on प्रयोजन (which they thought to fall within the purview of the self-same function), they advanced a step further towards the recognition of the व्यञ्जना as a separate function and व्यङ्ग्यार्थ as different from वाच्यार्थ. यद्यपि.......प्रकाशित:—It might be argued that though Udbhaṭa, Vāmana, etc., recognized लक्षणा as an additional function, still it is erroneous to hold that they equated it with ध्वनि or व्यञ्जना, for no such term as ध्वनि or व्यञ्जना is to be met with in their works. So it is misrepresenting them to state—"काव्यात्मानं गुणवृत्तिरित्याहुः". To this the Dhvanikāra answers that all this is true. But as they recognized only two functions—viz. अभिधा and लक्षणा, and as अभिधा conveyed only the primary sense (मुख्यार्थ) it is an *a priori* conclusion that all other senses should be conveyed by लक्षणा, and as व्यङ्ग्यार्थ too is different from the primary sense, it, too, must be subsumed under the लक्ष्य sense. Thus according to these authors लक्ष्य and व्यङ्ग्य senses stand on the same footing, and it is from this standpoint that Ānandavardhana represents them as having equated भक्ति with ध्वनि. Compare °*Locana*: गुणाः सामीप्यादयो धर्मास्तैक्ष्ण्यादयश्च। तैरुपायैर्वृत्तिरर्थान्तरे यस्य, तैरुपायैर्वृत्तिर्वा शब्दस्य यत्र स गुणवृत्तिः शब्दोऽर्थो वा। गुणद्वारेण वा वर्तनं गुणवृत्तिरमुख्योऽभिधाव्यापारः। एतदुक्तं भवति—ध्वनतीति वा, ध्वन्यत इति वा, ध्वननमिति वा यदि ध्वनिः, तथाऽपि उपचरितशब्दार्थव्यापारातिरिक्तो नासौ कश्चित्। मुख्यार्थे हि अभिधैव इति पारिशेष्यात् अमुख्य एव ध्वनिः, तृतीयराश्यभावात् ॥—p. 31.[2] Thus according to upholders of the भक्तिवाद, व्यञ्जकशब्द = लाक्षणिकशब्द; व्यङ्ग्यार्थ = लक्ष्यार्थ; and व्यञ्जनाव्यापार = लक्षणाव्यापार.

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[1] Compare: व्यङ्ग्येन रहिता रूढौ सहिता तु प्रयोजने।—*Kāvyaprakāśa*, II. Also: यस्य प्रतीतिमाधातुं व्यञ्जना समुपास्यते। फले शब्दैकगम्येऽत्र व्यञ्जनान्नापरा क्रिया ॥—*Ibid*. For a refutation of the view that प्रयोजन too is conveyed by लक्षणा, see *infra*.

[2] *Vide*: लक्षणामार्गावगाहित्वं तु ध्वनेः सहृदयैर्नूतनतयोपवर्णितस्य विद्यत इति दिशमुन्मीलयितुमिदमत्रोक्तम्। एतच्च विद्वद्भिः कुशाग्रीयया बुद्ध्या निरूपणीयम्। न तु झगित्येवासूयितव्यम् इत्यलमतिप्रसंगेन ॥—Mukulabhaṭṭa's अभिधावृत्तिमातृका, p. 21 (NSP. Edn.). Mukulabhaṭṭa was the teacher of Pratīharendurāja, the preceptor of Abhinavagupta himself.

MISCELLANEA

IDENTIFICATION OF PĀVĀ, THE DEATH-PLACE OF MAHĀVĪRA

All original sources and modern historians agree that Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, died in the town of Pāvā. At present the place, which is regarded as the death place of Mahāvīra by the Jains and to which they go on pilgrimage, is situated at Bargaon between Rajagiri (Rājagṛha) and Nālandā. Some historians have also accepted this situation of Pāvā. In my humble opinion this Pāvā is transplanted and fictitious; the real Pāvā was different and distant from it.

In the Jain and the Buddhist works we find the following references to the death of Mahāvīra:—

(1) According to the Kalpasūtra and the Pariśiṣṭaparvan Mahāvīra died in Pāvā, the capital of the Mallas. The latter celebrated the occasion by illumination and other reverential means.[1]

(2) We know from the Buddhist work Majjhimanikāya[2] that when the Buddha was wandering in the territories of the Śākyas, Mahāvīra had recently died (sampati kālakato = adhunā kālakato) in Pāvā and the news very soon travelled to him.

(3) The Majjhimanikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Papañcasūdanī) also confirms the fact that before death Mahāvīra had come to Pāvā from Nālandā.[3]

The following deductions can be made from the above references:—

(1) The Pāvā in which Mahāvīra died was one of the capitals of the Mallas.

(2) Pāvā was situated close to the Śākya territories: It is suggested by the reference No. 2.

(3) Just as the Buddha before his death travelled from Rājagṛha to Kuśinagara, so Mahāvira also had moved to Pāvā from Nālandā a few years earlier.

Now the question is: where was Pāvā, the capital of the Mallas, situated? It is certain that the republican state of the Mallas of Pāvā was one of those republics which find mention in the Buddhist

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[1] Jain-sūtras, SBE, xxii, 266.

[2] II, p. 243.

[3] Nātaputto Nālandavāsiko-Papañcasūdanī, pt. IV, p. 34.

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literature. The Mallas were divided into two main branches:—(1) the Mallas of Kuśinagara, and (2) the Mallas of Pāvā. Sometimes we find mention of the nine branches of the Mallas called Mallakis (diminutive). All that is written about the Mallas suggests that all their branches were closely situated and organized into a republican federation. Under the circumstances, the second important capital of the Mallas cannot be distant from Kuśinagara, the capital of the first branch of the Mallas. Now it is finally settled that Kuśinagara was situated near Kasia (at Anurudhra) a small town in the newly created Deoria district of U.P.[1] The Buddhist republics were small states, including the capital and the surrounding areas. Perhaps they were slightly larger than the city-states of Greece. So, Pāvā must be situated somewhere near Kuśinagara.

Regarding the situation and the direction of Pāvā we get clear indications in the Buddhist literature:

1. In the Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta we find a detailed description of the journey of the Buddha before his death from Rājagṛha to Kuśinagara. According to it Buddha travelled from Rājagṛha to Nālandā, from Nālandā to Pāṭaliputra, from Pātaliputra to Koṭigrāma, from Koṭigrāma to Nādikā, from Nādikā to Vaiśālī, from Vaiśālī to Belvagrāma, then to Bhaṇḍagrāma, from Bhaṇḍagrāma to Hastigrāma, then to Ambagrāma, and Jambugrāma, from Jambugrāma to Bhoganagara, from Bhoganagara to Pāvā and from Pāvā to Kuśinagara.[2] In the order of this journey Pāvā is situated between Bhoganagara (= Badaraon) and Kuśinagara (= Kasia). One thing more is to be noted in this connection. The Buddha was suffering from blood-diarrhoea, and yet he managed to reach Kuśinagara from Pāvā in one day on foot. This implies that the distance between Pāvā and Kuśinagara was so short, as to enable a sick man to reach there in a day.

2. In another Buddhist work called the Cullaniddesa, there is a description of a journey. Here some ascetics, Dhotaka, Upaśiva, Nanda, Hemaka, and others started from Alaka or Mulaka (in southern U.P.) and travelled via Kosambī (Kosam near Allahabad), Sāketa (Ayodhya) Śrāvastī (Sahetmahet), Sotavya, Kapilavastu, Kuśinagara, Pāvā and Bhoganagara to Vaiśāli.[3] According to this journey also Pāvā was situated between Bhoganagara and Kuśinagara from the side of Vaiśālī.

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[1] Arch. Sur. I. Report, 1910.

[2] Dīgha, II, pp. 72–126.

[3] कोसम्बिञ्चापि साकेतं सावत्थिं च पुरुत्तमं ।
सोतव्यकपिलवत्थुं कुसिनारं च मंदिरं ॥
पावञ्च भोगनगरं वेसालिमागमं पुरं । —Niddesa, Cullaniddesa, P.T.S., Ed., p. 4.
Here mandira means town—*vide* Childers' *Pali Dictionary*, p. 236—B. C. Law.

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Taking all these facts into consideration one has to locate Pāvā on the route connecting Kuśinagara and Vaiśāli. On this very route at a distance of about nine miles from Kuśinagar there are extensive ruins of Sathiyaon-Fazil-nagar, spreading over a mile and a half. The ruins are also situated between Bhoganagara (Badaraon) and Kuśinagara as required in the route. While travelling from Pāvā to Kuśinagara, the Buddha had to cross two rivulets. They are still to be found, bearing the names Śundā (Sonā) and Ghāghi (= Kakutthā). There are no extensive ruins on either side of Fazilnagara on the above route. All these circumstances lead us to the conclusion that ancient Pāvā, the capital of the Mallas, was situated on the extensive site of Fazilnagara. The name Fazilnagar was given to the place during the Muslim rule. On one of the mounds here has been built the tomb of a Muslim saint. But in its very neighbourhood we have the sites of monasteries and the broken pieces of Jain sculpture. They all indicate the relation of this place to Buddhism and Jainism and refer to the existence of a prosperous town in ancient times. Unfortunately the sites have not been excavated as yet. The future excavations will throw more light on this debatable point.

Some scholars attempted to identify Pāvā with other places in the neighbourhood of Kuśinagara (Kasia). Cunningham [1] identified it with Padrauna and Rāhula Sankrityāyana [2] with Papaur near the railway station of Ramkola. These places, however, are situated on the route from Kuśinagara to Kapilavastu and Śrāvastī, just in the opposite direction of Vaiśāli, and they do not tally with the description of the route given in the Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta. K. P. Jayaswal,[3] disregarding the political geography of Buddha's time, says that the Mall states spread from Kuśinagara to Patna and vaguely accepts modern Pāvā near Rājagṛha representing the capital of the Mallas.

As a matter of fact the part of Bihar south of Patna (Pāṭaliputra) was in the kingdom of Magadha and there could be no Malla state and Malla capital in that part of the country.

We have the following very strong objections against accepting the modern Pāvā as the death place of Mahāvīra and the capital of the Mallas:

(1) The kings of Magadha, contemporaries of the Buddha and Mahāvīra, were Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru. Under

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[1] Wilson suggests Kasia to be the site of Kuśinagara and this suggestion has been generally adopted—Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India* (S. N. Majumdar ed.), p. 493—B. C. Law.

[2] Purātattva-nibandhāvalī.

[3] Hindu Polity, I, p. 48. He, however, changed his views in the second edition of his book and limited the area of the Malla states from the district of Gorakhpur to that of Champaran.

them the kingdom of Magadha spread over the whole of Bihar south of the Ganges. Its capital then was not Pāṭaliputra (it was in the making) but Rājagṛha. Specially Ajātaśatru, during whose reign Mahāvīra and the Buddha died, was a very ambitious imperialist and a deadly enemy of the republican states. He waged a long war against the confederacy of the Vajjis and their allies the Mallas situated towards the north of the Ganges and subjugated them. Under the circumstances, the existence of Pāvā under the very nose of Ajātaśatru was an utter impossibility.

(2) The Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta clearly shows the geography and indicates the routes of the time of the Buddha and Mahāvīra. A prominent route lay from Rājagṛha in south Bihar, towards north crossing the Ganges at Pāṭaliputra. From here it reached Vaiśāli (= Basarh, in the Muzafferpur district of Bihar). From Vaiśālī it was located towards north-west via Hastigrāma (= Hathua), Bhoganagara (= Badraon) and Pāvā (= Fazilnagar) approaching Kuśinagara (= Kasia). This very route locates Pāvā near Kuśinagara and not near Rājagṛha. The Buddha, even when sick, walked from Pāvā to Kuśinagara in one day. Modern Pāvā near Rājagṛha is above 100 miles away from Kuśinagara; so it cannot be the original Pāvā.

(3) At modern Pāvā there are no ruins or signs of an ancient town or religious buildings. Present temples are all modern. This creates a strong doubt as to the antiquity of this place. The original Pāvā was transplanted here most probably during the Muslim rule, when it was desecrated and defiled by the vandalism of Muslim raiders. Probably modern Pāvā is the place wherefrom Mahāvīra made his last journey, though he actually died in the original Pāvā, the capital of the Mallas, situated at Fazilnagar in the neighbourhood of Kuśinagara in the newly created district of Deoria of the United Provinces.

RAJ BALI PANDEY.

KALIṄGA *

The Kaliṅga country might have existed in the Brāhmaṇa period.[1] Antiquity of the country is proved by its mention in a Sūtra of Pāṇini [2] and in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya.[3] In the Dharma Sūtra of Baudhāyana [4] Kaliṅga is regarded as an 'impure country'. But this certainly represents a very orthodox view of the early Brahmanical writers, for a Jaina tradition of a very remote period groups them into a class of eastern Āriyas and even mentions a city of the Kaliṅgas called Kaṁchaṇapura.[5] Aśoka's famous Rock Edict XIII tends to prove that they were within the pale of Aryan civilization, for in the Kaliṅga country dwelt Brāhmaṇas, ascetics, and men of different sects.[6] The Edict also tends to prove the antiquity of Kaliṅga as the seat of an independent kingdom at some date in the centuries before the time of Aśoka. Epic traditions also agree in considering them as one of the most important peoples of Eastern India forming a recognized part of the Indian body-politic. They are represented in the Mahābhārata as taking a great part in the Kurukṣetra war.

The Kaliṅga Edicts of Aśoka found at Dhauli [7] and Jaugaḍa [8] are addressed to the Mahāmātras at Tosalī and Samāpā [9] which may have been the early capitals of Kaliṅga. Tosalī or Tosala perhaps occupied the same site as that of Dhauli today, the trans-

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* The following abbreviations may be noted:—

PH = Political History of Ancient India by Dr. H. C. Roy Chaudhuri.
BR = Buddhist Records of the Western World by S. Beal.
BH = Life of Hiuen Tsang by S. Beal.
DHNI = Dynastic History of Northern India by Dr. H. C. Roy.
IG = The Imperial Gazetteer of India.
MT = McCrindle's Ancient India, as described by Ptolemy, ed. by S. N. Majumdar.
TAI = Tribes of Ancient India by Dr. B. C. Law.
TKS = Trikāṇḍaśesa of Purusottamadeva, Venkateswara Press, Bombay, 1916.
MP = Pargiter's Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa.

[1] PH, p. 75.

[2] Reference is to the country name in Pāṇini (iv. 1.100).

[3] As., p. 83.

[4] I, i, 30, 31.

[5] IA, XX, 375. For Hiuen Tsang's account of the Kaliṅgas see BR, II, p. 207.

[6] For the cultural and religious history of Kaliṅga, see JAHRS, I, 49ff.; II, 29–33. Also see Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, 'Kaliṅga-deśa' (*Ibid.*, II, 1–11) and Nilkantha Das (*Ibid.*, 12ff) for the colonizing activities of the Kaliṅgas.

[7] A hill in the Khurda subdivision of Puri, about 7 miles south of Bhubanesvar.

[8] This is about 18 miles west of Ganjam town, on the north bank of Ṛṣikulyā river, in the Berhampur taluk, of the Ganjam district.

[9] IA, LII, 66ff.

formation of Tosalī into Dhauli being not a phonetic impossibility.[1] As for Samāpā it is said that the headquarters of the district to which the modern Jaugaḍa belongs was called Samāpā.[2] The inclusion of Tosalī (Dhauli), Samāpā (Ganjam?) and also of Jaugaḍa (Khapiṁgala) thus shows that in Aśoka's time the Mahānadī-Ṛṣikulyā Valley formed a part of Kaliṅga.

But Tosala[3] was also the name of a country as we have a reference to the Tosala-Viṣaya[4] and even to the division of the country into two parts, Uttara Tosala[5] and Dakṣiṇa Tosala.[6] Dakṣiṇa Tosala is perhaps the same as the country (Janapada) of 'Amita-Tosala' of Dakṣiṇāpatha, which according to Gaṇḍavyūha, as pointed out by S. Levi, had a city called Tosala.[7] Dakṣiṇa Tosala was thus the name of a wide territorial division. The combined evidence of several inscriptions implies that it consisted of a Viṣaya called Anarudra[8] and a maṇḍala of the name of Koṅgoda.[9]

Koṅgoda-Maṇḍala appears largely in the epigraphs of the Sailodbhavas,[10] and as their records referring to the maṇḍala have been mostly found at Cuttack, Khurda, and Ganjam, it may be presumed, though we have no positive evidence to prove it, that the Maṇḍala was roughly equivalent to the region bounded by the river Mahānadī on the north and the Ṛṣikulyā on the south. It may have been even bigger than that, for from epigraphic sources we learn that it consisted of the following Viṣayas:—Varaḍākhaṇḍa-Viṣaya,[11] Arttaṇi-Viṣaya,[12] Khiḍiṅgahāra-Viṣaya,[13] Kaṭaka-bhukti-Viṣaya,[14] Kṛṣṇagiri-Viṣaya.[15]

Uttara Tosala appears to have been smaller in extent than Dakṣiṇa Tosala and its Viṣayas so far known were Pāñcāla, Vubhyudaya,[1] and Sareph-āhāra.[2] Reference is also made of Subhadeva Pātaka in Uttara Tosala.[3] Neulpur Grant refers to certain villages of Uttara Tosala which have been located in the Balasore district.[4] The evidence we get from the Copper plates of Soro (Balasore district) which record the grant of land in a village adjoining Sarāphā (Soro in Balasore) in Uttara Tosala [5] also indicates that the Balasore region was the centre of the Uttara-Tosala country. All these show that the Tosala country which was divided into two parts Uttara Tosala and Dakṣiṇa Tosala (in which was included Koṅgoda or Kuṅgada-Maṇḍala), was perhaps the name for the whole expanse of territory, extending from Suvarṇarekhā down to Ṛṣikulyā.

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[1] S. Levi, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian India, trans. by P. Bagchi, p. 68. Levi says that the vestiges of a large city that have come to light near the site of Dhauli confirm this identification and indicate beyond doubt that in Aśoka's time Dhauli or Tosalī was the capital of Kaliṅga.

[2] CII, I, p. XXXVIII.

[3] In Ptolemy's book the name is given as Tosalei (MT, p. 230).

[4] DHNI, I, p. 421.

[5] EI, XV, 1–3, vs. 5.

[6] EI, IX, 286-7, vs. 4.

[7] Levi, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

[8] JBORS, 1928, pp. 292–306.

[9] EI, VI, 141, L. 21; Dakṣiṇakosalāyām Koṅgoḍa-maṇḍalake. It is pointed out that here Kośala is a mistake for Tosala (JBORS, v, 564–78, lines 26–28).

[10] Cf. EI, XXI, 35.

[11] EI, VI, 138, line 26.

[12] *Ibid.*, 141-42.

[13] JBORS, V, 564–78, lines 26-8.

[14] EI, XI, 283 and 286.

[15] This occurs in a plate of the time of Saśāṅkarāja, G.S. 300 (= 619–20 A.D.). It records the grant made by Mādhavarāja II of a village in the Kṛṣṇagiri-Viṣaya (EI, VI, 144) which is regarded as identical with its synonym Nilagiri, which is a name of Jagannath (Puri). The grant was issued 'from the victorious Koṅgeda (L. 8) on the bank of the Śālimā river (L. 7, EI, VI, 144). Koṅgeda is also mentioned in the form of Kaiṅgoda, as a place name in the Buguḍa Plates of Mādhavavarman (EI, III, 44, lines 29-30) which record the grant of a village in the Khadira-Pāṭṭaka of the Guḍḍa-Viṣaya (L. 31). See also R. C. Mazumdar in JAHRS, X, 7–10.

From an epigraphic point of view we are bound to accept this position of the Tosala country, although it is not consistent enough with other indications of traditional and historical geography of this region. One of the most noticeable features of mediaeval inscriptions is the employment of more than one name for a particular region. Administrative designations like Maṇḍala, Bhukti and Viṣaya have been tacked on to country names, which in some cases, even when due allowance is paid to changing political conditions of the time, cannot be accounted for.[6] And so far as traditional geography is concerned, epigraphy which deals mostly with political geography is not always the best approach. Every little bit of epigraphic reference to items of geographical character is not too precious an evidence to be reckoned with.

Tosala was not the name of the entire country as outlined above. Its ancient appropriate application was confined within the limits of the city of that name,[7] the rest of the country being known by other names. Even Uttara Tosala formed only a part of Oḍra-Viṣaya (see f.n. 1) and indeed Oḍra was the more well-known name of this region.

In many inscriptions Oḍra is treated as a Viṣaya [8] and in some records it is called a Deśa.[9] The inclusion of Uttara Tosala in

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[1] EI, V, 3, line 6.

[2] EI, XXIII, 202.

[3] JBORS, II, 421.

[4] EI, XV, 2-3.

[5] EI, XXIII, 199.

[6] For instance, in Plate C. of the Copper plates from Soro (EI, XXIII, 199) Varukāṇa-Viṣaya is said to have been within Sarephāhāra, which in Plate B of the same record (*Ibid*. 202) is called a Viṣaya. Further, we have noticed that Sarephāhāra-Viṣaya was in Uttara Tosala (*Ibid*). Evidently Uttara Tosala was bigger than a Viṣaya. Curiously enough the same record (Plate B) includes Uttara Tosala within Oḍra-Viṣaya: Oḍra-Viṣaye Uttara-Tosalyām (202).

[7] One writer identifies Tosalī with the modern Khijjinga in Mayurbhanj whose borders being washed by the Vaitariṇī (JAHRS, III, 41 ff.).

[8] (*a*) Copper plate from Sora as mentioned above. (*b*) The Talcher Grant (JASB, X (N.S.), 293, line 24). (*c*) In the Bengal Asiatic Society's Grant (JASB, 1909, V. (N.S.), pp. 347–50, line 20) mention is made of Oḍra-Viṣaya and its village Kuruvābhaṭa.

[9] EI, VIII, 141, line 16; mention is made of Oḍra-deśa and its village Puruṣa-maṇḍapa, EI, III, 353, line 33: Oḍra-deśa and its village Śilābhañjapāṭir.

Oḍra suggests that in about 508 A.D. (Soro plates) Oḍra embraced the region between the river Vaitaraṇī and Suvarṇarekhā. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang does not mention Tosala but refers to Wu-t'u or Uḍa country which he reached by travelling south-west above 700 li from Karṇasuvarṇa. On the south-east frontiers of the country, on the borders of the ocean, was the capital city Che-li-to-lo.[1] It is located in the Mahānadī delta and is connected with a channel still known as Chitratola, 16 miles below Cuttack. In a Grant of A.D. 899[2] the mention of Oḍra-Viṣaya again shows that the name which was afterwards applied to the whole province was till then confined only to a small region, and originally denoted a small district possibly near about Mayurbhanja. So all these accounts clearly do not agree. If, however, we combine these bits of information, we see that the application of the term Oḍra comprehended the entire region from the Chilka lake to the Suvarṇarekhā river, exactly the tract to which the modern name Orissa has been applied.[3] A Telegu work refers to Oḍḍādi and its capital Kaṭaka[4] which is the modern Cuttack. Another evidence goes to prove that in the eleventh century, portions of the Parlakimedi Estate in Ganjam were known as Oḍradeśa.[5]

Many notices accompanied by indications, more or less positive, do not testify to the extension of the limits of Oḍra farther south. Hiuen Tsang journeyed south-west from Wu-t'u or Oṭa (Skt. Oḍra) and reached Kung-yu-t'o, i.e., Kuṅgada[6] and similarly by travelling south-west from Kuṅgada he reached Ka-leng-ka, i.e., Kaliṅga.[7] The distance recorded by the pilgrim between one state and another in the case of this belt of eastern states has been found to be erroneous; for even by a modest estimate of the former geographical limits of each of these ancient countries, a distance of about 1,200 li between Oḍra and Kuṅgada and that of 1,400 li from the latter to Kaliṅga are opposed to all known facts. These countries were essentially contiguous and in some cases are even found to be conterminous on epigraphic authority.

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[1] YC, II, pp. 193–95; BH, p. 134; BR, II, p. 205.

[2] EI, XXV, 159.

[3] IG, XIX, 249. Orissa means the country in which the speakers of Oriya form the dominant people. Mediaeval inscriptions give various forms of the name such as Oḍiviśa (IA, IV, 364), Oḍḍavādi (EI, V, 108), Oḍḍiya (EI, IV, 270), etc. It was the Orya of Portuguese writers (DHNI, I, p. 491).

[4] EI, XXV, 298. In inscriptions we have reference to Kāṭhaka (EI, VII, 147) and Ka (daka) (*Ibid.* 145) which refers to Cuttack. It was also the same as Koṭāṭavī identified with the Koṭdeś in Sarkar Kaṭak (DHNI, I, p. 341). Another inscription of Śaka-Samvat 1377 distinctly refers to the city of Kaṭaka as being situated on the bank of the Mahānadī (IA, XX, 392). In our text it is mentioned as Kaṇṭakasthala which is a variant of Kaṭakasthala.

[5] JAHRS, X, 167.

[6] YC, II, p. 196.

[7] *Ibid.*, 198.

Thus the bearing that Koṅgoda was to the south-west of Oḍra as noticed by Hiuen Tsang is tolerably consistent, but Oḍra with its capital at Cuttack undoubtedly shared the country with Koṅgoda. This country between the rivers Mahānadī and Ṛṣikulyā was variously known in ancient times. Mediaeval inscriptions already referred to prove that it was a part of Dakṣiṇa Tosala and particularly equivalent to the Koṅgoda country. It was also known as Oḍra. The Bhuvaneswar stone inscription (12th century) refers to Ekāmra (mod. Bhuvanesvar) in Utkala-Viṣaya [1] and in Aśoka's time it also formed a part of Kaliṅga. It is idle to speculate on the political reasons of such a variety of names, for none of these people excepting the Kaliṅgas played any part in political history. They are purely ethnographical and geographical names and so inscriptional geography of this region appears to be a mass of contradictions. But one point seems to be clear, it is this: the appropriate application of the name Kaliṅga ordinarily did not comprehend any region to the north of the river Ṛṣikulyā or Ganjam; for the Ṛṣikulyā-Mahānadī valley was in a geographical position the same to which other names were assigned as verified by epigraphic notices. The statement of the Mahābhārata that the Kaliṅga country extends from the Vaitaraṇī is not supported by any inscription.

Of the other names of that region, Utkala has been left out by Hiuen Tsang, but Utkala-Viṣaya was certainly conterminous with the region round Bhuvaneswar in the twelfth century as the local inscription proves.[2] A verse in a Oḍiyā manuscript runs thus: Khaṇḍagirī-ti nāmāsan pavitra ch-Otkale bhuvi.[3] Utkala, therefore, embraced a portion of the Koṅgoda country, but it is separately mentioned in the Maranja-Mura charter of Mahāśivagupta where Oḍra is left out; Kaliṅga-Koṅgadotkalaka Kośala.[4] If Koṅgoda was identical with the Mahānadī-Ṛṣikulyā valley, the collocation of names suggests that Kaliṅga was to the south of the Ṛṣikulyā, and Utkala lay to the north of the Mahānadī river. Utkala is grouped with Mekala in the Mahābhārata. The Rāmāyaṇa also has a reference to this connection: Mekalānutkalāṁścaiva.[5] It is quite possible that the Utkalas were living close to the Mekalas,[6] i.e., the people inhabiting the Maikala Range, which is the eastern outer wall of the Satpuras bounding Chhattiagarh on the west and north.[7] In early times Utkala may have been the name of some

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[1] EI, XIII, 150–155. Utkala-deśa is referred to in another inscription (EI, XI, 20–26).

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] HAIB, p. 27, f.n. 5.

[4] JBORS, II, 45ff.

[5] IV. 41, 9. In a book of the Pāli canon, Okkalā or Ukkalā, i.e., the Utkalas are mentioned along with the Mekalas (TAI, p. 334).

[6] Mekala is grouped with Kośala as a country in the Plates of Prithvīsena II, (EI, IX, 269).

[7] Amarkaṇṭak, about 12 miles from Pendrā in Bilaspur, across the Rewah border, is the source of the Narbadā and Śon and forms the eastern peak of the

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region close to Maikāla which was thus in Kośala-deśa. Pargiter thinks that the two names possess something in common and that Utkala comprised the southern portion of Chota Nagpur and the northern tributary states of Orissa.[1] The transfer or extension of the name to the plain country along the sea-board was perhaps later. The name Utkala implies that it was to the north of Kaliṅga and the situation of Utkala-Viṣaya in what has been found to be the Koṅgoda country agrees well with the references we have of Kaliṅga and Utkala. Kalidāsa takes no account of Oḍra as does Hiuen Tsang of Utkala, which according to the former, stretched from the river Kapisā (Midnapore)[2] as far south as Kaliṅga.[3] Perhaps Oḍra was another name of Utkala from which the modern appellation of Orissa is derived.[4] Śri Puruṣottamadeva, king of Kaliṅga and the author of the Lexicon Trikāṇḍaśeṣa[5] writes 'Auḍrā Utkala-nāmāno'. In later times the names Utkala and Koṅgoda seem to have been dropped in popular use and the name Oḍra generally employed.[6]

These indications are adequate enough to maintain that Kaliṅga lay to the south of Ṛṣikulyā. In the Raghuvaṁśa the Kaliṅga king is described as the overlord of both the Mahendra Hill[7] and the sea[8] and similar references to the close connection of the country with the Mahendra mountain which are also recorded in inscriptions[9] suggest that the territories round about the Mahendragiri[10] in the Ganjam district were in the heart of the Kaliṅga country. The Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela[11] refers to Kaliṅganagara[12] as being the capital. Most of the early Gaṅgās of Kaliṅga[13] like Hastivarman,[14] Indravarman,[15] Devendravarman,[16] who describe themselves as Lord of Kaliṅga (sakala-Kaliṅgādhirājyah) issued their Grants from the victorious camp (Vijayavataḥ) at Kaliṅga-

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Maikāla range. The river Narmadā has been described by ancient writers as Mekalasutā, and the Śon is described as rising from Mount Mekala in the Rāmāyaṇa.

[1] MP, p. 327. For the etymology of 'Kala' in Ut-Kala and Me-kala and its connection with Kurāla of the Allahabad inscription of Samudra-Gupta, see G. Ramadas in IHQ, I, 685. In the time of Śaśāṅka Utkala-deśa was attached to the Daṇḍabhukti.

[2] Pargiter identifies it with the R. Cossya in Midnapore (MP, p. 327).

[3] Raghu, iv, 38.

[4] Levi, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[5] TKS, p. 31.

[6] In a South Indian inscription of A.D. 1336 (EI, XXI, 268) Orissa is referred to as Voḍḍiyarāya. Another grant of Śaka Samvat 1523 refers to Orissa by the name of Oḍḍiya (EI, IV, 270). For Utkalas and Udras see B. C. Law in Journal of Indian History, XIX, Dec., 1940. Dr. R. C. Mazumdar writes that Utkala and Udra were used as synonymous terms for modern Orissa (JASB, XI, 1945, No. 1, p. 7).

[7] VI, 53-4.

[8] See also V, 56.

[9] EI, XIX, 135; DHNI, I, p. 449 and 452.

[10] Cf. KSSR, I, p. 150.

[11] EI, XX, 79-80.

[12] L. 3.

[13] IA, XIII, 273.

[14] EI, XXIII, 65.

[15] EI, XXV, 195.

[16] EI, XXVI, 63.

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nagara.[1] The later Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga also in most cases issued their Grants from this city.[2] The city is variously identified with Mukhaliṅgam some 20 miles from Parlakimedi in the Ganjam district,[3] or with Calingapatam [4] a sea coast town in the Bay of Bengal about 20 miles from Chicacole at the mouth of the Vaṁśadharā river.[5] But besides Kaliṅganagara, the Plates of the early Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga, like Jayavarmadeva and Indravarman, refer to the victorious residence of Śvetaka,[6] which has been sought to be identified with Chikaṭi in the Ganjam district. It should be stated in this connection that some epigraphs of a line of kings whose names end in Varman and who call themselves 'Kaliṅgādhipati' throw much light on the history and geography of Kaliṅga.[7] Thus a Grant of Viśākhavarman [8] was issued from Śrīpura which is regarded as identical with Siripuram in the Palkonda taluk of the Vizagapatam district.[9] A grant of Anantavarman was issued from the royal residence of Devapura variously identified with places in the Śruṅgavarapukoṭa taluk and in the Chicacole taluk.[10] But 'Kaliṅgādhipati' Anantavarman also issued another Grant from the victorious city of Piṣṭapura which is the same as Piṭhāpuram in the Godāvarī district.[11] Grants of other kings like Candravarman and Ananta-śaktivarman were issued from Siṅghapura.[12] One Grant of Uma-

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[1] *Ibid.*, 67.

[2] DHNI, I, pp. 457-58.

[3] DHNI, I, pp. 448 and 485 f.n. 3. It was also called Nagara (EI, XXIII, 65). R. Subba Rao says that Mukhaliṅgam was the ancient capital city of Kaliṅga both in times of the early and later Gaṅga Kings (JAHRS, VI. 56–62; 83-84).

[4] EI, XX, 79-80.

[5] Kaliṅgapattana is perhaps also referred to in the Pattanabhoga of the Plates of Anantavarman (EI, XXIV, 49, f.n. 5) 'which is evidently derived from Pattana perhaps an abbreviated form of Kaliṅgapattanā'.

[6] EI, XXIII, 261; XXIV, 181; EI, XXVI, 167.

[7] Dr. R. C. Mazumdar says that they 'ruled in Kaliṅga during the interval between the invasion of Samudragupta and the rise of the Gaṅga dynasty' and that they all flourished between 400 and 500 A.D. (EI, XXIII, 58 and EI, XXIV, 50).

[8] EI, XXI, 24.

[9] EI, XXI, 24; XXIV, 49, f.n. 11. It is also identified with Sirpur, 18 miles from Parlakimedi in the Ganjam district (EI, XXIII, 119).

[10] EI, XXIV, 50.

[11] EI, XXIII, 57. The grant in question records that Anantavarman's grandfather Guṇavarman ruled over Devarāṣṭra which must have been the kingdom of the same name conquered by Samudragupta, and is identical with a taluk in the Vizagapatam district. Although it is treated separately from Piṣṭapura in the Emperor's Allahabad inscription, the plate of Anantavarman indicates that he was ruling over Devarāṣṭra, and Piṣṭapura was the chief city of the kingdom. Now if the Anantavarman of Siripuram plates (EI, XXIV, 49) and of the present grant are identical it will appear that he ruled over the entire country from the river Vaṁśadharā to the river Godāvarī. (JAHRS, VIII, 155-56.)

[12] EI, XXIV, 49. Cf. Siṁhapura of Mahāvastu (Senart's edition, p. 432), which may be mod. Singupuram near Chicacole (Dubreuil, AHD, p. 94).

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varman was issued from Vardhamānapura[1] and another from Sunagara.[2] The Jaina Upāṅga called the Prajñāpaṇā refers to Kāṁchanapura[3] and the Mahābhārata to Rājapura[4] as the metropolis of Kaliṅga while Dantapura, a famous Kaliṅga city,[5] has been plausibly connected with the fort of Dantavaktra near Chicacole.[6] The Kathā-S-Sāgara refers to Sobhāvatī as a Kaliṅga city.[7] Now from a reference to all these place names in the records of kings calling themselves 'Kaliṅgādhipati' and from the epigraphs of the early and later Gaṅga kings as well, it is clear that the Kaliṅga country stretched along the eastern coast from the Ganjam district in the north to the Godāvarī district in the south as far as the river of that name.[8] The country to the north of Ganjam as far as the river Mahānadī also occasionally formed part of Kaliṅga[9] as in the time of Aśoka when Tosalī, i.e., Dhauli in the Mahānadī valley was a part of Kaliṅga.[10]

So within these limits of the Kaliṅga country as outlined from the provenance of all these records and the places mentioned therein, we will have to locate all the ancient districts or Viṣayas of Kaliṅga country incidentally referred to in the different kinds of Kaliṅga inscriptions of various dates. A list of the different districts hitherto known is given below:—

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[1] EI, XXIV, 49. This is identified with Vaḍama in the Palkonda taluk in the Vizagapatam district (EI, XXIV, 49, fn. 14).

[2] *Ibid.*, 50.

[3] IA, XX, 375.

[4] XII. 4, 3.

[5] Mbh(B), vii. 68, 5; Dantakūra.

[6] PH, p. 75, f.n. 7. See also EI, XXV, 285. For Ptolemy's 'Paloura' and Dantapura and other views connected with the location of the latter, see HAIB, pp. 29ff.

[7] KSSR, II, pp. 351 and 412.

[8] EI, XXIV, 50.

[9] The name Kaliṅga had been very often used in the widest sense. The Mahābhārata (iii. 114. 4) recognizes the Vaitaraṇī river as the north-eastern boundary of Kaliṅga. Pliny's reference to the Gangaridae as a Kaliṅga people may indicate the extension of ancient Kaliṅga as far as the Ganges. His Calingae perhaps means Kaliṅga proper and Macco-Calingae may have a reference to the Mekala portion of Kaliṅga. The Purāṇas also refer to the connection of the Kaliṅga country with Mt. Amarakaṇṭaka. According to the Kūrma Purāṇa (ii. 39.9; see also Skanda Purāṇa, v. 3, 21, 7) the Amarakaṇṭaka hills formed the western boundary of the country. In the Matsya Purāṇa (ch. 184, v. 12) it is clearly stated that the Narmadā drained Amarakaṇṭaka situated in the western half of Kaliṅga. The boundaries of the country reached even up to the Gangetic delta on the north as in the time of the Eastern Gaṅga King Anantavarman Coḍaganga. But the natural geographical limits of a country are not to be confused with the extension of its territorial frontiers due to conquests abroad. To regard Kaliṅga country as extending from the Gangetic Valley up to the Godāvarī or even Kistna on the south is to ignore all ancient notions of the geography of this portion of India.

[10] For the boundaries of Kaliṅga at different periods, see JAHRS, II, 17–23; 196–203.

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Nḍadāśṛṅga-Viṣaya
Rūpāvartanī-Viṣaya [2]
Kroṣṭukavarttanī-Viṣaya [4]
Puṣyagiri-pañcāli [6]
Khalugakhaṇḍa-Viṣaya [8]
Jayaḍā-Viṣaya [10]
Puṣkariṇī-Viṣaya [12]
Ambavāḍi-Viṣaya [14]
Gorasatta-Viṣaya [16]
Vepūrā-Viṣaya [18]
Samvā-Viṣaya [20]
Galela-Viṣaya [22]

Pratiṣṭhāna-Viṣaya [1]
Varāha-Vartanī-Viṣaya [3]
Kāmarūpa-Viṣaya [5]
Korāsoḍaka-pañcālī [7]
Tellavalli-Viṣaya [9]
Hemvakamaṭamva-Viṣaya [11]
Paṭaṇikhaṇḍa-Viṣaya [13]
Kaṇṭaka-vartanī [15]
Erada-Viṣaya [17]
Kolu-vartanī [19]
Samaga-Viṣaya [21]
Jalamvora-Viṣaya [23]

S. B. CHAUDHURY.

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[1] EI, XXIII, 261. The donee was a resident of the Pratiṣṭhāna-Viṣaya. The name survives in Piṭhāpuram in the Godāvarī district.

[2] This is perhaps the same as Rūpyavatī-Viṣaya of the Tekkali Plates of Indravarman (EI, XVIII, 309ff).

[3] It is mentioned in a number of early and later Gaṅga records. It perhaps roughly corresponded to 'the coastal portion between (EI, XXIII, 65) Chicacole and Tekkali.' The Korni Grant of Anantavarman Coḍaganga (*c.* 1076–1147 A.D.) records the grant of the village Khonna in Varāha-vartanī (DHNI, I, p. 462). The village is the same as Korni near Kaliṅgapatam.

[4] It is mentioned in some of the early and later Gaṅga inscriptions (EI, XXVI, 66, f.n. 4 and 5) and is identified with the country to the north of the river Vamśadharā in the Ganjam district.

[5] It may be just another district of ancient Kaliṅga (*Ibid.*).

[6] EI, XXVI. 63; JAHRS, X, 164-65.

[7] EI, XXI, 24; IHQ, XX, 233. It has been shown that it was a part of the Kaliṅga country. It comprised the region round the modern village Koroshaṇḍā a village six miles to the south of Parlakimedi in the Ganjam district.

[8] EI, XXIII, 266, 268.

[9] EI, XXIII, 57–59. It may be connected with the river Tel in the Zamindary of Jeypore (*Ibid.* 59).

[10] EI, XXIII, 264.

[11] EI, XXIV, 181.

[12] EI, XXIII, 75.

[13] EI, XXVI, 167.

[14] IA, XVIII, 167-8 and 170–74.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 171, f.n. 9.

[16] It consisted of 35 villages and seems to have been near the Vamśadharā (DHNI, I, 457; EI, XI, 149).

[17] It consisted of 12 villages of which one seems to have been at a distance of 15 miles from Badam (DHNI, 1, pp. 457 and 490) in the Palkonda taluk (Vizag distrct) which as has been shown was known as Vardhamānapura.

[18] The reference to Vāḍām in this connection (DHNI, I, p. 457, f.n. 5) shows that it was in Palkond in the Vizag district.

[19] This is regarded as the same as Varāha-vartanī (*Ibid.* 458, f.n. 1).

[20] IA, XVIII, 165–172.

[21] DHNI, I, p. 466. Reference is also made to a Vāṭaka called Tittiliṅgi (Trilliṅgi) which was within it.

[22] IA, XIV, 11, line 14.

[23] JAHRS, III, 184. It is identified with Jalmuru near Urlam in the Ganjam district.

REVIEWS

CULTURE AND SOCIETY (University of Bombay Publications, Sociology Series, No. 1) by G. S. Ghurye, Ph.D., Published by the Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1947.

This book contains ten chapters. In the first chapter, dealing with culture and civilization, the author's treatment of the golden age of Hindu civilization is noteworthy. It is true that as there are gradations of civilization, there must be gradations of culture. Culture is civilization absorbed and operative. In the second chapter, the author has dealt with culture in the 19th century England. Extravagance, says the author, was the very hall-mark of the Romantic Movement and 'romance was the very breath of the early Victorian culture.' He has referred to the æsthetic movement. The movement for the generation of arts and crafts connected with William Morris and Rossetti was more or less in full swing in the 19th century. Humanitarianism made itself felt slowly but surely in a number of aspects of life. In the third chapter, the author has given the views of Emerson, Mathew Arnold and John Morley about culture and discussed them satisfactorily. In the fourth chapter, the author has said a few words about civilization which is in danger. In the fifth chapter, he has discussed Bell's views about civilization. In the sixth chapter he has reviewed Powys' book, 'The Meaning of Culture.' The seventh chapter records the opinion of Whitehead about civilization. The views of Russell and Laski are given in the eighth chapter about the requisites of civilization. Civilization, a collective enterprise of humanity, and culture and Universities form the subject matters of chapters nine and ten. The author has done full justice to the subject and he has given a useful bibliography and a good index.

S. C. SEAL.

LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA AS DEPICTED IN THE JAIN CANONS by Jagadish Chandra Jain, M.A., Ph.D. Published by New Book Company Ltd., Bombay, 1947.

This book is a welcome addition to our stock of useful literature on Indology. It is no doubt the first publication of its kind. It gives a survey of social, political, economical, administrative, and geographical position of ancient India based on Jain canonical texts and commentaries. The author has given a short history of the Jain Church. He has written a chapter on the classification of the Jain Canon. The author's object is to collect as fully as possible the social, political, economical, religious and geographical materials from the Jain *sūtras*. In dealing with such topics as women and succession, consecration ceremony, co-wives, etc., he ought to have made a comparative study by referring to Buddhist texts. The chapter on military organization is interesting. Equally interesting is his chapter on economic condition. The author has succeeded in presenting many new materials in a readable form. As regards the position of women he ought to have made his study comparative by consulting my *Women in Buddhist Literature* or Miss Horner's *Women under primitive Buddhism*. His account of the religious condition prevailing in India in the 6th century B.C. is satisfactory. The most valuable portion of the book is section V, which contains geographical materials as far as can be culled from Jain canonical literature. The book under review is a notable contribution to the study of Jainism and Jain thought. It will surely be well received by scholars interested in Indological studies. There are useful Indices together with a good Bibliography.

B. C. LAW.

THE SADDHAMMAPPAKĀSINĪ (Commentary on the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*), Vol. III. Edited by C. V. Joshi, M.A., and published by the Pali Text Society, London, 1947.

The Pali Text Society must be congratulated on the publication of an excellent edition of the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* commentary by Prof. Joshi. This is the last volume which has been edited with great care. Unlike P.T.S. editions it is free from errors or misprints. Different readings have been noted at the foot of each page. Some verses have been compared with parallel verses in other Pali Texts. A very useful Index supplied by the editor has greatly enhanced the utility of this book.

D. L. BARUA.

INDIAN CULTURE

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CHANDRAGUPTA'S ABDICATION

By B. CH. CHHABRA, *Ootacamund*

Recent researches have greatly advanced our knowledge of the early history of India. Still there are points on which the doctors differ. The one discussed here concerns the Gupta monarch Chandragupta I. Opinion is divided as to whether he abdicated the throne in favour of one of his sons, namely Samudragupta, or whether he simply selected this latter as *yuvarāja*. The divergent views have been epitomized in one of the latest publications, to wit *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*,[1] a joint production of Doctors R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar. On page xi of their Editorial Preface in the beginning of this work, we are told: 'Nor did complete agreement become possible with reference to the views expressed about the abdication of Chandragupta I.'

The rival theories are based on verse 4 of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, the text of which is read by Dr. J. F. Fleet as follows [2]:—

(Ā)ryyo h = īty = upaguhya bhāva-piśunair = utkarṇṇitai
romabhiḥ
sabhyesh = ūchchhvasiteshu tulyakulaja-mlān-ānan-odvīkshi(ta)ḥ ।
sn(e)ha-vyāḷulitena bāshpa-guruṇā tattv-ekshiṇā chakshushā
yaḥ pitr = ābhihito ni(r)īksh(y)a nikhi(lāṁ pāhy = eva)
m = (u)rv(v)īm = iti ॥

Before proceeding further, I should like to say a word about the reading itself. The portions given within the round brackets are either obscure on the original or have altogether disappeared. The text as restored by Fleet has, however, been accepted as correct and has formed the basis of all subsequent discussions. It may appear presumptuous on my part to suggest any emendation, so late in the day, in the universally adopted reading. However, *vivakshitaṁ hy = anuktam anutāpaṁ janayati*, as Kālidāsa has said, I venture to submit to the interested scholars the following observations for what they are worth.

It may, on a closer examination, be found that the opening expression in the given text, viz., *āryo hi + iti*, is not perfectly good Sanskrit. It is not quite idiomatic. Fleet has rendered it by 'exclaiming "Verily (*he is*) worthy,".'[3] We can understand his

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[1] Being Vol. VI of *A New History of the Indian People*, published for the Bhāratīya Itihāsa Parishad by Motilal Banarsi Dass, Lahore, 1946. The present is the only volume so far published of the twenty volumes to be issued under the scheme.

[2] His *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 6.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

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reasons. The verb *asti*, 'is', may be supplied, following the maxim *asti-bhavatyor = adhyāhāro bhavati*; and a *saḥ* (or *ayam*), 'he', may be taken as understood. In other words, the exclamation *āryo hi* is to be regarded as an abbreviated form of *ayam āryo hi* + *asti* (or *ayaṁ hi* + *āryo* = *'sti*). Be that as it may, it does not square with other considerations. If the indeclinable *hi* has to be taken as indicative of the reason behind the resultant action, as it has evidently been taken in the present instance, then a son's merely being *ārya* does not constitute a sufficient reason for his father's being moved to tears and embracing him (the son), as we find Chandragupta I described in the verse. Besides, such an exclamation would be tantamount to saying that the other sons of the speaker were *anārya*. It was perhaps to obviate this that Dr. G. Bühler, accepting Fleet's reading, rendered the expression somewhat more freely by 'Here is a noble man!'[1] Moreover, in order that this utterance of the father be consistent with his second utterance, found at the tail-end of the verse, it ought to have been in the Second Person, and not in the Third Person as it has been construed both by Fleet and by Bühler. Feeling this, some scholars have actually taken it that way. To them perhaps it meant going only one step further. They interpret it by 'Thou art worthy'.[2] Not that they suspect the reading itself to be *āryyo = 's = īti*; for, the third syllable distinctly and definitely reads *hī* and not *sī*. Only, they think that, with reference to the context, *āryyo h = īti* amounts to 'Thou art worthy!' But, doing so is perhaps taking too much liberty with the text. The very fact that it is sought to be explained variously is an indication that all is not well with the reading *āryyo h = īti*.

Now, all this mental reasoning led me to making a fresh attempt at the decipherment. The process has been long and vexatious, but the result ludicrously simple, if I may say so. I am glad to be able to announce that eventually I succeeded in capturing what I consider to be the correct reading. It is *ehy = eh = īti*. The words *āryyo hi* being non-existent, the foregoing debate becomes at once irrelevant. No longer is there any inconsistency or trespassing on the idiom.

It must, however, be explained as to how I arrived at this new reading and why I consider it to be correct. The first letter, it may be seen, has entirely disappeared with the peeling off of the stone at that part, so that its restoration is a matter of conjecture, dependent on what we can make out of the rest. The next is a ligature of which only some traces, especially of the lower part, have survived, so that here again we are left to guessing. The way in

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[1] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLII, 1913, p. 176. Mr. Vincent A. Smith has adopted Bühler's rendering, in his *Early History of India* (cf. its 4th edition, p. 297, n. 1).

[2] Cf. *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 137.

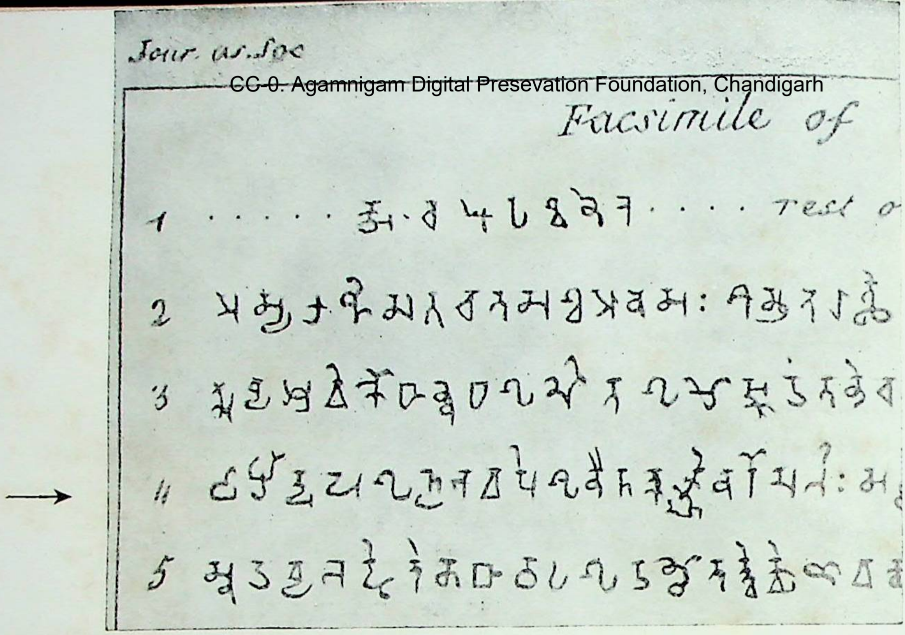
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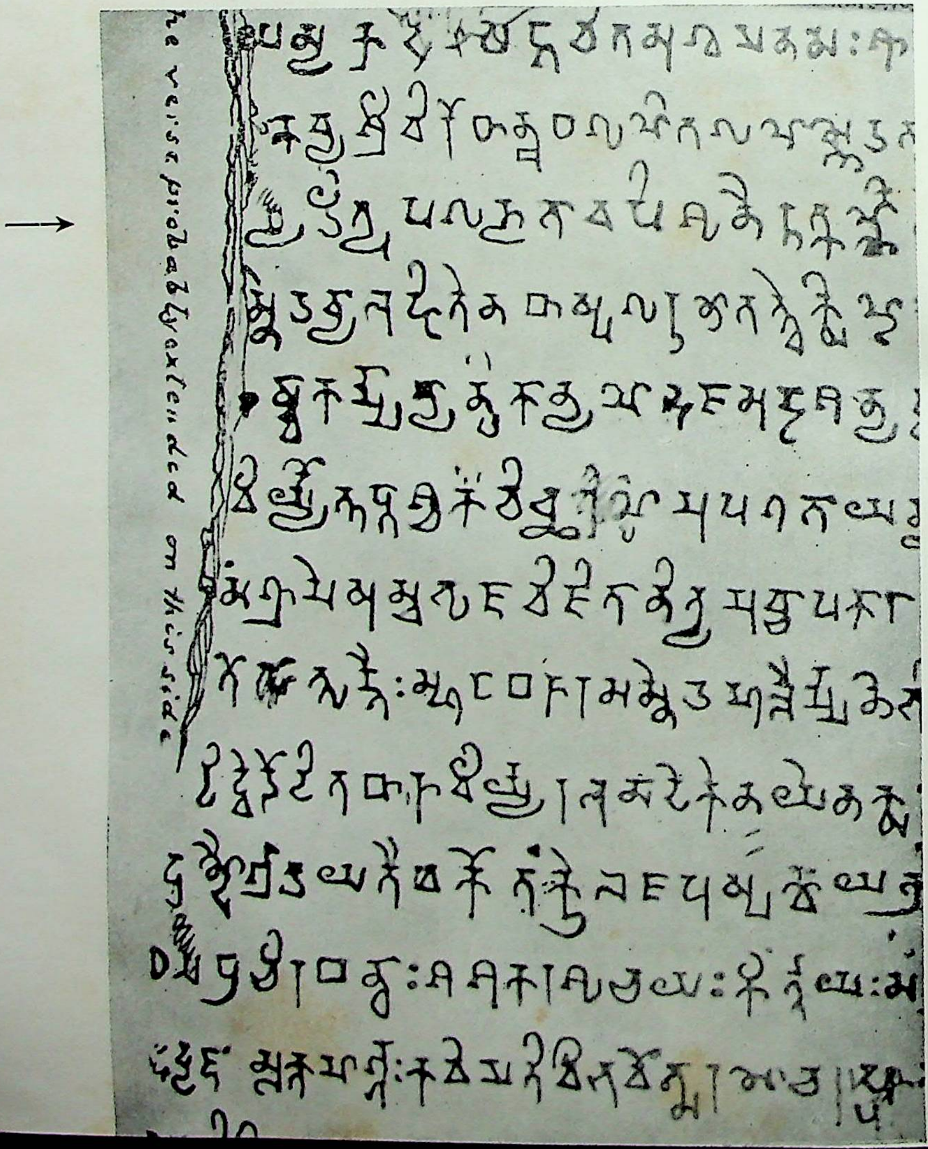
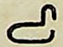
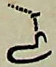
FIG. 1.


he verse probably extended on this side

which Fleet has transcribed this part, however, shows that he had no doubt the reading of this second syllable, which he reads *ryyo*. It is true that, from the traces left, a subscript *y* is clearly visible, but as for the rest, the traces are too faint. Now, were this letter really *ryyo*, it should have resembled *ryyo* of the *vīryyo* in the beginning of line 10 or *ryya* of the *vīryya* in line 13. On comparison, it may be found that the traces left of the ligature under consideration do not suggest the requisite resemblance. The lower *y* is no doubt clear, but the letter to which it is appended can be anything but *y*. With Fleet's facsimile as our guide, we can thus proceed no further. But he has, on the very first page of his essay on this Allahabad inscription, informed us that two lithographs of it have also previously been published in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, one in its Volume III (1834) and the other in its Volume VI (1837). Since these publications are not easily accessible, and since the lithographs published there are of great assistance to us for determining the disputed reading, I reproduce here the relevant portion from each of the two lithographs. Let us first examine the earlier piece. Our ligature is found in the beginning of the line marked as 4 there. The copyist may have failed to trace the sign very accurately, but he has given sufficient indication as to how the half-damaged symbol appeared to him. On the top of the subscript *y*, he clearly saw a downward hook opening to the right, the whole appearing somewhat like . The same sign occurs in the later lithograph, too, where the upper part is shown a bit shaded. Whatever the value of the sign, it at least eliminates the possibility of the superscript letter being a *y*, which forms the basis of Fleet's reading of the ligature as *ryyo*. On the other hand, its comparison with *hya* of *upaguhya*, the very next word after what has been read as *(Ā)ryyo h = īty =* in the same line, will show that the superscript in the disputed symbol is *h*. The rest, of course, is left to imagination. Referring back to Fleet's facsimile, we notice some very faint traces left on the top, which justify, so to say, Fleet's reading a medial *o* in the syllable. This would supply the missing part of the vertical stroke of the superscript *h* and a slanting or curved stroke attached to it on the left, indicating a medial *e*. We may thus restore the symbol something like  and arrive at *hye*. Reading this with what follows, we have *hyehītyupaguhya* or — *hi ehi iti upaguhya*. This sounded familiar, and filling up the blank seemed easy. I jumped, as they say, to the conclusion that the reading certainly is *ehi ehi iti*, etc.

I need hardly add anything in defence of this reading. It fits in so well with the scene depicted and the sentiments expressed

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in the verse. As remarked above, the phrase has a familiar ring about it. In literature it is often found used in like situations. In Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, for instance, when Lakshamaṇa is brought back to life by the physician Susheṇa, the latter is praised vociferously and Rāma's joy knows no bounds. In that state, he addresses his younger brother tenderly and embraces him heartily. The actual words are:

> *Sādhu sādhv = iti suprītāḥ Susheṇaṁ pratyapūjayan* |
> *ehy = eh = īty = abravīd Rāmo Lakshmaṇaṁ para-vīra-hā* ||
> *Sasvaje sneha-gāḍhaṁ cha bāshpa-paryākul-ekshaṇaḥ* |
> *abravīch = cha parishvajya Saumitriṁ Rāghavas = tadā* ||

(Madras Law Journal Press edition, *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, CII, 38-39).

In Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīya* (Act V), when the young Āyush is brought from Chyavana's hermitage and introduced to his father Purūravas, the latter, with sentiments of parental love welling up in him, addresses the child: *ehy = ehi vatsa*. The father then clasps the son in his embrace. A similar scene is met with in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*. Chandrāpīḍa, with his companion, Vaiśampāyana, returns home, after finishing his studies at the *vidyāmandira*. What a thrill of joy his sight excites in his father Tārāpīḍa is vividly described in Bāṇa's melodious prose:

> *chalita-chūḍāmaṇi-śirasā kṛita-praṇāmam*
> *ehy = eh = īty = abhidadhāno dūrād eva prasārita-*
> *bhuja-yugalaḥ śayana-talād īshad uchchhvasita-*
> *mūrtir ānanda-jala-pūryamāṇa-lochanaḥ*
> *samudgata-pulakatayā. . . . . taṁ pitā*
> *vinay-āvanatam āliliṅga.*[1]

Chandrāpīḍa's companion is received with the same affection, as the description continues:

> *anantaraṁ. . . .rājnā suta-nirviśesham*
> *upagūḍho Vaiśampāyano nyashīdat.*[2]

I have taken the liberty of citing these passages at some length, because of the striking similarities of expressions they exhibit. Of

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[1] Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press, 7th ed., p. 180. This passage was kindly brought to my notice by Mr. G. S. Ramanathan after the meeting, held on the 25th March, 1948, of the Epigraphical Association, Ootacamund, where I first announced the emended reading, *ehy = eh = īti*, in Samudragupta's inscription.

[2] *Ibid.* On p. 404, we have again *ehy = eh = īty = āhūya pitrā gāḍham upagūḍhaḥ*, Tārāpīḍa embracing Chandrāpīḍa, when the latter returned from his *digvijaya*. On p. 374, we have *ehy = eh = īty = uktvā . . . . . tam āliliṅga*, Chandrāpīḍa welcoming Keyūraka. When Kādambarī welcomes Mahāśvetā, she is also described as *ehy = eh = īty = abhidhāya* on p. 388.

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particular interest to us is the use of the word *uchchhvasita* in this context. It evidently means much more than merely 'heaving a sigh of relief' or the like. We shall presently have occasion to refer to the description of a court scene similar to the one found in our inscription. There the father's announcement is followed by an uprorious applause and a jubilation among those present. Possibly, something approaching that is meant also by *sabhyesh = ūchchhvasiteshu* of our verse.

Now, before reverting to the main theme of our discussion, we may clear another little problem. This relates to the second utterance of Chandragupta I. Fleet has restored it as:

nikhi(lāṁ pāhy = eva)m = (u)rv(v)īm = iti.

Here, the reading of the words *nikhilāṁ* and *urvvīm = iti* is warranted by the surviving traces on the original. As for *pāhy = evam*, it is purely conjectural. Fleet is obviously right in supplying the imperative *pāhi*. But his *evam* has no special significance. The word no doubt ended in *m*, but it need not be *evam*. Fleet's restoration sets the metre aright, but does not justify the insertion of *evam*, unless it be treated as an expletive, a mere stuffing, which would ill assort with the verse that ranks as 'one of the best productions'.[1] The doubtfulness of the rôle of *evam* here stands demonstrated by Fleet's own rendering. He reads *evam* and translates it as if it were *eva*,—'of a surety'.[2]

What is required by the context is, I think, a simple *tvam*. Thus *nikhilām pāhi tvam = urvvīm = iti* !. It is true that when we say *pāhi*, *tvam* is usually understood. But its express mention, it may be conceded, lays stress on it. And that is what is required in the present instance, where the subject on hand is the selection of one from among several sons. Thus 'Protect *thou* the whole earth !', with stress on 'thou', suits the context admirably well.[3]

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[1] Bühler, *l.c.*

[2] Fleet, *l.c.*, p. 12. Bühler, not questioning Fleet's reading, introduces the words 'then this' in his free rendering, as equivalent to *evam*. Others have dropped 'then' and retained 'this'. Cf. *The Vākaṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 137. It may be observed that *imām* or *etām*, 'this', would not suit the metre.

[3] Speaking of emendations, I may as well draw attention to two expressions in v. 8 of the inscription, though they have no direct bearing on the point at issue. First, the opening words are read as *Dharmma-prāchīra-bandhaḥ*, ending in *aḥ* (short *a*), while it clearly reads—*bandhāḥ* (long *ā*). The sign is particularly clear on one of the two lithographs of which portions have been reproduced here. The expression is thus an adjective, like the other two (*-śaśi-kara-śuchayaḥ* and *sa-pratānāḥ*), qualifying *kīrttayaḥ*. Secondly, the sense requires that we should read, or correct the text into, *guṇa iti* where *guṇamati-* has been read in the fourth quarter of the verse. It would thus read:

ko nu syād = yo = sya na syād = guṇa iti vidushāṁ dhyāna-pātram ya ekaḥ.

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With these modifications, we may, for ready reference, translate the verse as follows:—

> 'With hair erect, indicating affection, when father embraced him, saying: "Come, come!", those present in the court felt exhilarated, while the rival claimants looked at him with sullen faces. Then, his eyes laden with tears and sparkling with emotion, father cast a piercing glance at him and thus spake to him: "Protect thou the whole earth!"

'Father' stands for Chandragupta I and the person spoken to is his son Samudragupta.

The graphic picture, presented here within the compass of one single stanza, is marvellous indeed. 'There is not a word,' to quote Bühler,[1] 'which is unnecessary; and one believes as if he sees the scene with his own eyes'.

It may be argued that the real cause of the gladdening of the audience as of the despondency of the collaterals was the final pronouncement by Chandragupta I, and not merely his showing affection to Samudragupta; why is then the order reversed in the descriptive stanza? This argument only helps us picture to ourselves the situation. The royal court is in full session. The main item on the agenda is the selection of the heir to the throne, to be announced by the Emperor himself. The princes, who are the candidates, so to say, are also present among the audience. The preliminaries over, the Emperor singles out Samudragupta as his choice, addressing him with the words *ehy* = *ehi* and embracing him in the presence of one and all. That is a signal for the audience who burst out in acclamation. The choice has become so obvious. They need not wait for the formal pronouncement to be uttered, which is then uttered amid cheers, so to say.[2]

The scene is strongly reminiscent of Rāma's *yauvarājyābhisheka* as described by Vālmīki in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The *ādikavi's* elaborate description of the event covers about five chapters. The essential points thereof have all come out in the miniature which Harisheṇa, the court poet of Samudragupta, has painted for us. The parallelism is confined mainly to the court scene, but there are other points in Rāma's episode that help us in understanding Samudragupta's case. Each, of course, has its own peculiarities that are well known. To mention the analogous points, in both the cases, the nomination of an heir has been made an occasion for a grand ceremony, where the heir elect is subjected to a public display of parental love, in order to win popular support in his favour, which is readily and cheerfully given. In order fully to appreciate the correspondence and other helpful features, let us briefly review the narrative found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The opening chapters of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* contain this:

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[1] Bühler, *l.c.* It should be remembered that the original is in German. All quotations ascribed to him in this article are in reality from Prof. V. S. Ghate's English translation of Dr. Bühler's German essay which was originally published sometime in 1889-90.

[2] In Dr. K. P. Jayaswal's imagination the scene was laid at the death-bed of Chandragupta I. His view has been rightly discredited by Prof. Jagan Nath Agrawala. Cf. *F. W. Thomas Presentation Volume*, p. 117.

> 'Bharata is away from Ayodhyā. He, along with Śatrughna, is enjoying his stay in his maternal grandfather's house in Kekaya. In the meantime, Daśaratha, attracted by Rāma's excellences, confers with his ministers and decides to install him as *yuvarāja* (*yauvarājyam amanyata*, I, 42). He convenes an assembly to which are invited leading citizens and prominent personalities from all over the kingdom as also chieftains of the surrounding countries (I, 46). The king of Kekaya is conspicuous by his absence, and so is the king of Mithilā (they are not invited, I, 48, and we know the reason why). Among those present are naturally many learned Brāhmaṇas (II, 19), and Daśaratha's own family priests, Vasishtha and Vāmadeva, as also his own ministers (III, 3 and 25). Daśaratha addresses the gathering, delivers a piece of oration, and winds up with the proposal to the effect that he will make Rāma his heir (*yauvarājye niyoktāsmi*, II, 12). He invites the opinion of the royalty and the gentry present there. Daśaratha's announcement is received with a thundering ovation (*snigdho = 'nunādī saṁjajñe tatra harsha-samīritaḥ* । *jan-augh-odghushṭa-sannādo medinīṁ kampayann = iva*, II, 18). Those from the audience whose opinion counts confer among themselves, consider the king's proposal and unanimously support it. Daśaratha is not satisfied with their approval so readily given. He puts cross questions to them, whereupon they enlarge upon Rāma's qualities of head and heart and convince Daśaratha that Rāma is the fittest to rule the earth. In fact, they add, the whole population has been longing and praying to see Rāma installed as *yuvarāja* (*paśyāmo yauvarājyasthaṁ tava rājottam = ātmajam*, II, 54). Thus assured, Daśaratha asks his priests immediately to make necessary arrangements (*yauvarajyāya Rāmasya sarvam ev = opakalpyatām*, III, 4). This again is hailed with loud cheers (*janā-ghosho mahān abhūt*, III, 5). At this stage Rāma is sent for. He comes, and as he bows to his father, the latter draws him to himself and embraces him in the presence of the whole assemblage (*gṛihy = āñjalau samākṛishya sasvaje priyam ātmajam*, III, 34). Rāma is then given an honoured seat and told by his father to accept the heirship won by his virtues and backed by the popular will (*tasmāt tvaṁ pushy-yogena yauvarājyam avāpnuhi*, III, 41).

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> The assembly is dispersed, and there is a great rejoicing in the city. Rāma has gone to his palace, but is again called by his father, this time in private. He is told that the installation ceremony is to come off the very next day, that it should be gone through as quickly as possible to preclude any mishap, and all the rest of it.'

There you are! The comparison is as clear as the contrast is sharp. The embracing scene and the show of public enthusiasm are common features, but their order is different in the two cases, and that for very good reasons. In one assembly, the candidates witness the entire proceedings, while in the other only the chosen one is called in at an opportune moment.

The obvious merits of Vālmīki's detailed picture are naturally absent from Harisheṇa's presentation which, as a miniature, is admittedly a triumph of concision. We must not forget that their subject-matters are different. The narrators and the events narrated are far removed from each other in point of time. Yet, the circumstantial similarity between the two makes it possible for us to imagine some of the details that are missing or obscure in the miniature. It is patent that the kind of assemblies described is a political necessity with a view to preserving the integrity of an empire. When a ruling monarch has several sons from different wives,[1] and when he apprehends that the succession will be disputed either in his own lifetime or later on, he must see that his successor is duly nominated and his position made secure. The best way to keep the contestants out of the harm's way is to rouse public opinion in favour of the chosen heir, to get him recognized as such by the world at large. That will serve as a deterrent on any existing or would-be rival claimant. For this purpose it is desirable that the assembly convened be attended by as many as possible and the various groups and parties, both inside the kingdom and outside it, that have a say or interest in the matter, should be roped in. And we have seen that Daśaratha took care that it was so done. Viewed in this light, we may not be far wrong in presuming that Chandragupta I did the same thing. Thus, when Harisheṇa says *sabhyesh = ūchchhvasiteshu*, he perhaps refers to an assemblage of heterogeneous elements and not merely to the 'courtiers' of Chandragupta I. As for the expression *uchchhvasita*, we have already hinted at the possibility of its being taken, in the given context, in the sense of 'gladdened' or the like. Kālidāsa has shown a special predilection for this word. He uses it both as a noun and as an adjective.[2] Comparing his

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[1] That Chandragupta I had more wives than one is indicated by *tulya-kalya-ja* of the inscription.

[2] Cf. *Raghuvaṁśa*, VI, 68; VIII, 3, 55; X, 73; *Vikramorvaśīya*, IV, before verse 8; *Kumārasambhava*, VII, 4; *Abhijñānaśākuntala*, III, before verse 2.

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usages of it, we find that in most cases it denotes 'pleasantly agitated'. Whether the joyous excitement on the part of the audience of Chandragupta I was accompanied with shrieks of delight, as was definitely the case with that of Daśaratha, cannot be asserted, though something of that sort would fit in well with the picture imagined by us.

Come we now to the abdication question. Was it abdication what Daśaratha did (or at least intended to do, because his intention was eventually frustrated) or was it something else? Well, it was abdication. It sounds paradoxical, no doubt. For, all along we have been talking of *yauvarājyābhisheka* in connection with Rāma. There was no mention of his *rājyābhisheka*. Even his father's utterance is *yauvarājyam avāpnuhi*. All this apparently means that Vālmīki's description refers simply to the selection of Rāma as heir-apparent. But nay; what was intended was the immediate transfer of power; and that virtually is abdication. This is expressed in so many words in those very chapters from which we have drawn a summary. The aged king Daśaratha, contemplating Rāma's heirship, says to himself: 'I like that Rāma becomes king in my lifetime, but how should it happen?' (*prītir = eshā kathaṁ Rāmo rājā syān = mayi jīvati*, I, 36). The learned Brāhmaṇas and the prominent citizens, while giving their approval of Daśaratha's proposal, say to him:

aneka-varsha-sāhasro vṛiddhas = tvam = asi pārthiva ।
sa Rāmaṁ yuvarājānam abhishiñchasva pārthivam ॥ (II, 21),
ichchhāmo hi mahābāhuṁ Raghuvīraṁ mahābalam ।
gajena mahatā yāntaṁ Rāmam chhatr-āvṛit-ānanam ॥ (II, 32).

Even the common folk, talking in the streets of Ayodhyā after the announcement in the assembly, are found commenting:

aho mahātmā rāj = āyam Ikshvāku-kula-nandanaḥ ।
jñātvā yo vṛiddham ātmānaṁ Rāmaṁ rajye = 'bhishekshyati ॥
(VI, 21).

Besides, the large scale on which the preparations are being made, including decoration and illumination of the whole city, as also the nature of the paraphernalia that are being collected in connection with the installation ceremony, such as an elephant, a chariot, a standard, a white parasol and one hundred gold pitchers, leave no doubt that the ceremony that is to take place on the day following the assembly is going to be an investiture ceremony where Rāma will be invested with full regal powers.

The case of Samudragupta appears to be analogous. The scene of Chandragupta I's court, as depicted by Harisheṇa, is no less impressive. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, while summing up the conflicting theories, rightly observes that 'the emotion of the king, so vividly described, suits more with his abdication and final leave-taking than merely a formal announcement of his successor.'[1] Surely, there is no point in arranging such an imposing function as Chandragupta I evidently did if the matter was to rest with the announcement alone. The fact that he went all out to hug his chosen favourite, a grown-up son, in the presence of a huge gathering indicates that he was, like Daśaratha, faring in the evening of his life at the time; for, that sort of public show of unrestricted paternal affection indeed becomes more a venerable grand old person than a middle-aged man however highly placed he be in society. His *tattv-ekshin chakshush* is another pointer to his being far-advanced in years. We may thus imagine him saying to his audience, like *Daśaratha :*

jīrṇasy = āsya śarīrasya viśrāntim abhirochaye (II, 8).

In view of all this, we cannot assign any other meaning to his utterance, addressed to his son Samudragupta: *nikhilāṁ pāhi tvam ūrvvīm iti*, than what the words literally mean. In other words, he thereby 'voluntarily relinquished control of the state affairs'[2] and invited his son Samudragupta to take charge of them, which act amounts to abdication. There is no doubt a difference between an abdication and an abdication. One is renouncing the crown of one's own sweet will, while the other is passing it on to a successor under compulsion. One may be for reasons of old age or the like, while the other may be by some default. In the present instance, it is obviously an abdication of the former type. That this accords well with the ancient traditions of our country is illustrated by the *Rāmāyaṇa* and, later on, by the classical works like those of *Kālidāsa*.[3]

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[1] *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 137.
[2] Cf. Prof. Jagan Natha Agrawala, *l.c.*
[3] *Ibid.*

JAINA CANONICAL SŪTRAS (IX)

By B. C. LAW

Nandī Sūya

The *Nandī Sūtra* and the *Anuyogadvāra* are occasionally counted among the *Prakīrṇakas*, but they really stand as two companion texts forming a group by themselves. The first *sūtra*, as its title implies, contains an 'auspicious introduction' to the study of the Śvetāmbara canonical texts, and as such its main bearing is on the Jain method of education. Like the *Anuyogadvāra* it is compiled partly in prose and partly in verse. One of the first forty-seven verses contains an eulogy of the *tīrthaṅkara*, two that of *Mahāvīra*, fourteen that of the Jain *Saṅgha*, two introduce the twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras*, two mention the eleven *gaṇadharas* or leading disciples of Mahāvīra, one extols the order of Mahāvīra and eleven supply us with a succession of 27 Jain teachers from Sudharman to Dūṣyagaṇi, the teacher of Devavācaka who is identified with Devarddhigaṇi under whose guidance the final redaction of the Śvetāmbara *āgama* was made in the Council of Valabhi. If Devavācakagaṇi, who is regarded as the author of the *Nandī Sūtra*, be the same person as Devarddhigaṇi, the work cannot be dated earlier than the sixth century A.D.

The succession of twenty-seven teachers traced from Sudharman the *gaṇadhara* who survived the Master is by itself an evidence to prove the lateness of the date of compilation of the *Nandī Sūtra*. Apart from giving the main themes of the different canonical texts, the *Nandī Sūtra* resembles the *Anuyogadvāra* in mentioning such secular Indian literature as represented by the two Sanskrit epics, and such treatises as the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, the *Kāmasūtra* of Ghoṭakamukha, the *Vaiśeṣika system* of philosophy, the doctrine of Buddha, the *Sāṁkhya system* of Kapila, the *Lokāyata doctrine*, the *Yoga system* of Patañjali, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the works on mathematics and dramaturgy, grammar, and poetics, besides the four Vedas and their later appendices, the Aṅgas and Upāṅgas. Malayagiri wrote a commentary on the *Nandī Sūtra* which is helpful in understanding the meaning of the text.

The distinctive contribution made in the *sūtra* to the exposition of Jainism as a system of thought consists, however, in the various classifications of knowledge (*ñāṇam*). In outlining its thesis on knowledge it takes up for consideration the five kinds of knowledge recognized in the earlier texts of the Jain *āgama*. These are enumerated as *ābhinibodhika*, *śruta*, *avadhi*, *manaḥparyāya* and *kevala*

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The first of them is the knowledge directed to the perception of the objects as they stand over against us. This knowledge is of two kinds, namely, direct (*paccakkhaṃ*) and indirect (*parokkhaṃ*). The direct knowledge is also of two kinds, namely, that which is accessible to sense perception (*indiyapaccakkhaṃ*), and that which is not accessible to sense perception (*no-indiyapaccakkhaṃ*). The knowledge which is accessible to sense perception is of five kinds, namely, that which is accessible to the sense of hearing, to that of sight, to that of smell, to that of taste, and to that of touch. The knowledge which is not accessible to sense perception is of three kinds, namely, that which is accessible to *avadhi* knowledge, that to *manaḥparyāya* and that to *kevalañāṇa*. The knowledge which is accessible to *avadhiñāṇa* is of two kinds, namely, that which leads to future states of existence (*bhavapaccaiyaṃ*) and that which leads to the destruction and cessation of the cause and process of rebirth (*khāovasamiyaṃ*). By the word *bhava* is meant in Jainism the three states of existence, namely, those of infernal beings, those of human beings, and those of celestial beings. The knowledge which brings about the states of existence is of two kinds: that which brings about the state of gods and that which brings about the state of infernal beings. The knowledge which brings about the destruction and cessation of the cause and process of rebirth is of two kinds: that which brings about the destruction and cessation of the cause of rebirth in the state of human beings, and that which brings about the destruction and cessation of the cause of rebirth as animals endowed with five senses. Here destruction means the destruction of the after-effects of the *karmas* darkening *avadhi* knowledge, which have arisen. Cessation means the stoppage of such *karmas* as have not yet arisen; when such *karmas* are either destroyed, if they have arisen, or are stopped if they have not arisen, the *avadhi* knowledge arises, the *avadhi* knowledge of persons endowed with special qualities or that of one who has renounced the world. As defined in the *Anuyogadvāra* the *ābhinibodhika* knowledge is one which is directed to the objects (*atthābhimuho*) and determined (*niyao*). It is perceptual in its character in so far as the objects are known through the sense-perception. It is indirect when the objects are perceived without the aid of the five organs of sense. Immediacy is its distinctive characteristic. The *ābhinibodhika* knowledge may be a knowledge dependent on the scripture (*suyanissiyaṃ*) or independent of the scripture (*asuyanissiyaṃ*). These are really two kinds of *matiñāṇa*, the first of which arises immediately from the scripture irrespective of any scholastic interpretation of it, and the second arises independently of the scripture and is conducive to the destruction and cessation of the cause of rebirth. The indirect *ābhinibodhika* knowledge is also accessible to *avadhiñāṇa manaḥparyāya* and *kevalañāṇa*.

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The *śruta-ñāṇa* is also a kind of *ābhinibodhika* knowledge which is indirect. It is a knowledge which is based upon study and derived from literature. There may be literature and literature, scripture and scripture. To the Jainas the scriptures other than the Jaina are false scriptures. So far as Jainism is concerned the *śruta* knowledge is either one embodied in the *aṅgas* or that embodied in the works other than the *aṅgas*. The works other than the *aṅgas* are all auxiliaries to the *aṅgas*.

The *Ohi* or *avadhiñāṇa* is a knowledge which is limited by the objects to which it is directed. It operates on the whole in connection with substance (*davva*), place (*khetta*), time (*kāla*), and states of existence (*bhava*). It implies the internal perception of the objects from different angles, each implying a particular *modus operandi*.

The *manaḥparyāya ñāṇa* is the same term as Pali *cetopariyāya ñāṇaṃ* and both the terms suggest the knowledge of what is passing in the mind of others. So both really imply the idea of thought-reading. Our *sūtra* discusses some important points in this connection. It opines that this kind of knowledge arises in human and not in superhuman beings, in the wise ascetics, and not in the stupid human beings, who are subject to rebirth.

The *kevalañāṇa* is perfect knowledge. It is of two kinds, namely, *bhavastha* and *siddha*, meaning the knowledge which is within the reach of those, who are still in a certain human state of existence and the knowledge which is within the reach of perfect ones. The word *bhavastha* means an individual, who is in a certain state of existence in which he is liable to the effects of *karma*. Here the individual must be taken to be human being because *kevalañāṇa* is not within the reach of beings in other states of existence. *Kevalañāṇa* is a knowledge which arises without the aid of the senses, etc. It is pure and stainless in the sense that it is not covered, tarnished, confounded or confused by any cause or factor. *Bhavasthas* are the persons who are in different stages of spiritual progress. Their position appears to be similar to that of the Buddhist *ariyapuggalas* occupying seven spiritual ranks below that of an *arhat* or elect. *Caramasamayasiddha* is evidently the same word as the Pali *Carama-bhavika*. The *siddhas* are all *arhats*. The perfect knowledge in the case of the *siddhas* is broadly distinguished as immediate (*anantara*) or gradual (*parampara*). From the classification of *kevalañāṇa* it appears that the Jains and the Buddhists alike kept before them a distinction between *tīrthakaras* or *sayambuddhasiddhas* on the one hand, and *pratyekabuddhas* and *buddhabodhitas* or *śrāvaka-buddhas* on the other. Through *kevalañāṇa* Jainism aimed at the attainment of a kind of unaided knowledge by which omniscience could be gained. Whether this knowledge is arrived at through any discursive process of thought or intuitional is still a problem to be solved. But from its description it appears that whether its

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mode is intuitional or not, it is so much articulated that it can operate unaided, unobstructed, and unlimited.

Āvassaya Sūya

The *Āvassaya* (*Āvaśyaka*) *sutta* consists of six sections (*adhyāyas*) corresponding to the six *āvassayas* or the six essential daily duties of a Jaina for the purification of one's own self. The six *āvassayas* are known as *sāmaiyā* or *sāmāyika* (way to balance of mind), *cauvīsatthava* or *caturviṁśatistava* (eulogy or glorification of the 24 *Tīrthaṅkaras*), *vandanaya* or *vaṃdana* (veneration of the teacher), *paḍikkamaṇa* or *pratikramaṇa* (confession and expiation), *kāussagga* or *kāyotsarga* (penance through certain postures of the body or asceticism) and *paccakkhāṇa* or *pratyākhāna* (abstinence from food or avoidance of sensual pleasures). This *sutta* (*sūtra*) is the second *mūlasūtra* which has come down only in conjunction with the *nijjutti*.[1] Haribhadra Sūri wrote a commentary on this work. There is also a commentary on it by Jinabhadra.[2] Leumann has published the first three *suttas* in Roman characters with their German translation in *Übersicht uber die Āvaśyaka-Literatur*. Some hold that Āvassaya is a composition of *Śrutasthavira*. The authorship of this *sūtra* is either attributed to Indrabhūti or a Śrutasthavira. Some are of opinion that it was composed by Indrabhūti on the very day he composed *Dādasāṅgī*. It contains many interesting narratives. As its title implies the sūtra is very useful from the standpoint of Jain religion. It is counted among the *mūlasūtras* probably for the reason that it contains the lectures or dissertations on the six essential duties of a pious Jain (*mūlaguṇā*). The definition of the five kinds of knowledge is just incidental to its main themes. The first of them is called *sāmāyikaṃ* which is derived from *sama* (*samabhāva*) meaning balance or from *samyaktva* meaning rightness of direction. The *sāmāyika* carries with it the conception of *dvāra* or door, mode, method, means, or way. It is regarded as a means of gaining knowledge, faith and right conduct, all comprehended by the term *sama*. A *sama* or a man having the balance of mind is one who being free from passion and hatred looks upon all beings like himself and the term *sāmāyika* implies the Jain prescribed method of attaining to such a condition of the self. It implies on the one hand the abandonment of the blamable actions and on the other the cultivation of blameless actions. The *sāmāyika* vow means the maintenance of a balanced state of mind (*madhyasthabhāva*) with regard to all blamable actions and passion and hatred. The Jain texts prescribe rules to be observed by the laity in taking and fulfilling the *sāmāyika* vow. The *sikkhā* or practice (*abhyāsaḥ*) is of two kinds, namely, *āsevanā* (cultivation) and *grahaṇa* (grasping through study). The study of the subject of *sāmāyika* has four doors: (1) a door which is like one to a city enclosed by a wall to which public has no access (*akritadvāraṃ*), (2) the second is a difficult one due to the rush of men, elephants, and horses (*kritayikadvāraṃ*), (3) four main doors (*caturmūladvāraṃ*), (4) special door which is easy of ingress and egress. The *sāmāyika* vow as a preliminary to the Jain religious practices primarily means *virati* or abstinence.

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[1] *Śrī Āvaśyaka Sūtra*, part I, *with Niryukti* by Bhadravāhu Svāmin, Bombay, 1928, *Āgamodaya Samiti*.

[2] Bühler, *Leben des Hemachandra*, pp. 74ff.

The second essential duty is the eulogy of the 24 *Tīrthaṅkaras* and the third is the veneration of the leading disciples of Mahāvīra. The importance of these two to a Jain is too apparent to need any comment.

The fourth theme is *pratikramaṇa* which means the prescribed mode of confession and expiation. The word *pratikramaṇa* implies the idea of gradual steps in walking out of the clutches of impurity and proceeding towards purity. The *pratikramaṇa* mode is concerned in point of time with the past. So it is said, 'I step out of the past, I practise self-restraint with regard to the present, I practise abstinence with regard to the future' ('*atītaṃ paḍikkamāmi, paḍuppannaṃ saṃvaremi, aṇāgayaṃ paccakkhāmi*'). Thus the expiation of past misdeeds is possible by the door or means of self-represent (*nindādvāreṇa*). The checking of the present misdeeds is possible by the door or means of self-restraint (*saṃvaradvāreṇa*) and the prevention of future misdeeds is possible by the door or means of abstinence (*pratyākhyānadvāreṇa*). He who steps out of the clutches of impure and sinful deeds is a person who adheres to right views, and the practice of meditation is the accredited way of egress. *Pratikramaṇa* is distinguished into two kinds in respect of substance, place, time, and state of existence. According to another classification it is of five kinds, namely, stepping out of the door to sin (*āsavadārapaḍikkamaṇa*), stepping out of rashness (*micchāttapaḍikkamaṇa*), stepping out of four contaminations (*kaṣāyapaḍikkamaṇa*), stepping out of improper thoughts, words, and actions (*yogapaḍikkamaṇa*) and stepping out of the states of existence (*bhāvapaḍikkamaṇa*). According to the third classification *pratikramaṇa* is of six kinds, namely, stepping out of the sins committed in respect of attending to calls of nature, couching, removing mucus of the nose, rashness in respect of expanding and contracting the limbs.

The word *pratyākhyāna* is defined as an instruction in favour of giving up or abandoning what is a hindrance to spiritual progress. Like *pratikramaṇa* the *pratyākhyāna* mode implies the idea of a gradual process of renunciation. The purpose of the *pratikramaṇa* mode is to step out of the effect of past misdeeds while that of *pratyākhyāna* mode is to put a stop to the possibility of committing sins. So its concern is with the future in point of time. It means to regulate human conduct so that the person under training can abstain from committing sins and can proceed towards the attainment of *mokṣa* (emancipation). The fulfilment of the five major vows along with the minor vows, the practice of purity in respect of food, the fulfilment of the vow of restricting one's movement to a limited area, etc., all come within the scope of *pratyākhyāna* mode. The *pratyākhyāna* mode is to be practised in three ways, namely, by thoughts, words and deeds.

The sixth theme is *kāyotsarga* which is an ascetic mode of atoning for the excess in sinful indulgences (*aticāra*). It implies the idea of particular bodily postures to be adopted in keeping oneself unmoved on a suitable spot. It is a Jaina mode of the *jhāna* (*dhyāna*) practice. He who practises this mode is required to keep his mind, body and speech under perfect restraint. His mind is to be kept intent on the particular object of meditation. If the *pratikramaṇa* mode is concerned with the past and the *pratyākhyāna* with the future, the *kāyotsarga* mode may be taken to be concerned with the present. Jainism lays stress on the practice of self-mortification as a means of checking one's passion as well as of inducing mental concentration. From *sāmāyika* to *kāyotsarga* all the six modes are meant to be carefully studied and methodically practised with a view to clearing the path of progress of the aspirant towards the attainment of emancipation. Our *sūtra* has cited some interesting and instructive stories by way of illustrating these six modes.

ĀNANDAVARDHANA'S TREATMENT OF ALAṄKĀRA IN RELATION TO DHVANI

By K. KRISHNAMOORTHY

The doctrine of *Alaṅkāras* had come to exercise such a hold on the poets and critics of the period that Ānandavardhana could not dismiss it with some casual remarks. He devotes much space for a full consideration of the doctrine in all its bearings. He endeavours to prove that the provinces of *Alaṅkāra* and *Dhvani* are distinct and tries to indicate precisely their mutual relationship in poetry. And by pointing out the limitations of the *Alaṅkāras*, he shows how several specimens of good poetry will be left out of account unless the theory of *Dhvani* is accepted; and how such an acceptance would make the notion of *Alaṅkāras* also more precise and meaningful.

At the outset Ānandavardhana anticipates the objections that might be levelled against the new theory from the adherents of the *Alaṅkāra*-school and states them as follows:—'It is no doubt true that all the *Alaṅkāras* do not contain suggestion. But in *Alaṅkāras* such as *Samāsokti* (Condensed Metaphor), *Ākṣepa* (Paralepsis), *Anukta-Nimitta-Viśeṣokti* (a type of Metonymy), *Paryāyokta* (Periphrasis), *Apahnuti* (Poetic Denial), *Dīpaka* (Condensed Sentence), *Saṅkara* (Mixed Figure), etc., the element of suggestion is unmistakable and what you call *Dhvani* may conveniently be brought under these figures.'[1]

The reply of Ānandavardhana is that though in the said *alaṅkāras*, the element of suggestion is present, it is not exclusively important as in *Dhvani*, where the primary words and meanings subordinate themselves to the suggested sense. In the *alaṅkāras*, on the contrary, the suggested sense itself becomes subordinate to the primary sense,. and this point is illustrated by Ānandavardhana with the aid of numerous examples. One of them may be cited here[2]:—

उपोढरागेण विलोलतारकं तथा गृहीतं शशिना निशामुखम् ।
यथा समस्तं तिमिरांशुकं तया पुरोऽपि रागाद्गलितं न लक्षितम् ॥

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[1] ननु यत्र प्रतीयमानार्थस्य वैशद्येनाप्रतीतिः स नाम मा भूद्ध्वनेर्विषयः । यत्र तु प्रतीतिरस्ति, यथा—समासोक्त्याक्षेपानुक्तनिमित्तविशेषोक्तिपर्यायोक्तापह्नुतिदीपकसङ्करालङ्कारादौ, तत्र ध्वनेरन्तर्भावो भविष्यतीत्यादि निराकर्तुमभिहितम्.... । व्यङ्ग्यप्राधान्ये हि ध्वनिः । न चैतत्समासोक्त्यादिष्वस्ति । —Dhv., p. 108.
[Dhv. is the abbreviation used for *Dhvanyāloka*; page references are to the Kashi Sanskrit Series (No. 135) edition.]

[2] Dhv., p. 109.

['The twilight (the heroine's face) with twinkling stars (shining pupils) was illumined (was kissed) by the moon (the hero,) glowing red (overcome by emotion) so suddenly (with such love) that the entire mass of darkness (black garment) disappearing in the east (slipping even in front) due to illumination (love) was not at all noticed.']

This is an instance of *Samāsokti*. The subject under description is moon-rise and the primary meaning is given in the translation. But at the same time the words are deliberately used to convey a suggested sense also as indicated in brackets. The primary sense relates to the disappearance of darkness at the advent of the moon suddenly on the eastern horizon. But the suggested sense refers to the dalliance of two lovers. The verse owes its beauty to the primary sense with its accompanying suggestion, not to the suggested sense exclusively. It is therefore not *Dhvani*, but only *Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya*.

The relative position of *Dhvani* and *Alaṅkāras* may therefore be summed up as follows:—compositions, where the suggested sense is unimportant in so far as it merely follows the expressed one, are to be regarded as clear instances of *Arthālaṅkāras* such as *Samāsokti*. A piece of literature will not be considered *Dhvani* simply because there is some suggestion involved in it, nor when the suggested sense is subordinate to the expressed. The most important condition of *Dhvani* is that it should be felt as supremely important, outshining the other meanings. In a good instance of *Dhvani*, every other element such as sound and sense will be directed towards this end of contributing to the superior excellence of suggestion. The relation of *Dhvani* to *Alaṅkāras*, Guṇas, etc., is the same as that of the *Aṅgin* (Body) towards its various *Aṅgas* or limbs. The individual limbs and the body are always distinct and not identical.[1]

Similarly, a distinction is to be drawn between the *Rasavad-alaṅkāra* of the ancient writers and *Rasa-dhvani*. *Rasa-dhvani* is instanced in poems where all the other elements of poetic excellence (such as *alaṅkāras* and *Guṇas*) serve only one purpose of evoking the *Rasas*.[2] But as against this if the *Rasas* are given a secondary position by being made subordinate to the expressed meaning, we have *Rasavad-alaṅkāra*.[1] From this point of view, even the *Alaṅkāra* called *Preyas* by some writers[2] will be found to merit the title of *Rasavad-alaṅkāra*. For, the main significance of *Preyas* consists in *Cāṭu* or sweet and pleasing flattery to convey which the *Rasas* assume the subordinate rôle of ancillaries (*Aṅgas*).[3]

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[1] व्यङ्ग्यस्य यत्राप्राधान्यं वाच्यमात्रानुयायिनः ।
समासोक्त्यादयस्तत्र वाच्यालङ्कृतयः स्फुटाः ॥
व्यङ्ग्यस्य प्रतिभामात्रे वाच्यार्थानुगमेऽपि वा ।
न ध्वनिर्यत्र वा तस्य प्राधान्यं न प्रतीयते ॥
तत्परावेव शब्दार्थौ यत्र व्यङ्ग्यं प्रतिस्थितौ ।
ध्वनेः स एव विषयो मन्तव्यः सङ्करोज्झितः ॥ —Dhv., pp. 130-1.

[2] वाच्यवाचकचारुत्वहेतूनां विविधात्मनाम् ।
रसादिपरता यत्र स ध्वनेर्विषयो मतः ॥ —Dhv., II. 4.

Thus in the new scheme of *Rasavad-alaṅkāra* that is proposed here, two varieties can be distinguished, viz., pure (*Śuddha*) and Mixed (*Saṅkīrṇa*).[4] The first is illustrated in the verse given below:—

किं हास्येन न मे प्रयास्यसि पुनः प्राप्तश्चिराद्दर्शनं
केयं निष्करुणा प्रवासरुचिता केनासि दूरीकृतः ।
स्वप्नान्तेष्विति ते वदन् प्रियतमव्यासक्तकण्ठग्रहो
बुद्ध्वा रोदिति रिक्तबाहुवलयस्तारं रिपुस्त्रीजनः ॥

['Enough of jest; you can't leave me again.
Oh! how long you made me watch and wait;
Heartless indeed of you to be so fond of being away;
May I know the cause for this our separation so long?'
—So speak the wives of your enemy in dreams
clasping fast the neck of their husbands;
But, alas, only to awake and lament loud
To find empty the circle of their extended arms.]

The stanza is intended to be in praise of a king of extraordinary valour. So *cāṭu* or sweet flattery is the main subject matter. And there is also the sentiment of *Karuṇa* in the poet's vivid description of the pathetic lot to which the widows of the enemy have been reduced. It is obvious that the *Karuṇa-rasa* delineated here is not meant to be important in itself, but meant as secondary, only in so far as it redounds to the heroism of the King. Since *Karuṇarasa* is delineated here exclusively without an admixture of any other *Rasa*, we might say that *śuddha-rasa* is an *alaṅkāra* of this stanza.

The *Saṅkīrṇa* (Mixed) variety of *Rasa-alaṅkāra* is instanced in the following[5]:—

क्षिप्तो हस्तावलग्नः प्रसभमभिहतोऽप्याददानोऽंशुकान्तं
गृह्णन् केशेष्वपास्तश्चरणनिपतितो नेक्षितः सम्भ्रमेण ।
आलिङ्गन्योऽवधूतस्त्रिपुरयुवतिभिः साश्रुनेत्रोत्पलाभिः
कामीवार्द्रापराधः स दहतु दुरितं शाम्भवो वः शराग्निः ॥

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[1] प्रधानेऽन्यत्र वाक्यार्थे यत्राङ्गं तु रसादयः ।
काव्ये तस्मिन्नलङ्कारो रसादिरिति मे मतिः ॥ —Dhv. II, 5.

[2] Bhāmaha, for instance.

[3] तद्यथा चाटुषु प्रेयोऽलङ्कारस्य वाक्यार्थत्वेऽपि रसादयोऽङ्गभूता एव । —Dhv., pp. 191–3.

[4] Dhv., p. 193.

[5] Dhv., p. 195.

['Let the fire of Śiva's shaft burn down our sins; a shaft which conducted itself just in the manner of a lover who has given offence to his lady love; though shaken off, by the Tripura-maidens shedding tears, it would cling fast to their hands; though forcibly pushed out, it would hold on to the ends of their skirts; though violently thrust aside by clutching the hair, it would fall at their feet unnoticed in their agitation.']

To sing the great glory of Śiva who triumphed over the *Tripuras* is the main object of the stanza. The state of women in love excited by jealousy is also vividly brought out by means of *śleṣa* or *double entendre*. But it is only to substantiate the idea of praise which forms the main subject of description. The *Karuṇa-rasa* is also portrayed in the picture of the women shedding copious tears. In the circumstances, it would have to be regarded a flaw on the part of the poet to describe contradictory sentiments such as Love and Pathos simultaneously. But since both of them here are only secondary to the primary subject of praise of Śiva and not of principal interest, the flaw is avoided. Whenever *Rasa* happens to be the chief content of a poem, it can never be an *alaṅkāra*. For, *alaṅkāra* means a 'beautifier'. And how can *Rasa* become a 'beautifier' and of itself? It can be called an *alaṅkāra* only when it serves as a beautifier of something else as in the above example. When *Rasa* itself happens to be predominant, it is *Dhvani-kāvya* and the other figures of speech like *upamā* will serve to beautify it.* If the above considerations are borne in mind the distinct spheres of *Dhvani*, *alaṅkāras* like *Upamā* and *Rasavad-alaṅkāra* will be clearly detected.[1] But if it is said that all passages describing emotional behaviour in man come under *Rasavad-alaṅkāra*, the other figures like *upamā* will be left either with no scope at all or with very little scope. Because, even in a treatment of insensible objects, the conduct of sensible beings is inextricably involved in some way or another; even while a description of a sensible behaviour is present, one will have to deny its right to be considered as *Rasavad-alaṅkāra* in case the insensible objects happen to be the main subjects of description. And by doing so we will be branding as *Nīrasa* (devoid of *Rasa*) a vast bulk of literature in spite of its profusion in Rasa.[2] The following instances from Kālidāsa will make the point clear:—

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* यत्र हि रसस्य वाक्यार्थीभावस्तत्र कथमलङ्कारत्वम्? अलङ्कारो हि चारुत्वहेतुः प्रसिद्धः, न त्वसावात्मैवात्मनश्चारुत्वहेतुः।....तस्माद्यत्र रसादयो वाक्यार्थीभूताः स सर्वः न रसादेरलङ्कारस्य विषयः, स ध्वनेः प्रभेदः, तस्योपमादयोऽलङ्काराः। —Dhv., pp. 197-8.

[1] एवं ध्वनेरुपमादीनां रसवदलङ्कारस्य च विभक्तविषयता भवति। —Dhv., p. 198.

[2] यदि तु चेतनानां वाक्यार्थीभावो रसाद्यलङ्कारस्य विषय इत्युच्यते तर्ह्युपमादीनां प्रविरलविषयता निर्विषयता वाभिहिता स्यात्। यस्मादचेतनवस्तुवृत्ते वाक्यार्थीभूते पुनश्चेतन-वस्तुवृत्तान्तयोजनया यथा-

तरङ्गभ्रूभङ्गा क्षुभितविहगश्रेणिरशना
विकर्षन्ती फेनं वसनमिव संरम्भशिथिलम्।
यथाविद्धं याति स्खलितमभिसन्धाय बहुशो
नदीरूपेणेयं ध्रुवमसहना सा परिणता॥[1]

['Frowning with its waves as with brows, girdled with the line of fluttering birds, and throwing off its foam as a garment loosened in anger, and hurrying in devious ways with a repeatedly stumbling step, surely, here is my jealous beloved, changed into the form of the stream.'][2]

तन्वी मेघजलार्द्रपल्लवतया धौताधरेवाश्रुभिः
शून्येवाभरणैः स्वकालविरहाद्विश्रान्तपुष्पोद्गमा।
चिन्तामौनमिवाश्रिता मधुकृतां शब्दैर्विना लक्ष्यते
चण्डी मामवधूय पादपतितं जातानुतापेव सा॥[3]

['There standest thou, creeper,
All slender, thy poor sad leaves are moist with rain,
Thou silent, with no voice of honey-bees
Upon thy drooping boughs; as from thy lord
The season separated, leaving off
Thy habit of bloom. Why, I might think I saw
My passionate darling sitting penitent
With tear-stained face and body unadorned
Thinking in silence how she spurned my love.'][4]

In these instances though the subjects of description happen to be insensible objects, the attribution of sentient behaviour to them is obvious. But we would be forced to deny the right of such instances to be regarded as meriting the descriptions of *Rasavad-alaṅkāra*. Besides, whenever there is a description of emotional behaviour in men, we would be constrained to consider it as *Rasavad-alaṅkāra*. Under these circumstances there is almost no scope or hardly any scope left to the application of all the other figures of speech such as the simile. For, every object in this world, even an insensible one ultimately comes to be looked upon as an associate of *Rasa* at least in the capacity of a *Vibhāva* or exciting circumstance. The view-point of the critic is thus unsound and hence the

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कथञ्चिद्भवितव्यम्। अथ सत्यामपि तस्यां यत्राचेतनानां वाक्यार्थीभावो नासौ रसवदलङ्कारस्य विषय इत्युच्यते, तन्महतः काव्यप्रबन्धस्य रसनिधानभूतस्य नीरसत्वमभिहितं स्यात्। —Dhv., p. 200.

[1] *Vikramorvaśīyaṁ.*

[2] Translation—E. B. Cowell's.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Translation—Sri Aurobindo's.

new scheme of *Rasavad-alaṅkāra* deserves to be accepted unhesitatingly.[1]

We saw above the intrinsic nature of *Rasa* in relation to poetry and how this fact necessitates a revision of our conception of *Rasavad-alaṅkāra*. Nor is this all. Our ideas about the nature of all figures of speech will have to be changed and recast. As *Rasa* happens to be the soul of *Dhvani Kāvya*, the use of *alaṅkāras* will be justified only in so far as the latter assist in the communication of *Rasa*. The end of poetry is communication of *Rasa* and *alaṅkāra* also serves as one of the means towards achieving that end. It follows that if in a poem the *alaṅkāras* attract attention for their own sake, have nothing to do with *Rasa*, we may at best admire the extraordinary effort and skill of the poet but not the poem in itself. When the figures of speech divert the attention of the reader from the essential enjoyment of *Rasa* in poetry, they will be far from fulfilling their function. As a matter of fact, such a *tour de force* will have to be looked upon as a veritable flaw in compositions.[2] If on the other hand, the figures appear naturally and effortlessly in harmony with the *Rasa* to be communicated, they will justify their title of being *alaṅkāras* or ornaments.[3] Thus understood, the difference between the status of *Alaṅkāra* in *Citra-kāvya* and in *Dhvanikāvya* will stand out clear.

In this connection, some might raise the objection that, though in the case of verbal figures such as *yamaka* (*rhiming* repetition) the poet's special effort towards their achievement is quite patent and with regard to figures of sense, it is not so patent, the fact remains that the poet should pay special attention in devising them (*Arthālaṅkāras*) also. They are thus on a par and any attempt to classify some of them hindering *Rasa* and others as helping *Rasa* is, to say the least, unwarranted.[4]

The Criticism is not valid because, when we take the process of poetic creation into consideration, we find a legion of these *arthālaṅkāras* swarming at the poet's choice in his inspired moments, when his whole mind is lost in the rapture of *Rasa*. In the composition itself they may look as though they are the products of great effort on the poet's part but none the less they occur spontaneously at the time of poetic creation. Bāṇa's description of the

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[1] यस्मान्नास्त्येवासावचेतनवस्तुवृत्तान्तो यत्र चेतनवस्तुवृत्तान्तयोजना नास्त्यन्ततो विभावत्वेन । तस्मादङ्गत्वेन च रसादीनामलङ्कारता । यः पुनरङ्गी रसो....स ध्वनेरात्मेति । —Dhv., pp. 203-4.

[2] ध्वन्यात्मभूते शृङ्गारे यमकादिनिबन्धनम् ।
शक्तावपि प्रमादित्वं विप्रलम्भे विशेषतः ॥ —Dhv. II, 15.

[3] रसाक्षिप्ततया यस्य बन्धः शक्यक्रियो भवेत् ।
अपृथग्यत्ननिर्वर्त्यः सोऽलङ्कारो ध्वनौ मतः ॥ —Dhv. II, 16.

[4] यमके च प्रबन्धेन बुद्धिपूर्वकं क्रियमाणे नियमेनैव यत्नान्तरपरिग्रह आपतति शब्दविशेषान्वेषणरूपः । अलङ्कारान्तरेष्वपि तत्तुल्यमिति चेत्—नैवम् । —Dhv., pp. 221-2.

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sight of Kādambarī by the hero,[1] and Pravarasena's[2] portrayal of Sītā's anxiety at the sight of the severed head of Māyārāma, may be cited as instances in support of our remark. There is nothing unnatural either in this state of affairs. *Rasas* are best kindled only by way of striking expressions and what are the figures of speech except ornaments to expression? Expressions become striking because of the *alaṅkāras* or ornaments. Hence there is nothing surprising in the fact that *alaṅkāras* become intrinsic factors in throwing *Rasas* into bold relief. But such a *tour de force* as *Yamaka* will be entirely extrinsic. Wherever they are met with, there can be no doubt that they are being primarily aimed at by the poet and even if there be some shade of *Rasa* in such instances, it would be secondary and not primary. In instances of *Rasābhāsa* (misplaced *Rasa*), however, *Yamakas* also may be used. But in *Rasa-dhvani*, they can never find a place.[3]

Even amidst *Rasas*, *Śṛṅgāra* or Love is most important and in poetry attempting to portray *Śṛṅgāra*, the *alaṅkāras* should be employed, with great discrimination and judgment.[4] They should always be ancillary to *Rasa*, helping the readers to enjoy the *Rasa* in full. They should never occupy the foremost place themselves. According to the context they should be employed and the skill of the poet is evidenced even in his rejection of the figures sometimes in lieu of *Rasa*. Ordinarily, they should not be pressed too far and if sometimes they are pressed, they should serve only as promoters of *Rasa*.[5] The following examples will make the point clear:—

(1) चलापाङ्गां दृष्टिं स्पृशसि बहुशो वेपथुमतीं
रहस्याख्यायीव स्वनसि मृदु कर्णान्तिकचरः ।
करौ व्याधुन्वत्याः पिबसि रतिसर्वस्वमधरं
वयं तत्त्वान्वेषान्मधुकर हतास्त्वं खलु कृती ॥[6]

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[1] Cf. *Kādambarī*, of Bāṇa.

[2] Pravarasena, author of the Prakrit poem '*Setubandha*'.

[3] युक्तं चैतत्, यतो रसा वाच्यविशेषैरेवाक्षेप्तव्याः। तत्प्रतिपादकैश्च शब्दैस्तत्प्रकाशिनो वाच्यविशेषा एव रूपकादयोऽलङ्काराः। तस्मान्न तेषां बहिरङ्गत्वम् रसाभिव्यक्तौ। यत्तु रसवन्ति कानिचिद्यमकादीनि दृश्यन्ते, तत्र रसादीनामङ्गता। यमकादीनां त्वङ्गितैव। रसाभासे चाङ्गत्वमप्यविरुद्धम्। अङ्गितया तु व्यङ्ग्ये रसे नाङ्गत्वं पृथक्प्रयत्ननिर्वर्त्यत्वाद्यमकादेः। —Dhv., p. 222.

[4] ध्वन्यात्मभूते शृङ्गारे समीक्ष्य विनिवेशितः ।
रूपकादिरलङ्कारवर्ग एति यथार्थताम् ॥ —Dhv. II, 17.

[5] विवक्षा तत्परत्वेन नाङ्गित्वेन कदाचन ।
काले च ग्रहणत्यागौ नातिनिर्वहणैषिता ॥
निर्व्यूढावपि चाङ्गत्वे यत्नेन प्रत्यवेक्षणम् ।
रूपकादिरलङ्कारवर्गस्याङ्गत्वसाधनम् ॥ —Dhv. II, 18-9.

[6] *Abhijñāna-Śākuntala*.

['Her moving-corner'd eye,
  Trembling as in pain, thou touchest oft and oft;
Like secret whisperer,
  Tenderly thou hummest, flitting by her ear;
She waving both her hands,
  Thou dost drink her lip, be-all of pleasure soft;
We, searching for the truth,
  Are undone, O drone! thou, yea, art lucky here!']

The realistic description of the bee's behaviour[1] in the above verse (or in other words the *Bhramarasvabhāvokti*) is in keeping with the sentiment.

(2) उद्दामोत्कलिकां विपाण्डुररुचं प्रारब्धजृम्भां क्षणा-
दायासं श्वसनोद्गमैरविरलैरातन्वतीमात्मनः ।
अद्योद्यानलतामिमां समदनां नारीमिवान्यां ध्रुवं
पश्यन् कोपविपाटलद्युति मुखं देव्याः करिष्याम्यहम् ॥[2]

['Today I shall certainly make the Queen's face purple with anger gazing upon this garden-creeper, as upon another woman in love, that in a moment has displayed a profusion of buds (a powerful longing), has a pale complexion, has its buds opening up (has commenced to yawn), and has been manifesting the disturbance (anguish) felt by it (her) by the ceaseless puffs of wind (by means of the constant heavings of sighs).'][3]

In this instance the *double entendre* (*śleṣa*) is explained more clearly by means of the simile (*upamā*)-*nārīmivānyāṁ*.

(3) रक्तस्त्वं नवपल्लवैरहमपि श्लाघ्यैः प्रियाया गुणै-
स्त्वामायान्ति शिलीमुखाः स्मरधनुर्मुक्तास्तथा मामपि ।
कान्तापादतलाहतिस्तव मुदे तद्वन्ममाप्यावयोः
सर्वं तुल्यमशोक केवलमहं धात्रा सशोकः कृतः ॥[4]

The *double entendre* in this verse is given up towards the last line in favour of *Vyatireka* or contrast, and as such helps in revealing the *Rasa* better.

(4) कोपात्कोमललोलबाहुलतिकापाशेन बद्ध्वा दृढं
नीत्वा वासनिकेतनं दयितया सायं सखीनां पुरः ।
भूयो नैवमिति स्खलत्कलगिरा संसूच्य दुश्चेष्टितं
धन्यो हन्यत एव निन्हुतिपरः प्रेयान्रुदत्या हसन् ॥[5]

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[1] Translation—Roby Datta's.
[2] *Ratnāvalī*.
[3] Translation—M. R. Kale's.
[4] Dhv., p. 227.
[5] *Amaruśataka*, 9.

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The Metaphor (*Rūpaka*) of imprisoning the husband in this verse is not pressed further into every detail in view of the *Rasa* to be delineated.

(5) श्यामास्वङ्गं चकितहरिणीप्रेक्षणे दृष्टिपातं
गण्डच्छायां शशिनि शिखिनां वर्हभारेषु केशान् ।
उत्पश्यामि प्रतनुषु नदीवीचिषु भ्रूविलासान्
हन्तैकस्मिन् क्वचिदपि न ते भीरु सादृश्यमस्ति ॥[1]

['In the *Pryaṅgu* do I trace thy limbs,
In eyes of startled antelope thy glance;
The moon recalls thy radiant countenance,
The peacocks' tails thy shining tresses;
While tiny ripples in the streamlets view
To imitate the archings of thy brows,
Yet alas, O jealous one, in none of these
Is there the whole likeness of thee!'][2]

Though the figure *utprekṣā* (poetic fancy) is worked out in great detail, it subordinates itself to the *Rasa* as expressed in the last line.

Unless the above considerations are kept in mind, the poet cannot achieve his object of communicating *Rasa*. By disregarding these he lands himself in patent flaws. Such flaws are sometimes found to taint even the works of master poets. But we have refrained from illustrating the flaws lest it should reflect upon our own taste.[3]

The next point which deserves our consideration is the nature of *Alaṅkāra-dhvani*. But before taking it up, the scope of the figure *śleṣa* and its distinctness from one of the varieties of *Dhvani* (viz., *Śabda-śaktimūla-anuraṇana-rūpa*) might be indicated in passing since there is likelihood of confusing the one with the other.

In the figure *śleṣa* two ideas are simultaneously communicated by virtue of the equivocal words used; and both the ideas will be equally plausible since there is nothing to decide in favour of the one or the other, e.g., '*Sarvadomādhavaḥ pāyāt* may mean—(1) May Śiva, the husband of Pārvatī, protect us always or (2) May Mādhava protect us who is a granter of all the desires. But in the variety of *dhvani*, mentioned above, a new figure of speech is suggested besides a second idea on the basis of the equivocal words. It is this feature (the suggestion of a new figure of speech) which marks it off from *Śleṣa*.[4]

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[1] *Meghadūta*, II.

[2] Translation—Rooke's.

[3] Cf. तत्तु सूक्तिसहस्रद्योतितात्मनां महात्मनां दोषोद्घोषणमात्मन एव दूषणं भवतीति न विभज्य दर्शितम् ।
—Dhv., p. 233.

[4] यस्मादलङ्कारो न वस्तुमात्रं यस्मिन् काव्ये शब्दशक्त्या प्रकाशते स शब्दशक्त्युद्भवो ध्वनिः,....वस्तुद्वये च शब्दशक्त्या प्रकाशमाने श्लेषः । —Dhv., p. 235.

Udbhaṭa's opinion is that *Śleṣa* embraces all instances where other figures are understood through its medium.[1] Even according to his view the other figures are expressed by the words used in the poem, not suggested. But in *Śabda-śakti-mūla-dhvani*, the other *alaṅkāras* are not expressed by the words used but only suggested.[2] For instance, in the following verse—

तस्या विनापि हारेण निसर्गादेव हारिणौ ।
जनयामासतुः कस्य विस्मयं न पयोधरौ ॥

one of the *Vyabhicāri-bhāvas* of *Śṛṅgāra*, viz., *Vismaya* and the figure of speech, viz., *Virodha* are both expressed besides *Śleṣa*. Such instances do not come under *Śabda-śaktimūla-dhvani*. The latter is instanced when the *alaṅkāra* is suggested and not expressed as in the above verse. As an example, the following sentence from *Bāṇa* may be taken:—

अत्रान्तरे कुसुमसमययुगमुपसंहरन्नजृम्भत ग्रीष्माभिधानः फुल्लमल्लिकाधवलाट्टहासो महाकालः ।[3]

There are first of all two different ideas expressed in the sentence. The one is a description of summer and the other a description of *Kāla-Rudra*. Both are based on the equivocal nature of the words used. Since the context is decisive in favour of the former sense alone, the latter would become *asaṁbaddhārtha* or incoherent. To avoid this difficulty, to make the other idea also coherent in the context, we understand that the two ideas are related as *upamāna* and *upameya*. That is to say, we take the other idea as a simile. The simile is only suggested and not at all explicitly expressed. It is suggested by virtue of the words used. Hence it is significantly called *Śabda-śakti-mūla-dhvani*.[4]

Whatever the suggested idea in a poem, if it is rendered explicit too by some of the expressions used, it at once ceases to be *Dhvani* and must be regarded only as an *alaṅkāra*.[5]

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[1] नन्वलङ्कारान्तरप्रतिभायामपि श्लेषव्यपदेशो भवतीति दर्शितं भट्टोद्भटेन । —Dhv., p. 236.
Vide also, Udbhaṭa's *Kāvyālaṅkāra-saṅgraha*, IV 11.

[2] यत्र तु शब्दशक्त्या सामर्थ्याक्षिप्तं वाच्यव्यतिरिक्तं व्यङ्ग्यमेवालङ्कारान्तरं प्रकाशते स ध्वनेर्विषयः ।
—Dhv., p. 236.

[3] *Kādambarī*.

[4] (यत्र) शब्दशक्त्या प्रकाशमाने सत्यप्राकरणिकेऽर्थान्तरे वाक्यस्यासम्बद्धार्थाभिधायित्वं मा प्रसाङ्क्षीदित्यप्राकरणिकप्राकरणिकार्थयोरुपमानोपमेयभावः कल्पयितव्यः सामर्थ्यादित्यर्थाक्षिप्तोऽयं श्लेषः न शब्दोपारूढः ।
—Dhv., p. 224.

[5] शब्दार्थशक्त्याक्षिप्तोऽपि व्यङ्ग्योऽर्थः कविना पुनः ।
यत्राविष्क्रियते स्वोक्त्या सान्यैवालङ्कृतिर्ध्वनेः ॥ —Dhv. II, 23.

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We shall now pass on to *Alaṅkāra-dhvani*. The concept of *Alaṅkāra-dhvani* is nothing very new. Even ancient writers on poetics like Udbhaṭa have clearly pointed out how one *Alaṅkāra* may suggest another *alaṅkāra*.[1] For instance, *Upamā*, *Rūpaka* and *Atiśayokti* have been shown to lie at the root of many *alaṅkāras* such as *sasandeha*. *Alaṅkāra-dhvani* is thus a recognized fact and there is no need of discussing it in great detail. But one point needs emphasis. It is that all instances, where some *alaṅkāra* is suggested by some other *alaṅkāra*, do not merit the designation of *Alaṅkāra-dhvani*. Only such instances as owe all their beauty exclusively to the suggested *alaṅkāra*, and not to the expressed, deserve to be considered as *Alaṅkāra-dhvani*. It follows that *alaṅkāras* like *Dīpaka* wherein *upamā* is invariably suggested, do not come to be classed as *Dhvani*, since their charm lies in the expressed figure and not in the suggested.[2] But in instances as—

लावण्यकान्तिपरिपूरितदिङ्मुखेऽस्मिन्स्मेरेऽधुना तव मुखे तरलायताक्षि ।
क्षोभं यदेति न मनागपि तेन मन्ये सुव्यक्तमेव जलराशिरयं पयोधिः ॥[3]

the whole charm of the verse is ascribable to the suggested figure alone and hence they are called *Alaṅkāra-dhvani*. Ānandavardhana illustrates this in detail drawing instances from a number of *Alaṅkāras* which look charming by reason of their being suggested.[4]

So long as the *alaṅkāras* remain beautifiers of expressed sense alone, they will be nothing more than external embellishments added on to the body of poetry.[5] They cannot even be considered as part and parcel of the body of poetry. But the moment they partake in the element of suggestion, they shed their extrinsic nature and become intrinsic. They assume the position of not only the body, but the soul of poetry.[6] As seen above, they can enter into relation with suggestion in two ways: either in the rôle of suggestors or in the rôle of being objects of suggestion. In the latter capacity they will be either *Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya* or *Dhvani*. We have *dhvani* when

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[1] अन्यत्र वाच्यत्वेन प्रसिद्धो यो रूपकादिरलङ्कारः सोऽन्यत्र प्रतीयमानतया बाहुल्येन प्रदर्शितस्तत्रभवद्भिर्भट्टोद्भटादिभिः । तथा च ससन्देहादिषूपमारूपकातिशयोक्तीनां प्रकाशमानत्वं प्रदर्शितमिति अलङ्कारान्तरस्यालङ्कारान्तरे व्यङ्ग्यत्वं न यत्नप्रतिपाद्यम् । —*Vṛtti* on Dhv. II, 26, p. 258.

[2] (दीपकादिषु) उपमागर्भत्वेऽपि सति वाच्यालङ्कारमुखेनैव चारुत्वं व्यवतिष्ठते न व्यङ्ग्यालङ्कारतात्पर्येण ।
—Dhv., p. 260.

[3] For a fuller account of *Alaṅkāra-dhvani*, *vide* my article 'Ānandavardhana's Theory of Dhvani, *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Oriental Research Institute*, 1947-8.

[4] See Dhv., pp. 262ff.

[5] Cf. Dhv., p. 204.

[6] शरीरीकरणं येषां वाच्यत्वे न व्यवस्थितम् ।
तेऽलङ्काराः परां छायां यान्ति ध्वन्यङ्गतां गताः ॥ —Dhv., II, 28.

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they are suggested and the suggestion is exclusively important.[1] This *Alaṅkāra-dhvani* also may arise in two ways. The *alaṅkāras* may be suggested either by an expressed idea or by another *alaṅkāra*. When they are suggested by an idea, they will certainly deserve to be regarded as *Dhvani-kāvya*, since the very process of poetry is grounded on this feature.[2] Otherwise, if the idea did not suggest any striking *alaṅkāra*, it would be nothing more than a commonplace utterance far from rising to the rank of poetry. Even in the other alternative, when *alaṅkāras* are suggested by some other *alaṅkāra*, they will be raised to the status of *dhvani* provided they are exclusively important and charming, as already pointed out.[3]

No doubt writers on poetics have given a one-sided emphasis in their consideration of *alaṅkāras* by emphasizing exclusively the beauty of the expressed figures; still it should be noted that all the *alaṅkāras* play a part in suggestion either of an idea or another *alaṅkāra*.[4] Just as every *Dīpaka* suggests an *upamā* and every *samāsokti* a new idea, in the same way, all the *alaṅkāras* suggest either new ideas or new figures. For instance we have *Atiśayokti* playing a part in all figures of speech. It is through *Atiśayokti* (Hyperbole) that great poets achieve beauty in their poems. Within the bounds of propriety whenever *Atiśayokti* is employed, it cannot fail to contribute to the beauty of a piece.[5] Even Bhāmaha has noted this feature in his definition of the figure.[6] Striking imaginative description is the true index of a poet's genius and like an undercurrent it runs through all the various figures he may employ. It is the presence of this touch of *atiśayokti* which promotes beauty in every figure; in its absence the figures would be like so many dead weights without any beauty. Since it is the sole factor guaranteeing beauty in all figures of speech, *Atiśayokti* has been so highly spoken of by Bhāmaha. And *Atiśayokti* can influence the other *alaṅkāras* in a two-fold manner. It may be directly expressed in addition to some other figure in a given instance; or it may be suggestively understood by the help of the expressed figures. When it is suggestively understood it may be either exclusively important or only secondary. Accordingly we have *Atiśayokti* in every instance of *alaṅkāra* in one of these three forms:—(1) Direct *Atiśayokti*, (2) *Atiśayokti-dhvani*, and (3) *Guṇībhūta-Vyaṅgya-atiśayokti*.[1]

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[1] ध्वन्यङ्गता चोभाभ्यां प्रकाराभ्यां व्यञ्जकत्वेन व्यङ्ग्यत्वेन च । व्यङ्ग्यत्वेऽप्यलङ्काराणां प्राधान्यविवक्षायामेव सत्यां ध्वनावन्तःपातः । इतरथा तु गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यत्वम् । —Dhv., p. 278.

[2] अलङ्काराणां द्वयी गतिः—कदाचिद्वस्तुमात्रेण व्यज्यन्ते, कदाचिदलङ्कारेण । तत्र—
व्यज्यन्ते वस्तुमात्रेण यदालङ्कृतयस्तदा ।
ध्रुवं ध्वन्यङ्गता तासां काव्यवृत्तिस्तदाश्रया ॥ —Dhv., II, 29.

[3] Cf. अलङ्कारान्तरव्यङ्ग्यभावे ध्वन्यङ्गता भवेत् ।
चारुत्वोत्कर्षतो व्यङ्ग्यप्राधान्यं यदि लक्ष्यते ॥ —Dhv., II, 30.
Also, उक्तं ह्येतत्—'चारुत्वोत्कर्षनिबन्धना वाच्यव्यङ्ग्ययोः प्राधान्यविवक्षा ।' इति । —Dhv., p. 280.

[4] वाच्यालङ्कारवर्गोऽयं व्यङ्ग्यांशानुगमे सति ।
प्रायेणैव परां छायां बिभ्रल्लक्ष्ये निरीक्ष्यते ॥ —Dhv., III, 36.

[5] Dhv., pp. 464-5.

[6] *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, II, 85; Dhv., p. 464.

This characteristic of influencing other *alaṅkāras* is not peculiar to *Atiśayokti* alone. Several figures of speech share this feature in common with *Atiśayokti*.[2] But while *atiśayokti* has a rôle in respect of every *alaṅkāra*, the other figures of speech are not so universally applicable. Their scope is restricted to particular figures. Thus for instance, in figures like *Rūpaka, Upamā, Tulyayogitā*, and *Nidarśanā* which are all based on similarity, the beauty is generally due to the suggested idea of similarity as influencing the direct meaning. Hence they must all be regarded as instances of *Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya*. Figures like *Samāsokti*, *Ākṣepa*, and *Paryāyokta* are invariably related to a suggested idea and there cannot be any difference of opinion about their being considered as *Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya*. But with regard to some figures it will be observed that their scope of *Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya* is restricted to single figures. *Vyājastuti*, for instance, involves only the *alaṅkāra—preyas*. In other figures the scope is limited to suggestion of an *alaṅkāra* only as against *Vastu*. For instance in *Sandeha* and such other figures, only *Upamā* (and figures based on *Upamā*) can be suggested. Some other figures are found to be mutually involved in the capacity of *Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya*, *Dīpaka* and *Upamā* for example. It is well known that *Dīpaka* involves *Upamā*. *Upamā* also sometimes, as in *Mālopamā*, involves a shade of *Dīpaka*. In this way all the figures of speech are found to involve an element of subordinate suggestion. It is only this feature which is commonly shared by all the *alaṅkāras*; and it is only on account of this feature that *alaṅkāras* become beautiful. Take away from the *alaṅkāras* this element of *Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya*, and they will at once lose all their poetic charm though all their other characteristics are present. For instance, we may cite a sentence like *yathā gauḥ tathā gavayaḥ*. It is far from being poetic in spite of its containing the characteristics of *Upamā*. The reason is to be sought in the total absence of suggestion.[3]

It follows from the above that a general definition of *alaṅkāra* must be based on the principle of *Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya*. And such a definition only can be free from the fallacy of too narrow (*Avyāpti*). The procedure of the rhetoricians who refrain from attempting a general definition of *alaṅkāra* and treat only of the individual figures is open to several drawbacks. In the first place it is never possible to appreciate the definitions of particular figures in the absence of a general notion of *alaṅkāras*. Secondly, it is not at all possible to exhaust all the individual figures in any scheme of rhetoric, since they are innumerable. Just as the modes of human speech are infinite, the figures of speech in poetry too are infinite,[1] based as they are on human speech. On the other hand, when we define all the *alaṅkāras* as *Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya*, there is no room left for any fallacy. In the first place, the definition will have universal application to all the *alaṅkāras*, whether recorded or not in manuals of rhetoric. Secondly, it will leave no *alaṅkāra* out of consideration since *Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya* is very wide, being three-fold in nature (*Vastu*, *Rasa* and *Alaṅkara*) and all the *alaṅkāras* come under it one way or the other. Thus a clear grasp of the concept of *alaṅkāras* implies an acceptance of the doctrine of *dhvani*.[2]

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[1] Dhv., pp. 468–70.

[2] अयं च प्रकारोऽन्येषामप्यलङ्काराणामस्ति, तेषां तु न सर्वविषयः। अतिशयोक्तेस्तु सर्वालङ्कारविषयोऽपि सम्भवतीत्ययं विशेषः। —Dhv., p. 470.

[3] तदेवं व्यङ्ग्यांशसंस्पर्शे सति चारुत्वातिशययोगिनो रूपकादयोऽलङ्काराः सर्व एव गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यस्य मार्गः। गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यत्वं च तेषां तथाजातीयानां सर्वेषामेवोक्तानुक्तानां सामान्यम्। —Dhv., p. 472.

Further, an acceptance of the principle of *Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya* will assist one in deciding the precise figure in a given instance. It is found that in the absence of such acceptance, doubts will crop up even in regard to well-known figures.[3] The following stanza, for instance, has been regarded by some as an example of *Vyāja-stuti*:—

लावण्यद्रविणव्ययो न गणितः क्लेशो महान् स्वीकृतः
स्वच्छन्दस्य सुखं जनस्य वसतश्चिन्तानलो दीपितः ।
एषापि स्वयमेव तुल्यरमणाभावाद्वराकी हता
कोऽर्थश्चेतसि वेधसा विनिहितस्तन्व्यास्तनुं तन्वता ॥[4]

[‘ Indeed it passes our understanding
What the Creator could have had in his mind
To lavish all his materials of beauty
And subject himself to the greatest distress
In creating this lady, who causes at once
Fevers of longing in the innocent men
That were happy and free only a moment before;
And the lady herself being far from happy
In the absence of a lover befitting her.’]

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[1] एकैकस्य स्वरूपविशेषकथनेन तु सामान्यलक्षणरहितेन प्रतिपादपाठेनेव शब्दा न शक्यन्ते तत्त्वतो निर्ज्ञातुम्, आनन्त्यात् । अनन्ता हि वाग्विकल्पास्तत्प्रकारा एव चालङ्काराः । —Dhv., pp. 473-4.

[2] गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यस्य च प्रकारान्तरेणापि व्यङ्ग्यार्थानुगमलक्षणेन विषयत्वमस्त्येव । तदयं ध्वनिनिष्यन्दरूपो द्वितीयोऽपि महाकविविषयोऽतिरमणीयो लक्षणीयः सहृदयैः । —Dhv., pp. 474-5.

[3] वाच्यव्यङ्ग्ययोः प्राधान्याप्राधान्यविवेके परः प्रयत्नो विधातव्यः, येन ध्वनिगुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्ययोरलङ्काराणां चासङ्कीर्णो विषयः सुज्ञातो भवति । अन्यथा तु प्रसिद्धालङ्कारविषय एव व्यामोहः प्रवर्तते । Dhv., p. 486.

[4] Dhv., p. 487.

If we consider it as a *Vyājastuti*, it will imply that this is a veiled praise of the woman by a person in love with her. But a lover cannot be normally expected to make such a remark as 'In the absence of a lover befitting her', for he would consider at least himself as deserving her love. We cannot go to the other extreme and say that the verse records the impressions of an ascetic who has abandoned the passions and who tries to moralize in this way, for an ascetic will not bother about such questions. Unfortunately, the source of this quotation is unknown. Otherwise, we could perhaps have decided the true meaning of the verse easily in the light of its context. Under these circumstances it is desirable to regard it as an instance of *Aprastutapraśaṁsā* rather than that of *Vyājastuti*. By considering it as an instance of *Aprastutapraśaṁsā*, we shall be doing full justice to the suggested (and subordinate) idea that this is a poetic outburst of a person who rates himself very highly, who is proud of his own uncommon virtues and endowments, who excites his less fortunate brethren into jealousy and who cannot find a single man that can appreciate his true worth. The distress of such a man is suggestively portrayed here and the tradition that the verse is Dharmakīrti's gets added support from such an interpretation.[1] It is indeed very likely that Dharmakīrti wrote this verse, especially in view of the fact that he has written other verses in the same strain.[2]

Such then is the practical use to which the concept of *Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya* can be put in cases of doubt.

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[1] Cf. Dhv., p. 489.

[2] Cf. अनध्यवसितावगाहनमनल्पधीशक्तिना-
प्यदृष्टपरमार्थतत्त्वमधिकाभियोगैरपि ।
मतं मम जगत्यलब्धसदृशप्रतिग्राहकं
प्रयास्यति पयोनिधेः पय इव स्वदेहे जराम् ॥

KULINISM IN BENGAL

By S. C. CHAKRAVARTTY

There is a saying that half-truth is more dangerous than untruth, for the simple reason that half-truth being partly true and partly untrue, it is difficult to separate the one from the other part. This maxim is well illustrated in the system of Kulinism prevalent in Bengal. This system bred an exaggerated idea of dignity among Kulin Brahmins and took deep root in Hindu society as a result of a sinister propaganda through a class of people known as *ghaṭaks* amply bribed for the purpose. Non-kulin Brahmins were anxious to have matrimonial relationship with the Kulins. All Kulin males were in the marriage market and both Kulins and non-Kulins used to vie with one another to secure one wife with offers of cash and property as dowries. It actually so happened that many Brahmin girls remained maidens throughout for want of a Kulin bridegroom, who, therefore, indulged merrily in having a hundred wives or more, the arrangement usually being that the wives and children would be maintained by the father or brother. Permanent maidenhood of a girl then used to reflect discredit on her father and brother, who would, with a view to remove same, marry her to a decrepit or maimed and even a dying Kulin. Polygamous Kulins used to keep a register of their wives and periodically visited them on proper fees being tendered similar to a stud-fee of the present-day. Various accounts of these incidents are mentioned in Vidyāsāgara's '*Bahu-vivāha*', Ramnarain's drama '*Kulin-Kulasarvasva*' and Sarat Chatterji's '*Bāmuṇer meye*', etc. It is worthy of note that in no other parts of India has this sort of Kulinism ever prevailed.

However fantastic it may appear, we cannot deny its existence in Bengal. When this custom came into vogue and what transitions it passed through in different periods, a full and regular account thereof can only be obtained from *Kulaśāstras*, alleged to be written by certain *Kulācāryas* who gradually took to the profession of match-makers in society for remuneration and were popularly known as *ghaṭaks*. Originally, however, they acted under a commission of the then king very much like the English heralds, who in the reigns of Tudor monarchs visited country-sides for recording genealogies for fees. Their writings had been in manuscripts until they were printed during the English rule. The Late Nagendra Nath Vasu *Prācyavidyāmahārṇava* made an attempt to reconstruct a history of Bengal out of those *Kulaśāstras* but with little success. Modern historians have dealt with the said *Kulaśāstras* exhaustively in the light of epigraphy.

R. C. Majumdar has given a list *inter alia* of fourteen *Kulaśāstras*. Of them, according to him, *Mahāvaṃśāvalī* or *Miśragrantha* by Dhruvānanda Miśra (a *Kulācārya*) was the oldest, and probably written in the 15th century; Nulo Panchanan's *Goṣṭhi-Kathā* and Vācaspati's *Kulārāma* were written in 16th or 17th century. Genuine manuscripts of these works are rare. Banerjee and Majumdar seem to hold identical views on the matter. It is a matter of common knowledge that many spurious *Kulaśāstras* were manufactured and sold at an inordinate price to many educated and half educated men, who entertained great vanity about high Kulin lineage.

The persons and facts referred to in such texts should be examined on the basis of the modern researches. King Ādisura had been in these books, stated to be the pioneer in establishing in Bengal the true Brahmin Aryans, well versed in the *Vedas*. With great discrepancies as regards the period of his reign and advent of those Brahmins, Ādisura was described therein as emperor of five Gauḍas which are as follows: (1) *Kānyakubja*, (2) *Gauḍa* or Bengal (3) *Mithilā* (North Bihar), (4) *Utkala* (Orissa), and (5) One on the bank of river Sarasvatī. *Rārhiya Kula Mañjarī* assigned the date of his reign to 732 A.D. and those Brahmins known as keepers of sacred fire were brought to Bengal in 746 A.D. *Varendra Kula-Pañjikā* and Vācaspati Miśra fixed the advent of those Brahmins at 732 A.D. while others put the dates at 1032 and 1077 A.D. respectively. Therefore according to one set of *Kulaśāstra* writers Ādisura flourished in the second quarter of the 8th century and according to another in the second or third quarter of the 11th century.

According to Banerjee and Majumdar, Gopāla I of the Pāla dynasty ruled during *c.* 790–95 and *c.* 750–770 in Bengal. Just before that, i.e., in the commencement of the 8th century, the political conditions of Gauḍa, Magadha, and Vaṅga were narrated by Banerjee.[1] The people of Gauḍa, says Banerjee, were reduced to desperate straits from the repeated foreign raids. Besides, after the death of Jīvita Gupta II belonging to Imperial Guptas of Magadha, probably no other king could lay a solid foundation of his rule in Gauḍa, Magadha or Vaṅga and petty landholders kept themselves busy in internecine warfares. As a result, in the middle of the 8th century complete anarchy ran riot in Eastern India. The citizens with a view to get rid of anarchy elected Gopāla I as their king. The existence of Ādisura cannot be denied. The Kulācāryas composed their books relying on the tradition that the advent of Brahmins took place in Bengal during the reign of a king named Ādisura.

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[1] *History of Bengal* (3rd ed.), Vol. I, p. 153.

After the Imperial Guptas, Harṣavardhana, a patron of Buddhism, flourished but died leaving Bengal in an anarchical state. Taking advantage of this situation, an adventurer Gopāla of Bauddha-Tantric-faith seized the political power and his descendants wielded same for over four hundred years in Gauḍa, Vaṅga and Magadha widely known as the illustrious Pāla dynasty. It was not unlikely that there might be want of Brahmins well versed in Veda and Vedic sacrifices. During the rule of the Imperial Guptas, many Brahmins with Vedic knowledge were brought and they were there even before. But sometime before or after the Imperial Guptas, there had been little or no prevalence of Vedic sacrifices or performances of such nature and if any king or noble desired to have them, a Brahmin would have to be imported from the north or central India for the purpose.

In history neither the genealogy of the Sura dynasty has as yet been traced out except two or three names without any connection whatever between them nor the particulars of Kulinism embodied. The description given in the *Kulatatvārṇava* is followed; the author whereof Sarvānanda Miśra has been alleged to be a son of Dhruvānanda Miśra who was appointed *Kulācārya* in succession to the great Devivara in 1485 A.D. The said Dhruvānanda is known to be the author of *Mahāvaṃśa* or *Miśragrantha*, whereas, *Kulatatvārṇava* mentions that his father had written a commentary as *Melakārikā*. The subject matter of both the works as it appears from the names, must be the same. Some facts stated in the *Kulatatvārṇava* correspond to the findings of the latest history. This book has been compiled by the author from various *Kulagranthas* following a historical sequence (vide ślokas 3 and 4). The materials illustrating the system of Kulinism have been taken from it and also such other relevant facts as may shed light on Bengal's history.

According to it, after the demise of Ādisura his son was driven out from Gauḍa by Dharmapāla, the king of Magadha. Majumdar's genuine doubt about Gopāla's election as king of Bengal, which on being proved a myth leads us to the conclusion that Dharmapāla was the real king of Gauḍa, Vaṅga, Aṅga and Magadha. If so, it might be likely that he had acquired his first footing in Magadha and then Gauḍa. The Khalimpur copper plate clearly shows that it was engraved after he (Dharmapāla) had established his position as victorious conqueror in Northern India and in the same plate his genealogy and father's (Gopala's) election as king of Gauḍa-Magadha by the citizens were mentioned. It might not be beyond the bounds of possibility that such facts were manufactured and engraved as advised by the Brahmin ministers to give out an air of respectability with a view to win him a rank of a Kṣatriya monarch in the assembly of North Indian princes. It is a well-known fact that all victorious adventurers of foreign extraction became absorbed in Hindu society and passed off as Kṣatriyas. It is also a fact that modern historians know nothing about Gopāla except through Dharmapāla, and his son Devapāla, and Lama Taranath's *History of Buddhism*, which at least concerning this fact was entirely based on partly hearsay and partly imagination to extol the merits of a co-religionist as the founder of a royal dynasty. So, in view of the political condition prevailing in Gauḍa-Magadha and paucity of historical materials regarding Gopāla, any reasonable historical hypothesis cannot be rejected outright as mere speculation. There are various other facts and circumstances about this historical problem, which awaits solution and as such, further discussion appears unnecessary.

Ādisura's son took refuge in Rāḍha which must evidently have been under his sway and died there as its reigning king. His son, Kshitisura assigned fifty-six villages to fifty-six sons of all those Brahmins having five gotras, viz., *Vatsya*, *Savarṇa*, *Bhāradvāja*, *Śāṇḍilya* and *Kāśyapa*, who had been brought there by his father from Gauḍa when driven out. Still now, they use the names of these fifty-six villages as their surnames and as descendants of Kānya-Kubja-Brahmins. It may be noted that those surnames are even found in use among *saptasatis*, who were known as local Brahmins and considered as degraded having no knowledge of Vedas. This shows, even on the testimony of *Kulaśāstras*, that there had been an admixture between the inhabitants and immigrants. After the death of Kshitisura and his descendants Mahīsura and Prithwīsura, one Dharāsura, son of the last named king, called a conference of the descendants of the said fifty-six village-owners, who were divided by him into two groups. This division was made among them after knowing their capabilities in Vedic performances and knowledge. Nothing was, however, mentioned as to the superiority of division and no restriction was imposed as regards intermarriage among them. The *Kulatatvārṇava* simply states that the last king Somasura died childless and Ballālasena became king in his place.

All the *Kulaśāstras* are unanimous that Ballālasena introduced first the system of Kulinism in Bengal. His father Vijayasena defeating evidently Madanapāla of Pala dynasty occupied Rāḍha, Vaṅga and Dakṣiṇa Varendra. Some of the *Kulaśāstras* referred to him as *Vaidya* and some as a descendant of Ādisura's daughter's son. In the light of a copper plate of Vijayasena, he was the son of Vilāsa Devī, a princess of Sura dynasty, but the name of his maternal grandfather has not yet been discovered. As regards his caste and the period of his reign, there are many conflicting views. D. R. Bhandarkar calls them Brahma-Kṣatriyas meaning thereby that they were Brahmins by caste but due to the pursuit of military profession by giving up Brahmin's duties, came gradually to be known as Kṣatriyas. They were likely to have originally served in the Pala army which consisted of various peoples of India. According to Banerjee, Ballāla became king on the eve of 12th century and died in 1118 or 1119, but Majumdar fixes his coronation at 1158 and death at 1169 A.D. Banerjee doubts whether Kulinism was created by Ballālasena.

A *Kulina* shall marry a daughter of a *Kulina* of another gotra but may marry a *Śrotriya's* daughter provided in no case he can give a daughter in marriage to a *Śrotriya*. The *Śrotriyas* were again subdivided into two sections: one was called *Śuddha* having more qualifications than defects, and the other having more defects than qualifications known as *Kasta*, whose daughters are never eligible for marriage to a *Kulin*. Out of 56 village owners 34 were not agreeable to submit to the classification made by Ballāla on the ground that he had no authority under the prevalent law and custom to do so and as such he classified them as *Śrotriyas*. In śloka No. 199 of *Kulatatvārṇava* it is specified that above 22 village owners were made *Kulinas* and copper plates issued to that effect but no such plates have yet been discovered. After some time Ballāla convened a third assembly of 22 immigrants only and of them 8 were made *Mukhya* (superior) and 14 *Gauṇa* (Inferior). The names of those 8, are: *Banda*, *Mukhati*, *Ganguli*, *Kanjilal*, *Kundalal*, *Patitunda*, *Ghosal* and *Chatta*. Again, he is said to have made further subdivisions among them and written a *Kulaśāstra* recording same which, except two of his alleged works, viz., *Adbhuta* and *Dānasāgara*, has not yet been discovered. Ballāla died leaving Lakṣmaṇasena as heir to his throne, who again subdivided the *Kulinas* into four divisions and raised several Brāhmaṇas of different status as made by Ballāla to the same status twice by a process known as *Samīkaraṇa* (making the status of different grades equal or levelling). After Lakṣmaṇa's death, his son Keśavasena was installed as king in his place, but compelled, being defeated by Muslims, to leave Gauḍa.

These are historical problems awaiting solution, viz., whether Lakṣmaṇa was himself turned out by Muslims from Nadia and the same was his capital. Banerjee says that the Muslim invasion of Gauḍa did not take place in his life-time but during the reign of which of his sons has not yet been settled, and there is no proof that Nadia had ever been the capital of Sena dynasty. According to some, the exact date of Nadia raid cannot be determined with any degree of certainty. General consensus of opinion is shortly before or after 1200 A.D. Shaik Shuvodaya and Tibetan chronicle fix the date as 1202 A.D. Lakṣmaṇa, according to Banerjee, became king of Gauḍa in 1119 A.D., and after reigning for about thirty

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years he died before 1170 A.D. The *Kulaśāstra* writers do not help us much in this matter.

After Keśava's discomfiture, the Brahmins could not stay in Gauḍa; just at the time, appeared king Danuja Mādhava (Śloka 350). The *Kulatatvārṇava* does not give any detail from whom he took Gauḍa. He has been identified by Majumdar as Daśarathadeva of Deva family known as king of Gauḍa with full titles of Pāla kings. He is said to .have conquered Vikramapura from Sena dynasty. According to the *Tatvārṇava* he made levelling (*Samīkaraṇa*) four times in consultation with the deposed Keśava and Kulina Eruh Miśra, who was appointed the first *Kulācārya* or *Ghaṭaka* of Rāḍha. Twenty-four Brāhmaṇas were made *Kulins*. Danuja Mādhava departed from this world in 1289 A.D. after strengthening the system of Kulinism to some extent.

The Muslim power prevailed for about a century till the time of Kaṃsanārāyaṇa. The Muslims oppressed the Brahmins so ruthlessly that the latter with a view to organize unified resistance against the former, did away with Kulinism as also the impediment to intermarriage existing among the Varendra, Rāḍha and Saptasati Brahmins. Thus united, the *Tatvārṇava* says, Brahmins had ably withstood the Muslim-menace against their religion and caste. Kaṃsanārāyaṇa was also described as Raja Ganesh by some historians. Dattakhāsa convened a conference of Brahmins. He found that there had been admixture between the local and immigrant Brahmins, the gotras so far being increased from five to eight (ślokas 385-96). It was reported to him that during the Muslim rule for a century before Kaṃsa, i.e., from the time of Nawab Nasiruddin to Samsuddin II, *c.* 1282–1409 A.D., *Kulācāryas*, appointed evidently by different groups according to their influence with the ruling power, were arbitrarily deciding the personnel of Kulinism without considering the nine-fold qualifications which had been prescribed as standard before. One Īśāna, a descendant of Dāśarathi of village Kantadia, opposed such procedure and requested Dattakhās to reorganize Kulinism on the principle followed by Ballāla. This proposal not having the consent of majority he invested eight Brahmins only with Kulinism. The Brahmins of twenty-two villages numbering forty left at first the Royal assembly, then Rāḍha and resided in the middle country between Rāḍha and Odra (Orissa) and hence they were known as the middle class. But in the *Mahāvaṃśāvalī* of Dhruvānanda Miśra there is no mention of the names of eight persons so raised to the status of a Kulin by Dattakhās, who at that time (1403 A.D.) with the consent of Brahmins appointed Śovakar a descendant of Puti as *Kulācārya* or *Ghaṭaka*. Dattakhās took an important part in reorganizing Kulinism and maintained the prestige of Brahmins during his lifetime. After the death of Kaṃsanārāyaṇa, his son Yadu, ascended the throne and soon assumed the name of Jelal-Uddin embracing Islam. From Ahmed Shah (1431–77 A.D.) up to the reign of Barbeck Shah, the Muslims oppressed the Hindus generally and Brahmins specially in many ways, which entailed their loss of caste, religion and nationality as also Vedas, Smritis and Kulagranthas, though their predecessors had been prudent enough to follow a conciliatory policy with the Hindus.

In 1478, Yusuf Shah became the Nawab of Gauḍa. He is said to have given Brahmins royal support and complete immunity from maltreatment and also appointed one Devivara Bandya as *Kulācārya*, who went to Kāmarūpa for divine favour from its presiding deity Kāmākshyā Devī to enlighten him with a special knowledge about Kulinism. He then proceeded with a fresh classification of Kulinas and reorganization of this institution on a novel method known as '*Melabandhana*'. 'Mela' means 'grouping', and 'bandhana' means 'binding together'. So '*Melabandhana*' is the binding together of various groups. These groups have been enumerated according to the prominent defects among them, which generally related to interdining and sexual connection with the Muslims wilfully or otherwise. It is noteworthy that these groups were formed on the ground of one of the defects quite contrary to the principle alleged to be followed by Ballāla. Devivara enjoined various rules of intermarriage among these groups and on breach thereof such person was to be degraded to the group in which he married. Various divisions and subdivisions grew up and the accounts thereof were usually kept by *Kulācāryas* or *Ghaṭakas*. After the death of Devivara on or about 1485, Dhruvānanda Miśra was appointed *Kulācārya*.

The system of Kulinism, if it is not entirely dead, is certainly in moribund condition and whatever remnants yet visible are really found in Devivara's Kulinism, which is clearly based on his unreasonable, unscientific and arbitrary decision, evidently at the dictation of the then ruling power and its satellites. To find out the truth or otherwise of this view, we should survey the social and religious structure of Bengal prevailing at different stages during the time Kulinism was alleged to be evolving.

In the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries A.D., many Brahmins of *Bhāradvāja*, *Kāṇva*, *Bhārgava*, *Kāśyapa*, *Vatsya* and *Kauṇḍinya* gotras, following Rik, Yaju and Sāma Vedas, were residing in Bengal and performing Vedic rites. Brahmins used to come to Bengal from central and other parts of India. This practice clearly began in the 5th century and increased with the royal patronage up to the 12th century.

The Imperial Guptas were well known for reviving Brahmanism and its literature. They had also respect for Buddhism having regard to the fact that the great University of Nālandā owed its existence and partial maintenance to their munificence. After their dismemberment different rulers adhering to different sects ruled different parts of Bengal for some time. Ultimately suzerain power went to Harṣavardhana, who died in *c.* 647 as a Buddhist. So Buddhists were not in any event deprived of the royal patronage. After him there was anarchy and clear hint of Tibetan invasion and their consequent influence specially in the whole of Bengal, which culminated in installing Gopāla I, as king of Magadha. The Buddhistic religion, it is obvious, was prevalent, if not dominant, even before the Pālas came in. Between the 8th century and 12th century, during the reign of the Pālas in Bengal, Buddhism received an impetus, however, in other mystic forms well known as *Vajrayāna* and *Tantrayāna*. The *Yogācāra* system had its founder in Maitreyanātha in *c.* 200 A.D., whose successors were subsequently known as *Siddhācāryas*. Their rise took place in Bengal between 10th and 12th centuries A.D. Some of the *Siddhācāryas*, who were in Vikramasilā University, composed spiritual poems in primary Bengali generally described as *Caryāpadas* under the headings of *Vajrayāna*, *Sahajayāna* and *Kālacakrayāna*. Mantra, Mudrā and Maṇḍala as depicted in *Vajrayāna* were transformed as Prajñā and Śaktivāda, which prescribed performance of mystic rites as *Yogas* in secret. A neo-śaktism called Kaula also evolved, which is said to have originated from Minanātha and its doctrines were discovered from Nepal. The sacred lore of Kaula is Kulāgama or Kulaśāstra and the followers thereof received the epithet of Kaula, Kulaputra or Kulina. The Kaula or Yoginikula as founded by Minanātha traces its source at Kāmarūpa (Assam). There were followers of Kaula, who did not give up Varṇāśrama. There were then other classes such as Nāthapanthis, Avadhūtas, Sahajiyās, etc., who as true followers of Buddhistic mysticism gave up Varṇāśrama.

Following the Kṣatriya custom Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty appointed an able non-Bengali Brahmin of Śāṇḍilya clan as his chief minister named Gargadeva Miśra. He and his successors made frequent grants of lands for the worship of Brahmanical gods and goddesses in the same way as they did for their own religion.

Pāla sovereignty had gradually declined due to internal decay, and taking advantage thereof Vijayasena of Rāḍha defeated the last king Madanapāla and occupied the throne of Gauḍa possibly in 1095 A.D. Vijaya was an ardent admirer of Brahmanism and with all the influence of a conqueror he must have encouraged Brahmanism and the Vedic rites.

An influential section of the people, viz., *Suvarṇavaṇiks*, used to control trade and commerce, who were perhaps Buddhists or at least with Buddhistic leanings like the Pālas. A large number of Kulinas or Kaula Brāhmaṇas were spiritual dictators of the Pāla dynasty.

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After the death of Vijayasena rebellion and disruption began under the leadership of Ballāla. According to Ānanda Bhaṭṭa's *Ballāla-carita* the social position of the Kaivartas was restored and Ballāla was degraded in society to the level of an untouchable. To ostracise Ballāla was a difficult task, which could not be done certainly without the help of Kulinas and they were won over by Ballāla. It appears that Ballāla in his anxiety to save his kingdom cultivated friendly relationship with the Kulinas. His son Lakṣmaṇa adopted Vaiṣṇavism. He had a galaxy of poets around him. With his death came the Muslims under Baktiyar to conquer Bengal. A large number of Bengalis being thereby allied with the foreign rulers, put Bengal's social and economic machinary of life completely out of gear for more than a century. The flowers of Bengal militia, viz., *Hāḍi*, *Bāgdhi*, *Doma* and *Caṇḍāla* during Pala regime, were forcibly disarmed and compelled to be peaceful cultivators and craftsmen, occupying a servile status in society after revoking martial pursuits and this must have been begun by the Sena kings and completed by the foreign conquerors as a measure of safeguarding their domination.

Between the early 13th and nearly the end of the 14th centuries, practically whole of the areas included in modern Bengal came under Muslim control. So during this period it can hardly be possible for Kulinism to maintain its existence. The Muslims were mostly fighting men and hardly few among them could well manage a civil administration. So they had to invite Bengalis for the civil posts, as military used to be manned entirely by the Muslims.

The Senas associated themselves with the Muslim rulers socially and officially without offending their religious ideals or manner of living in any way. They practically laid the foundation of the present zemindari system, being employed as persons in charges of different areas in Bengal for collection of taxes, rents and revenues from farmers and ryots. Not a single *Kulagrantha* was extant at the time of Devivara and for the simple reason that the *Kulagranthas* were neither conceived nor composed before the 15th century A.D. It may be presumed that they began to make their appearance from time to time during Muslim rule for the purpose of placating and enlisting support of their Bengali satellites in the interest of their stability in the state.

Kulinism has, in effect, created castes within castes or in other words attempted to create mutually exclusive classes, not only among Brahmins but permeated in every section of other castes also, its baneful principle. Every caste high or low has two or three subsections. Every trade-guild or profession has hardened into castes, having different subsections thereunder according to their location. The castes have grown in Bengal in such a huge proportion as in different varieties. After the Muslim conquest, the Kulins

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began to assume the names of the 56 villages as their surnames implying thereby that they were descendants of the Brahmin immigrants from Kanauj, who got, according to *Kulaśāstras*, those villages as gifts from the reigning king. Very few of such villages have yet been traced and as such most of them are likely to be imaginary.

This subject demands a careful research, which is likely to unfold the social history of Bengal and how the same was influenced by the political exigencies of the time. The Brahmins had been the leaders of men throughout in religious and social matters despite the Muslim rulers, who had to constantly cultivate friendly relationship with them in carrying on successful administration. Whatever customs were found current among them, they were followed by all castes and communities. It is likely that the first batch of non-Brahmin followers was made *Kulinas*. Instead of social censure they became by virtue of the magic of Kulinism recipients of garland and sandal paste on their foreheads in all social assemblies. In the Theravāda Buddhist texts we often meet with *Seṭṭhis* (bankers) and *Kulaputtas*. Further researches may help us in finding out some connection of these *Seṭṭhis* and *Kulaputtas* with the Kulinas.

MEWĀR BEFORE THE RISE OF THE GUHILAS

By G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI

For the earliest phase of the history of any territory in northern India—barring some prehistoric sites in the Indus Valley—we have to depend almost entirely on literary evidence. Unfortunately it is difficult to date some of the most important works of this literature even approximately. All that is possible to do is to attempt a chronological arrangement on the basis of geographical data, evolution of ideas and institutions in respect of religious, social, political and economic life, and references in some of the works to a body of literature which they find already in existence. From these considerations scholars have come to the conclusion that the earliest literary stratum is formed by the hymns of the Ṛig Vedic collection and the strata coming next in point of time are represented by (*a*) the later Vedic Texts, (*b*) the Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist Sūtras and the early epic whose geographical horizon is in the main still limited to the territory between the Himālayas and the Godāvarī,[1] and (*c*) the later epic, the metrical legal codes and the Paurāṇic traditions which show acquaintance with countries lying to the south of the Godāvarī and also lands beyond the seas and mountains like Yavadvīpa (Java) Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra) and China.[2]

While a stratification of the literature useful for our purpose is comparatively easy, it is more difficult to assign to each stratum a definite date in our chronological scheme. We can only say that the Vedic canon in its essentials is already complete by the time of the Buddha and Pāṇini (possibly not later than the fifth century B.C.)[3]; that literature of the second stratum is in some respects coeval with the rise of Magadha, of the Buddhist reformation and the beginnings of contact with the Yavanas (Greeks).[4] To the third stratum can hardly be assigned a date before more intimate contact was established with the Yavanas and Pahlavas (Parthians) in the west, and the countries of eastern and south-eastern Asia.[5] For the sake of convenience we shall call the period represented by

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[1] *E.H.D.*, p. 11 (reference to Kaliṅga), Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 30 (Colony on the upper Godāvarī).

[2] *Rām.*, Kish., XL, 30; XLI, 9, 12, 14–20, etc.; XLIII, 12; Manu, X, 44; Mārkaṇḍeya, LVII, 39, 45.

[3] Cf. Pāṇini, IV, 3, 105; *E.H.V.S.*, p. 26; Winternitz, *Hist. of Sans. Lt.*, p. 27.

[4] *Rām.*, Adi., XIII, 26; *Mbh.*, Sabhā., XIX, 10-11; Hopkins, *Great Epic*, pp. 391, 393; Pāṇini, IV, 1, 49; *E.H.V.S.*, p. 28; Gautama Samhita, IV; *Majjhima-Nikāya*, II, 149.

[5] Cf. foot-note 2.

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the Ṛik hymns and the later Vedic Texts as the Vedic Age and the period indicated by the later literary strata as the early post-Vedic Age.

Literature of the Vedic period does not contain any clear reference to the territory of Mewār. We may therefore hold that it was outside the pale of Aryandom. Some light is thrown upon the country and its people by several texts of the early post-Vedic Age. We have already seen that according to the Bodhāyana Dharma-Sūtra the Pāriyātra region, which included a part of Mewār, lay on the border of the land of the pure Aryans and that of the mixed races (saṅkīrṇa yonayaḥ).[1] Some idea of the ethnic affinity of the original inhabitants of the area may perhaps be derived from epic traditions. The Mahābhārata, for instance, refers to the Nishādas as roaming in the wilds of the Pāriyātra.[2] There is reason to believe that a section of this ancient tribe is in all probability represented by the Bhīls who constitute the largest element of the population of Mewār.[3] The Commentator Mahīdhara apparently thought the two folks as identical.[4] In the Padma Purāṇa their origin is traced to a common ancestor.[5] There is a close resemblance in their features, habits and location. In the Vishṇu Purāṇa the Nishādas are described as 'of the complexion of a charred stake, with flattened feature and dwarfish stature'. We learn from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa that they were 'black like crows, very low statured, short armed, having high cheek bones, low-topped nose, red eyes and copper-coloured hair'.[6] The modern Bhīls have retained many of these characteristics. They are 'small, dark, broad-nosed, and ugly, but well built and active'.[7] The Nishādas took delight in hunting. The Bhīls also show much proficiency in archery and are given to killing animals. It has been already pointed out that the Mahābhārata connects the Nishādas with the Pāriyātra region. The same locality is now one of the great centres of the Bhīl population.[8]

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[1] 'Prāgadarśanāt pratyak Kālakavanād dakshiṇena Himavantam Udak Pāriyātram (I, i, 25); *S.I.A.*, 129*n*.

[2] Cf. Śānti., CXXXV.

Nishādyāṁ Kshatriyājjātaḥ Kshatradharmānupālakaḥ
Kāyavyo nāma Naishādirddasyutvāt siddhimāptavān /3/
Araṇye sāyaṁ pūrvāhṇe mṛgayūthaprakopitā
Vidhijño mṛgajātīnāṁ *Naishādānāñcha* Kovidaḥ /4/
Sarvakāla pradeśajñaḥ *Pāriyātracharaḥ* sadā /5/

[3] *Census of India* (1931), XXVII (Rājputāna), p. 129; I.G.(R.), 179.

[4] *A.I.T.*, p. 61.

[5] Nishādāścha Kirātāścha Bhillā-Nāhalakāstathā
Bhramarāścha Pulindāścha Ye chānye mlechchhajātayaḥ
—Padma, II, 28, 45.

[6] Vishṇu., I, 13, 34. Bhāgavata, IV, 14, 44. Chanda, *Indo-Aryan Races*, p. 5.

[7] I.G.(R.), p. 87; Chanda, *ibid.*, p. 6.

[8] I.G.(R.), p. 86.

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Another ancient tribe which lived within the borders of Mewār was probably the Meda, from whom the territory takes its current name. In a passage of the Mahābhārata reference is made to several outcaste tribes, namely, the Kshudras, the Vaidehakas and the Andhras, etc. The commentator Nīlakaṇṭha seems to equate the Kshudras with the Medas.[1] The first undoubted mention of the latter people is found in the tenth chapter of the Manu Saṁhitā which deals with mixed castes. The particular passage, when read with commentaries, suggests that the Medas were born of Vaidehaka father and Nishāda mother.[2] This perhaps indicates a close association between the Medas and the Nishādas. The Aṅgiras Saṁhitā and the Vyāsa Saṁhitā group the former with peoples like the Bhīls and the Kirātas and several other folks in the lower rung of the Indian society.[3] The Medas dwelt outside villages and lived by hunting.[4] They are possibly represented in modern times by the Mers.

Along with the Nishādas and the Medas we have perhaps to mention another people, namely, the Nāgas, whose presence in Mewār, in the opinion of some scholars, is suggested by such place name as Nāgahrada (Nāgda). Mewār tradition avers that the city was built by the Guhila prince Nāga. Neṇsi tells us that it derives its appellation from the fact that the famous king Parikshit performed here the snake sacrifice.[5] The modern critic fails to find sober history in such tales. But it may be reminiscent of an actual connection of the Nāga people with western Mewār. It is, however, possible that the expression 'Nāga' refers to the water-spirits who give their names to so many springs and fountains in Kāsmīr.[6]

There are indications already in the epic of the growth of more civilized communities within the State by the side of the hunting tribes mentioned above. We learn from the Mahābhārata that Nakula, the fourth Pāṇḍava prince, conquered the inhabitants of Madhyamikā. We have no details in the book itself which may enable us to find out the tribal affinity of this people. They are distinguished from a number of other folks amongst whom the Śivis are included.

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[1] *Mbh.*, Anu., XLVIII, 25:
Kshudro Vaidehakād-Andhro vahirgrāmapratiśrayaḥ.
Nishādyā Vaidehakāt Kshudro, *Medah* Andhraścha āraṇyapaśuhiṁsakau
Kārāvarākhyaścharmakāraścheti trayo bhavantītyarthaḥ (Nīlakaṇṭha).

[2] Kārāvaro Nishādat tu charmakāraḥ prasūyate
Vaidehakād Andhra = *Medau* Vahirgrāma pratiśrayau (X, 36).

[3] Aṅgiras, I, 3; Vyāsa, I, 10–12.

[4] Manu, X, 48.

[5] *Hist. Rāj.*, I, 402; Ray, *D.H.N.I.*, II, 1164; Neṇsi, *Khyāta*, p. 14.

[6] *J.A.S.B.* (Extra No.), p. 32.

tān-Daśārnān-sa-jitvā-ca-pratasthe-Pāṇḍunandanaḥ
Śivīṁs-Trigartān-Ambaṣṭhān-Mālavān-pañca-Karpaṭān
tathā-madhyamakeyāṃśca-Vāṭadhānān-dvijānatha
punaśca-parivṛtyātha-Puṣkarāraṇya-vāsinaḥ
(*Mbh.*, Sabhā., XXXII, 7-8).

Numismatic evidence, however, points to a close connection between Madhyamikā and the Śivis, and there can be no doubt that by the second century B.C. the period to which the coins in question are assigned—if not from a still earlier age—the Śivis are found in occupation of Madhyamikā.

The Mahābhārata again associates a king called Śrutāyudha, who fought in the battle of Kurukshetra, with the river Parnāśā.[1] We do not know where he ruled. As part of the stream flows through Mewār the possibility of the location of the territory of Śrutāyudha within the boundary of that kingdom cannot be entirely excluded.

Proof of the antiquity of Mewār is furnished not only by literary references to which attention has been invited above but also by archaeological research.

Numerous punch-marked silver coins have been discovered at Nāgari a few miles north of Chitor in eastern Mewār. Allan brings to notice the fact that similar coins are found widely distributed over 'the most important and thickly populated parts of ancient India'. He adduces reasons for assigning them to the Mauryan epoch.[2] If his views are accepted then the inference becomes legitimate that eastern Mewār, if not the entire State, was included within the limits of the great Mauryan Empire. This conclusion does not seem to be implausible when we remember that Aśokan edicts have been found in Bairāt, and a Maurya prince ruled in Ujjayinī. The position of eastern Mewār is midway between these two places. Maurya rule in the Kotah State (to the east of Mewār) can be traced as late as the eighth century A.D.[3] Some scholars believe that the name Maurya survives in that of the traditional Moris, with whom a ruler of Mewār is supposed to have come into contact in historic times.[4] Local traditions associate Samprati, grandson of Aśoka, with the Kumbhalmer and the Jahāzpur regions. According to Tod temple erected to Mahāvīra by that prince still existed in his days.[5]

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[1] Droṇa., XC, '44.
Varuṇasyātmajo vīraḥ satu rājā Śrutāyudhaḥ
Parṇāśā jananī yasya śītatoyā mahānadī.

[2] *C.A.I.*, pp. lv–lviii, lxxi.

[3] Cf. Kanaswa Inscription of Sivagaṇa, which refers to his friend king Dhavala of the Maurya family—(*I.A.*, XIX, p. 57ff.).

[4] Tod, I, 265*n*; *Raj. Gaz.* (Mewār) by Erskine, p. 14; *Hist. Rāj.*, I, 412f.

[5] I.G.(R.), 139; *E.H.I.*, 202*n*.

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After the disruption of the Maurya Empire Madhyamikā in eastern Mewār seems to have become the capital of a *janapada* of the Śivis. Reference has already been made to their coins with the inscriptions 'Majhamikāya-Śibijanapadasa' which have been found at Chitor and Nāgari and have been assigned by scholars to the second century B.C.[1] In the same century Madhyamikā had to stand a siege by the Yavanas or Greeks as we learn from the Mahābhāshya of Patañjali.[2] It is not clear if this event happened during the period of Śivi rule or before the advent of that tribe.

It is well known that a people called Śiva finds mention in the Ṛgveda, and the Siboi figure among Alexander's opponents in the Punjab in the latter half of the fourth century B.C. The pressure of Greek inroads may have displaced the Siboi or the Śivis of the Punjab as they did the Malloi or the Mālavas, who are found in eastern Rājputānā and countries lying further to the south in the second century B.C. and in subsequent ages.[3] Tarn believes that it was the Greeks themselves who transplanted the Śivis from the Punjab to Rājputāna. He attributes the deed to Apollodotus.[4] The analogy of events in the last decade of the twelfth century A.D., however, suggests that it was not with the assistance of foreign rulers but by the pressure exerted by their inroads that the Śivis and the Mālavas had to seek refuge in Rājputānā as certain Rājput clans of the eastern Punjab and the Gangetic Doab retired to Ranthambhor and Bithu in the days of the Ghurid conquerors and their successors.

Regarding the results of the Greek attack on Madhyamikā we know little. If the Mālavikāgnimitraṃ is to be believed they suffered a defeat at the hands of the prince Vasumitra, grandson of Pushyamitra and son of Agnimitra, who held court at Vidiśā in eastern Mālwā.[5] The evidence of Strabo suggests that for a time they held the entire seaboard of western India down to Surāshṭra or Kāthiawār.[6] Coins bearing the names of Apollodotus and Menander were current in the bazars of Barygaza (Broach) at the mouth of the Narmadā as late as the time of the Periplus (first century A.D.).[7] Several coins of these two Greek kings have also been found in the Mewār territory.[1] Their presence may be accounted for by the advance of Greek forces to Madhyamikā. It may also be due in part to commercial intercourse. Eventually Greek ascendency seems to have been destroyed partly by the uprising of the indigenous powers of western India and partly by fresh hordes of invaders who came from central Asia.

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[1] *C.A.I.*, cxxiv f.

[2] Arunaḍ Yavano Madhyamikāṃ (Sūtra III. 2. 111). Goldstucker, *Pāṇini*, pp. 176, 177*n*; *I.A.*, 1872, 300.

[3] Smith, *Catalogue of Coins*, 161ff., 170.

[4] Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 151, 170: 'The only explanation of a settlement of Śibi at Madhyamikā as early as the middle of the second century B.C. must have been that it was made by Apollodotus.'

[5] *P.H.A.I.*, 309, 316.

[6] Strabo (Hamilton & Falconer), II, 253-54; *P.H.A.I.*, 317; Tarn, *G.B.I.*, 147.

[7] Periplus (Schoff), 41f.; *G.B.I.*, 149.

We do not know when the Greek military occupation or political ascendency in parts of Rājputānā and adjoining regions came to an end. Several fragments of inscriptions connected with Hāthibaḍā at Nāgari and Ghasuṇḍī in Mewār have brought to light the fact that sometime in the second or first century B.C. the Madhyamikā region was included within the dominion of a king called Sarvatāta.[2] He belonged to the Gajāyana family, and was the son of a lady of the Parāśara gotra. He is further styled a performer of the Aśvamedha sacrifice which in this epoch possibly points to a sovereign status. The king was a devotee of Vāsudeva and Saṁkarṣaṇa. Suggestions have been offered identifying him with a Kāṇva prince but no convincing evidence is forthcoming in favour of this theory.[3]

For the seven centuries that follow our information is very meagre. We learn from the inscription of Ushavadāta that his father-in-law, the western Satrap Nahapāna (usually assigned to the first quarter of second century A.D.) held sway over an extensive territory which stretched from the Pushkara in the north to the Marāṭhā country in the south.[4] Ushavadāta led an expedition against the Malayas (Mālavas) who at this time probably occupied a part of the Jaipur territory which was almost contiguous to Mewār.[5] Hence it is not unlikely that this State was included within the dominion of the great Satrap. We do not know whether the house of Chastana had anything to do with the land. Rudradāman (130–150 A.D.) claims to have extended his control over Maru and the Nishādas,[6] but the exact location of the latter in this period is not certain.

The Kadamba prince Mayuraśarman who may be assigned to the beginning of the fourth century A.D. claims to have defeated

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[1] I.G.(R), 13; *Hist. Rāj.*, I, 327.

[2] (Kāritoyaṁ rājñā Bhāgava) tena Gājāyanena Parāśarīputrena Sa-
(rvatātena Aśvamedha yā) jinā bhagava(d) bhyāṁ Saṁkarshaṇa-Vāsudevā-
bhyāṃ
(anihatābhyāṁ sarveśvara) bhyāṁ pūjāśila-prākāro Nārāyaṇa-vāṭikā.
Text restored by Dr. Bhandarkar (*E.I.*, XXII, 204).

[3] *E.I.*, XXII, 205.

[4] *E.I.*, VIII, 78; Rapson, *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, pp. lvii, cx-cxi.

[5] Smith, *Catalogue of Coins*, 161ff.

[6] *E.I.*, VII, 41, 44; Rapson, *Coins*, lx.

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the Pāriyātrikas.[1] But it is impossible to say whether these may refer to the inhabitants of the Mewār.

As has been already noted above some scholars are inclined to believe that a part of Mewār passed under the rule of Nāga princes who loomed large in the history of India before the rise of the imperial Guptas and the city of Nāgahrada (Nāgdā), it is assumed, derives its name from this ruling tribe. We learn from the Kumbhalgarh Praśasti that Takshaka, the king of the serpents, built the city of Nāganagara.[2] This too may point to a similar conclusion. But the derivation of the name Nāgahrada may also be connected with the water spirits known as Nāga.

The historic Nāgas of Central India and the Doāb were brought under subjugation by the imperial Guptas, who extended their power to the Chambal, Mālwā and Gujarāt, but we have no direct evidence to show that Mewār enjoyed the blessings of the peaceful rule of those emperors. The references in the Allahabad Praśasti to the submission of tribes like the Mālavas and the Ābhiras who lived close to the valley of the Banās on the south and the west make it possible that Mewār too was brought under the Gupta sphere of influence. Gold coins of the Guptas have been found within the territory.[3] This, of course, does not prove the rule of the power that issued them, but taken along with the references to the surrounding peoples like the Ābhiras, Ārjunāyanas, Mālavas, etc. may point to political or economic connection with the Gupta empire.

Somadeva, a contemporary of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Krishṇa III, tells us that the Hūṇas penetrated into the interior of India as far as Chitrakūṭa.[4] This place may refer to the sacred spot of that name near Allahabad. But the possibility of its identification with Chitor is not entirely excluded.

An inscription, dated *c.* 491 A.D. which has been discovered two miles from Chotī Sādri, indicates that towards the close of the fifth century A.D. south-eastern Mewār was ruled by a prince named Yaśagupta of the Gaura Kshatriya family.[5] It records the following genealogy: Dhānyasoma, his son Rājyavardhana, his son Rāshṭra, and his son Yaśogupta, who was very charitable and performed sacrifices. The Gaura Mahārājā constructed a temple for the spiritual welfare of his parents.

The Mandāsor inscription of the time of Yaśodharman who ruled in 532-33 A.D. informs us that Abhayadatta was the Rājasthānīya of the province bounded by the Vindhyas, the Pāriyātra and the Sindhu.[6] It has been suggested that Sindhu may stand for the ocean or the river of the same name in Central India.[1] If the last interpretation is accepted then it seems that the whole of south-eastern Rājputānā extending from the Arāvallis to the Kālisindhu came within the territorial jurisdiction of the aforesaid ruler. In any case Mewār seems to have formed part of the dominion over which Yaśodharman claims to have held sway. His court poet credits him with the conquest of the whole territory between the Himālayas and the Mahendra (Eastern Ghāts) and from the western ocean to the Brahmaputra.[2]

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[1] *Arch. Sur. of Mysore* (for 1929), 50.

[2] *E.I.*, XXIV, 318.

[3] *Rāj. Hist.*, I, 327.

[4] *P.H.A.I.* (4), 533.

[5] *A.R.R.M.*, 1929-30, p. 2.

[6] *C.I.I.*, III, 154.

Towards the close of the sixth century A.D. Prabhākaravardhana of Thāneśwar is said to have waged war on the Gurjaras, the Lāṭas and the Mālavas.[3] If the Gurjaras of this passage refer to the Ku-che-lo of Hiuen Tsang[4] located in western Rājputānā and if the Mālavas were situated in Mālwā, armies marching from Thāneśwar may have overrun the territory of Mewār. It is interesting to note that a king of Mewār in the seventh century A.D. whose date falls within the regnal period of Prabhākara's son Harsha, bore the name Śīlāditya—an appellation that was assumed by the great emperor.[5] But as the name Śīlā(ditya) occurs also in the genealogical lists of the Guhilas, the Śīlāditya of the Samoli inscription of Mewār is taken to have been a local Guhila prince. Whether the family at this time had any political or cultural connection with Śīlāditya of Thāneśwar cannot be determined. With the Guhila Śīlāditya, however, we enter upon a new epoch.

(According to the author of the Chāchnāma, Maharat, brother of Rai-Sahasi of Sind, was the king of Chitor in the early part of the seventh century A.D.[6] But the book is so full of legendary materials that it is difficult in the absence of external corroboration to accept its statement as authentic.)

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[1] *P.H.A.I.*, 535*n*.

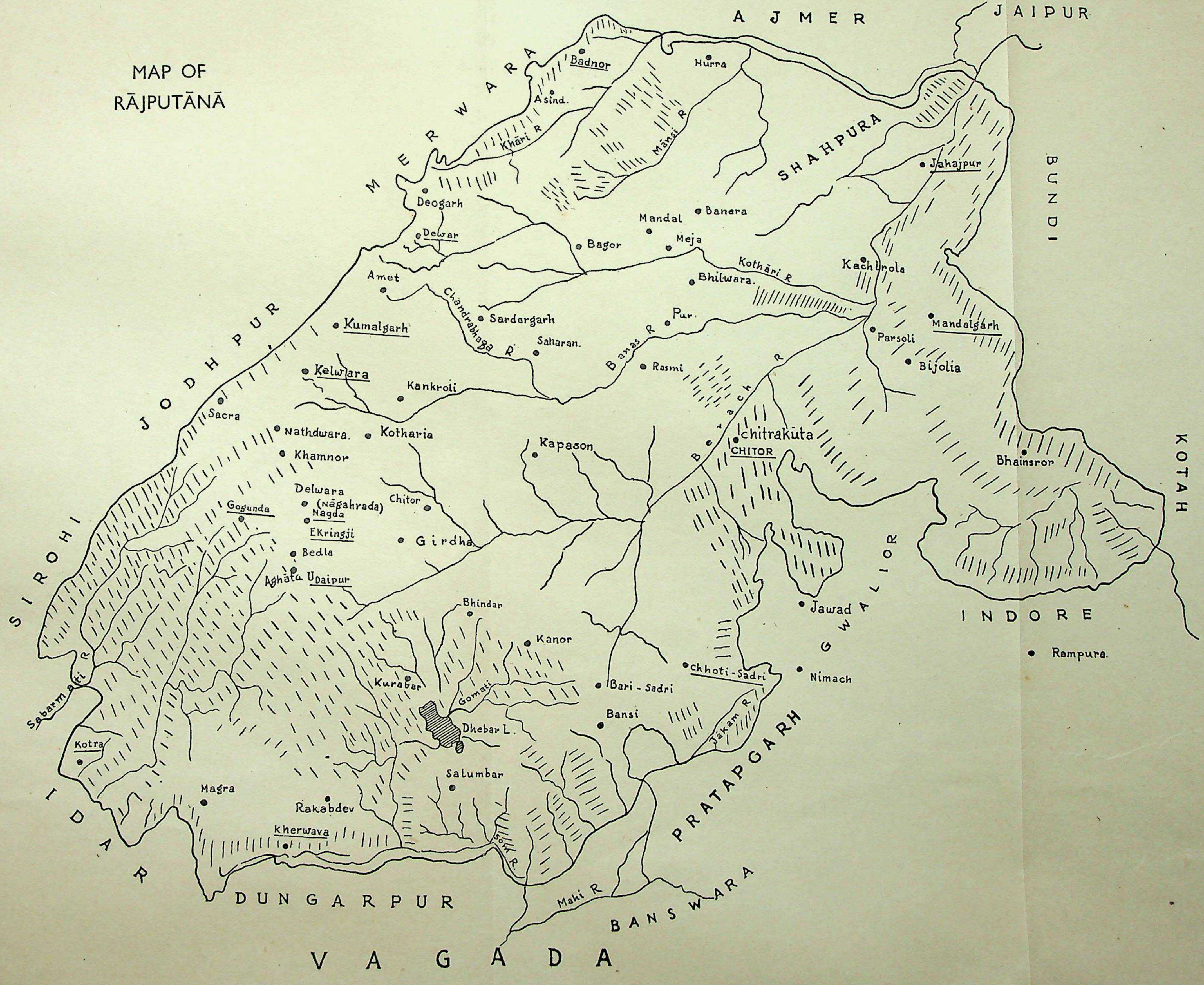
[2] *C.I.I.*, III, 146-47.

[3] Harshacharita (Parab's edition), 120.

[4] Watters' translation, pp. 249, 341.

[5] Cf. Sāmolī Inscription (*E.I.*, 97ff.).

[6] Mirza Kalichbeg's translation, p. 21.



MAP OF RĀJPUTĀNĀ

AJMER
JAIPUR
MERWARA
Badnor
Hurra
Asind.
Khāri R
Mānsi R
SHAHPURA
Jahajpur
BUNDI
Deogarh
Dewar
Mandal
Banera
Bagor
Meja
Kothāri R
Kachhola
Bhilwara.
Amet
Chāndrabhāga R
Sardargarh
Pur.
Mandalgarh
Parsoli
Bijolia
JODHPUR
Kumalgarh
Saharan.
Banas R
Rasmi
Kelwara
Kankroli
Berach R
Sacra
Nathdwara.
Kotharia
Kapason
Chitrakuta
CHITOR
Khamnor
Bhainsror
KOTAH
Delwara
(Nāgahrada)
Nagda
Chitor
Gogunda
EKringji
Girdha
SIROHI
Bedla
Aghāta Udaipur
GWALIOR
Jawad
INDORE
Bhindar
Kanor
Rampura.
Sabarmati R
Kurabar
Chhoti-Sadri
Nimach
Bari-Sadri
Gomati
Dhebar L.
Bansi
Jakam R
Kotra
PRATAPGARH
Salumbar
IDAR
Magra
Rakabdev
Kherwava
Som R.
Mahi R
BANSWARA
DUNGARPUR
VAGADA

BUDDHISM

By B. C. LAW

There is no consensus of opinion as yet as to the precise connotation of the term Buddhism, whether it means a mere religion, or a mere philosophy, or a mere ethical idealism or a mere form of mysticism. The saner view of the thing leads us to think that religion, mysticism, philosophy, psychology, ethics, language, literature, art, architecture, and the like are but its different aspects, and that in these respects the position of Buddhism is similar to that of Vedānta, Jainism, and other earlier Indian systems of *Dharma*. But whatever it is there is no denying the fact that it is the result of a distinct and vigorous movement of thought and self-culture with its dynamic of conduct and reforming zeal, which was started in Northern India by a princely ascetic known as Siddhārtha. Its historical beginning is traceable from the Buddhahood attained by that gifted man. The Buddhahood itself is regarded as the supreme status of a *yogin*, thinker and teacher, to which he became entitled by virtue of enlightenment as to the nature of the truth and the way of emancipation. This mental awakening and profound vision dawned on human consciousness as the ripest and richest fruit of an earnest quest after the truth and the way. The strength of the movement lay in the deepest personal conviction gained through direct experience and internal perception.

This new movement was started in the second half of the sixth century B.C., and it was coincident with three other upheavals of human thought, one represented by the first Greek philosopher, Thales of Miletos, the second, by Zoroaster of Media, and the third, by Confucius of China. In India it arose when the country was seething with speculative ferment in the midst of diverse conflicts of thoughts and ideas. Pali literature alone preserves for us the names of not less than forty bands or bodies of wandering ascetics and mendicants, broadly distinguished as Brāhmaṇas (Greek Brachmanes) and Śramaṇas (Greek Sarmanes), some upholding the existing social order and system of training based on the idea of four castes and four stages of effort and others repudiating the same. There were in far off places the hermitages built in sombre and delightful woodlands where the sages and seers were leading the life of silent contemplatives, keeping ablaze the sacrificial fire and training up their resident pupils. The monarchies became the strongholds of secular Brahmanism and there were founded on royal endowments a few residential Vedic colleges, while the householder Brahmans as a class retained a stronghold over the masses as royal chaplains and popular priests or as teachers of secular sciences and arts.

Four great monarchies of Magadha, Kosala, Vatsa, and Avantī existed then in Northern India, surrounded by several oligarchical republics, while the Indo-Aryan society was composed of the four main social grades with some untouchables outside the pale.

It was in such a social, political and religious environment that Buddhism appeared as a religious fraternity of the recluses, both men and women, and a Kṣatriya school of thought under the lead of a master endowed with stupendous human personality. Because the leader himself happened to be a great scion of the Śākya ruling clan of Kapilavastu at the foot of the Himalayas, the wayfarers forming the brotherhood under his guidance came to be known as Śākyaputriya recluses, or simply as Śākyas.

Buddhism was propounded by its founder as a progressive step from the philosophy of the Upaniṣads and a progressive way of life avoiding the extremes in all respects. It was launched forth as a mission for the good of the many, for the happiness of the many, and for the welfare and advantage of all men. The democratization of the Aryan faith led to the relinquishment of 'the close fist of the teacher'. The new religion began to follow an open door policy, inviting all to come and see. The people of India were exhorted not to accept anything as reasonable and good on any other authority than their own experience and reason. An ethical idealism led the way pushing into the background the 'amoralism' of the earlier doctrines, and it was broadbased on a psychological foundation. The painful conditions of existence and common human sufferings were taken for granted and faced as facts. The path of deliverance suggested led men to examine the mechanism of their own mind. The cause was more internal than external. The progressive path laid down for the guidance of life is known as the Noble Eight-fold Path. A doctrine of causation or dependent origination was taught to guide rational human thought. A doctrine of *karma* was promulgated to teach men that every action has its corresponding reaction.

In the religion preached by the Buddha much emphasis was laid on self-exertion, self-control, and self-sacrifice. The method followed was excellent. A large number of followers gathered round him and his teachings produced the desired effect. Buddha in his first discourse addressed to five ascetics laid stress on suffering, origin of suffering, cessation of suffering, and the path leading to the destruction of suffering. Suffering is a painful feeling which arises from getting what one does not desire to get and not getting what one desires to get. There is suffering in repeated births. Suffering is continuous whose essence is affliction, there is the cause of suffering whose essence is origination, there is the destruction of

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suffering whose essence is escape, and there is the path to tranquillity whose essence is rescuing. The origin of suffering lies in desire which is potent for rebirth accompanied by lust and self-indulgence seeking satisfaction now here and now there. The destruction of suffering consists in utter fading away of desire. Cessation is that state of the self in which consciousness transcends the sphere of senses and their objects. The path leading to the destruction of suffering is the Noble Eight-fold Path which consists in right view, right resolve, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration. The formulation of the Four Truths proceeded on the basis of the doctrine of Dependent Origination accounting for the origin and cessation of the entire mass of ill.

The nucleus of the *Sangha* was formed after the conversion of the first five disciples. This was followed by the conversion of Yasa, the banker's son, and his fifty-four comrades. No formality was yet needed to be gone through. The Buddha addressed his first sixty disciples thus: 'Come ye! the Law is well expounded, lead the holy life to make an end of all pain.' The attainment of saintship and salvation as implied by the term *arahatta* was not at all a remote ideal; it was attained and attainable here and now where human nature was mature for the reception of the truth and the acceptance of the norm. He charged them with these inspiring words: 'Freed am I, O mendicants, from all nooses, whether divine or human, and you too are thus freed. Go ye forth and wander about for the good of the many, for the happiness of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the advantage, good and happiness of gods and men. Go not two by the same road. Address, O mendicants, the doctrine which is beneficial in the beginning, beneficial in the end, pregnant with meaning, well-worded, complete in form, and reveals the pure life of holiness.' Thus the Enlightened One and his first disciples started the work of preaching the message.

The Buddha's first visit to Kapilavastu was a notable event as it was followed by the conversion of all of the Sakyans to the new faith and the ordination of Siddhārtha's son Rāhula and half-brother Nanda as well as of many gifted Śākya youths.

It was all the more important for the reason that the Śākya ladies headed by Siddhārtha's aunt, step and foster-mother, Mahāpajāpati Gotamī and including his wife Yasodharā left the city in a body in right earnest and travelled on foot as far as Vaiśālī to seek admission into the *Sangha*. Ānanda pleaded their cause and the Master granted the prayer. His reluctance caused by fear lest the duration of the Good Faith be shortened, if women were admitted into it, was not without its effect.

The admission of women into the Śākya Order was no novelty in the history of the religions of ancient India, inasmuch as women had gained admission into the various earlier and contemporary religious Orders of the Hermits, the Wanderers, the Ājīvikas and the Jains.

The dedication of the Venuvana (Bamboo grove) to the Master and his followers by king Bimbisāra led to the foundation of the first Buddhist Vihāra in India which was followed in quick succession and in other parts of the Buddhist Midland as well by numerous other *vihāras* or *ārāmas* that served as permanent places of retreat, fixed abodes or monasteries for the brothers and sisters and the probationers under them. The ruling princes and the rich bankers vied with one another in erecting and endowing them.

There was yet no shrine attached to those *vihāras* to serve as a *sanctum sanctorum* or fixed place of worship. The lay worshippers who were in the rôle of devotees needed a shrine for the purpose of worship of a tangible substitute in the absence of the Master. The first shrine suggested was a Bo-tree grown from the graft or seed or sapling from the Bo-tree under which the Master attained to Buddhahood. This was followed by other objects used by the Master and by the *stūpas* or relic-shrines, and afterwards, by images. Thus the temples came into existence, and Buddhism became thoroughly Hinduized.

The number of followers and lay worshippers was on the increase year after year, during the forty-five years of the Master's ministration and preaching career. The new centres of activity grew up in the countries around Magadha. The movement remained confined yet to the Buddhist Midland. Many new *vihāras* were erected and dedicated. The rules and formalities increased. And yet nothing was enacted or promulgated in advance. As occasions demanded, the rules were either suggested by him or by others, but before they were enforced they needed his formal approval. Thus behind them all was his personal authority; he was the source of the Law and the person to set the seal of approval.

One distinctive feature of the organization was that it was designed to be an autonomous body guided by the principles and ideals. Thus he did relinquish the right of nominating a successor.

The total number of persons representing the male wayfarers in the Buddha's lifetime is not known. The number of bhikkhus present at a conference shortly after the Buddha's demise is given as 700,000, which, however exaggerated, cannot be regarded as the total number of bhikkhus of the time. A Buddhist canonical text speaks of 18,000 bhikkhuṇīs headed by Yasodharā, 10,000 headed by Yasovatī, 18,000 headed by Yasavatī, and 84,000 belonging to Brahmin families.

The conference held before the Second Buddhist Council was attended by 90,000 monks. In Aśoka's time 60,000 orthodox monks resided in the Asokārāma at Pāṭaliputra. The congregation

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held at Pāṭaliputra during the reign of Aśoka consisted of 80 crores bhikkhus, one hundred thousand of whom were Arahants (elect) and 90 hundred thousand nuns. We may leave out of account the overwhelming number of new converts made by the Buddhist missionaries sent to different places in India.

Aśoka fully realized the true spirit of rationality and human greatness and he found it clearly set forth in the teachings of the Buddha. His dedication to a humanized culture was an indirect service to Buddhism. He made arrangements in his kingdom to provide medicines for the bhikkhus. He sent missionaries to the various countries for the propagation of Buddhism, e.g., Majjhantika to Kāśmīra and Gandhāra, Mahādeva to Mahiṃsakaṃaṇḍala, Rakkhita to Vanavāsī, Yonakadhammarakkhita to Mahāraṭṭha, Mahārakkhita to Yonakaloka, Majjhima to Himavantapadesa, Soṇa and Uttara to Suvaṇṇabhūmi and Mahinda, Ittiya, Uttiya, Sambala and Bhaddasāla to Tambapaṇṇi (Ceylon).

The Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka was a devout Buddhist. During his reign the Fourth Buddhist Council was held under his patronage. He was converted to Buddhism by his preceptor, Aśvaghoṣa. During the time of the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas, Brahmanism became powerful. In the Gupta period Buddhism was on the decline as the Gupta monarchs were the supporters of Brahmanism. Harṣavardhana, king of Kanauj, was also a supporter of Buddhism. He forcibly secured from Kashmir the tooth relic of the Buddha which he enshrined in a monastery built by him to the west of Kanauj. The famous seat of learning during his time was Nālandā and Harṣa's gift to this University was a *vihāra*. During his reign the great Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang visited India. In the early part of the 8th century A.D. Gopāla, the king of Bengal, was a pious Buddhist and founded a great monastery at Odantapur (Bihar-sarif). Under the patronage of the next king Dharmapāla, Nālandā acquired a new vigour as a Buddhist seat of learning. He was the founder of the famous University of Vikramaśila in south Bihar. Devapāla, the most powerful of the Pāla kings, was jealous in the cause of Buddhism. The great monastery at Nālandā was restored after it was burnt down. Buddhism although declining in India flourished in the Pāla dominions. The monasteries of Magadha were then crowded with thousands of resident pupils. Several Buddhist *mahāvihāras* were founded in Bengal notably those at Somapura (Pāhāḍapur), Vajrayoginī (Vikramapur), Mahāsthān (Bogra) and Samataṭa (Tipperah).

Buddhism as an organized religion in Bihar declined during the Sena kings.

Aśoka was the pioneer of the great movement of Buddhist expansion outside India. The work begun by him was kept on by a continuous band of missionaries, members of royal family, nobles, traders, adventurers and colonists. According to Al-beruni, Khurasan, Persia, Iraq, Mosul and the country up to the frontiers of Syria were Buddhistic. Buddhism also spread in Afghanistan. Its traces are also found at Hadda, 5 miles south of Jalalabad in the valley of Kāpiśa. It also found its place in Central Asia roughly covering the region popularly known as the Chinese Turkestan. The earliest introduction of Buddhism is said to have taken place in Kashgarh in about the 2nd century A.D. In Yarkand and Khotan there were followers of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. Between Kashgarh and Turfan lay the town of Kucha which was the home of Kumārajīva. It became a centre of Mahayanism. The most important Buddhist settlement in Central Asia was Turfan. Extensive literary and archaeological remains have been discovered here. Buddhism in Khotan lived side by side with Zoroastrianism. China was known to the early Buddhists as Cīnaraṭṭha. The Indo-Scythians probably played the most important part towards the propagation of Buddhism in China. After the Indo-Scythians came the Parthians who continued the work of their predecessors. After them the mission of spread of Buddhism passed on to the Sogdians. Numerous traces of Sogdian translations of Buddhist texts have been discovered in Central Asia. Kucha took a leading part in the interpretation of Indian Buddhism to the Chinese. Khotan also played an important part in the diffusion of Buddhism into China. Tibet did not come into prominence in the history of Buddhism till the middle of the 7th century A.D. After the disintegration of Buddhism in India following the Muslim conquest of Bengal and Bihar, Indian Buddhist monks and scholars fled to Tibet and Nepal. With the accession of Kublai Khan to power in the 13th century A.D. Buddhism got a fillip in different parts of Asia.

Funan or ancient Cambodia played its part in the work of transmission of Buddhism to China. Chapmā was not destined to play the same important part. In the 7th century A.D. Java and Sumatra were centres of Buddhist learning and activity. Buddhism was introduced into China as early as the 1st century B.C. It was through China that Buddhism spread in Korea. Japan received the doctrine of the Buddha from China through Korea in about the middle of the 6th century A.D. All Japanese sects of importance are Mahayanists. Hīnayāna is represented only by the Kusha, Jo-jitsu and Risshu. Ceylon along with Burma and Siam is a centre of Theravāda Buddhism. The reputation of the *Saṅgha* in Ceylon became so established that towards the middle of the 15th century the reigning king of the country sought the help of the Mahāvihāra in Ceylon for the restoration of the *Sāsana*. Tradition ascribes the introduction of Buddhism into Burma to Aśoka. The *Sīhala-Saṃgha* gradually established itself in Lower Burma. In the 11th century A.D. many Buddhist monuments and monastic establishments came to be erected and embellished with Buddhist sculptures and paintings. The earliest trace of Buddhism in Indo-China is indicated in a Sanskrit inscription palaeographically datable in the 2nd or 3rd century of the Christian era. In the second quarter of the 9th century a Buddhist of Pāṇḍurāṅga, Samanta by name, dedicated the monasteries and temples to the Jina and Śiva. The growing importance of Buddhism is affirmed by the foundation of the great monastery of Lokeśvara, a pious work of king Indravarman II. A number of clay medallions bearing images of the Buddha and Lokeśvara were picked up in the caves of northern Annam. The ruins of Champā have yielded a large number of bronze and stone statues of Buddha, Lokeśvara and Prajñāpāramitā. In the south of Funan the Malaya Peninsula was essentially a Buddhist country. The trace of Buddhism in Java is available in the account of Fa-Hien. Towards the middle of the 8th century Java, specially central and western Java, passed from the hands of the Śaiva rulers into the control of a Mahayanist dynasty from Sumatra. The Sailendras were fervent Buddhists professing the Mahāyāna faith. The magnificent monument of Barabudor in central Java was the work of the Sailendras. All varieties of Mahāyāna, Vajrayāna, Bodhisattvas, Ādi Buddhas, Dhyānī Buddhas, etc., follow the eastern school of Indian art. The adoption of Hindu gods in Buddhist pantheon may be found. The later phases of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India are also met with in eastern Java. Buddhism could not make much headway in Bali. Buddhism prominently figures today as one of the four world religions, each retaining its dominant hold over certain peoples and regions. It is said that the mighty river of Buddhism flowed out of India in different channels, north, south, east and west, across the seas, across the deserts and through the mountain valleys, to irrigate and fertilize other soils creating everywhere a glorious history for itself. In its numerical strength it either excels all other religions of the world or is excelled by no other religion than Christianity. Hinduism with its main hold on India proper stands third, while Islam with its main hold on the Middle East stands fourth. Buddhism continues to be the living faith of the Sinhalese people of Ceylon and of all the prominent Mongolian peoples who inhabit Eastern Asia from Tibet to Japan and from Mongolia to Siam. Since the foundation of certain Buddhist societies in Europe and U.S.A., a few persons among the Westerners are passing as Buddhists. The popularity of Buddhism as a religion in the West is due partly to the theosophical movement initiated by Madame Blavatsky and Col. Olcot. But the estimation of Buddhism, its ethics, psychology, philosophy, art and architecture, greatly rest on the brilliant work done in the West by the explorers, archaeologists and oriental scholars. It is the ethical aspect of Buddhism that made its first great appeal to the people of the West to whom it came rather as a surprise that five centuries before the rise of Christianity there could be a religion propounded in the Gangetic Valley of Northern India, which, in its ethical principles and spirit of love and compassion, was not only equal but in some respects superior to their faith. The strong psychological foundation of *Buddhism* has in recent years added much to its prestige. The contribution of Buddhism to the development of the religions, art and architecture of Asia has evoked genuine admiration. Buddhism has provided each and every Buddhist country with a religious monument serving as its artistic landmark. It has helped forward the development of various national scripts, languages and literatures. Rationality, tolerance, moral purity and fortitude, friendliness and humanism are some of the distinctive features of the religion of Śākyamuni. Even as a form of mysticism its appeal is no way less than that of other religions.

So far as India is concerned, it is a lost ground to Buddhism. It lingers as the ancestral faith of some people who live in Assam, Chittagong, East Bengal, Darjeeling, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and Simla and in the areas along lower spurs of the eastern Himalayas. They appear as descendants of the Shans (Thais) of Upper Burma, the Arakanese, the Tibeto-Burmans, and the Tibetans. The Baruas of Chittagong alone are the people who adhere to Hindu customs and usages and who are racially allied to the Baruas of Assam.

The case of Buddhism is still much prejudiced. It is regarded by the general populace as an alien faith like Christianity. It is judged as a notable form of atheism and materialism. The Hindus count the Buddha as one of the ten Incarnations of Viṣṇu and ironically extol him as a disparager of the Vedas and Vedic sacrifices, involving the slaughter of animals and as a seducer of the demons. Even in serious books on theology and philosophy we find that life, according to Buddhism, ends with death. The orthodox Brahmin view of Buddhism is entirely based upon Mādhavācārya's catalogue of Indian philosophies. Among the Buddhists themselves, the form of Buddhism which is now current is hardly distinguishable from the general form of Hinduism. It has degenerated into ritualism, idolatry, and superficiality. There are the signs of re-awakening that are greatly due to the religious missions from Arakan and Ceylon. The Bengal Buddhist Association, the Mahabodhi Society of India, and the Buddha Society of Bombay are some of the modern Buddhist organizations that are actively bringing about a regeneration of the faith. But Buddhism is becoming very popular through the efforts of the modern archaeologists, epigraphists and scholars. The world is now in a far better position to understand and appreciate the real position of Buddhism and its original contributions to Indian thought and Indian humanity. We now realize that 'Buddhism and Vedānta are the two main currents of Indian thought', or that 'the half of Indian thought is Buddhism, which is rational, critical, creative, directive and progressive.' We can clearly see that its general mission, like that of Christianity, was to fulfil the Law and not to destroy it. It took a hold against the caste-system and showed moral courage in driving superstition out of man's mind. It supplied an idealistic theory of art in the place of the earlier imitation or mechanical theory, and thereby served to make Indian and Asiatic art truly creative. It developed a rational theory of sensation, perception, and knowledge. The credit of founding the Mediaeval school of Indian Logic and developing epistemology as a distinct branch of Indian philosophy is due to the Buddhists. Buddhist thinkers contributed most to the development of Indian dialectics. The Brahmanists accepted many of the progressive thoughts and ideas of Buddhism with or without acknowledgment, although, in point of fact, they went on in their own old ways as regards their social policy, art of polity and mode of thinking. In other words, the mere incorporation of the progressive trends of thought in their books did not come to mean absorption especially when those ideas were neither given effect to nor acted upon in life. The strong or weak point of Buddhism is that it did not introduce or impose any new social code. Its mission was mainly educational or cultural. It is well contended that 'hopeless internal decay' does not account for the dwindling of its influence with the masses of India. Buddhism lost its foothold with the fall of the Mahāvihāras, many of which rose into the eminence of residential universities that were the main centres of cultural activity.

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MISCELLANEA

SIDDHAYĀTRĀ

It might look like raking up a question on which apparently the last word has already been uttered, and that by so eminent an authority as Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri of the University of Madras.[1] There is, however, some literary evidence bearing upon the question, which, so far as I know, has not yet been taken into account and which, when examined, may not quite uphold the view so ably advocated by Prof. Sastri. The primary object in writing this note is to draw attention to the fresh data, in the light of which the question may be reconsidered.

Let us first briefly survey the ground covered so as to have a clear idea of the point at issue. M. Huber rendered the term *siddhayātrā* (literally 'a successful journey or voyage'), occurring in a Sanskrit inscription of the early 10th century A.D. from Annam (ancient Campā), by 'la science magique'. Some other scholars, mostly French and Dutch, followed M. Huber in interpreting the compound *siddhayātra* (literally 'one whose journey or voyage has been successful'), which occurs in several earlier inscriptions from Indonesia. The association of magic with these expressions gave rise to a theory to the effect that **somewhere** in Java there must **once** have existed **a school** which attracted people, desirous of acquiring **that magic power,** from the neighbouring lands and islands. This theory progressively gained ground until it received a setback when it was pointed out that similar expressions found in the *Pañcatantra* and the *Jātakamālā* ill assort with the 'magic' theory. In view of this Dr. Stutterheim attempted a compromise by eliminating the magic element but retaining the rest of the indeterminate characteristics of the theory. Prof. Sastri then endeavoured to set the controversy at rest by taking stock of the conflicting views. He finally adopted the partially discarded theory, maintaining that the concerned passages in the *Pañcatantra* and the *Jātakamālā* do not go against it but rather strengthen it. He further supported it with certain quotations from the *Mahābhārata* and some of the *Purāṇas*.

It would have been more helpful, had Prof. Sastri tried to explain the nature of the magic and to locate its centre said to have been frequented by its seekers. Instead, he contented himself by merely emphasizing 'that *siddhayātrā* in Indonesian inscriptions is a technical phrase with unmistakable reference to the acquisition of

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[1] *JGIS.*, Vol. IV (1937), pp. 128–36.

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magic power of **some sort or other'** by undertaking 'a pilgrimage to **some kṣetra'**.

The black types in this and the previous paragraph bring out the vague character of the theory, which reminds one of :

yasya kasya taror mūle yena kena vimiśritam |
yasmai kasmai pradātavyaṁ yad vā tad vā bhaviṣyati ||

'Under some tree or other, mixed with something or other, it should be given to someone or other, and it will result in something or other.'

Prof. Sastri, apart from interpreting the relevant texts of the *Pañcatantra* and the *Jātakamālā* differently,[1] minimizes their importance, as may be inferred from his remark: 'both works most probably anterior to the earliest of the inscriptions from Indonesia mentioning *siddhayātrā.*' [2] This shortcoming, if a shortcoming it is, is more than compensated for by the references that follow.

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[1] It is doubtful if the interpretation offered by Prof. Sastri is wholly acceptable. Anyway, it is no use debating that here. Besides, we can do without those refutable passages, now that we have got very convincing evidence from more reliable sources. There is, however, one small point that may be discussed here with advantage. Prof. Sastri does not attach much significance to the distinction drawn between *siddha* and *siddhi*. He takes it for granted that both can be used promiscuously. He takes his stand on Pāṇini, III, 3, 114. He forgets that even a grammarian would refrain from employing a form, however correct it grammatically be, if it militates against the common usage, unless he has special reasons for doing so. And the form *siddha* is one such. It will be difficult to find an instance, in epigraphy or in literature, where *siddha* is used in the sense of *siddhi*. True, many early inscriptions begin with the auspicious formula *siddham* which is sometimes loosely rendered by 'success'. But needless to say that that is only the initial word of some such expression as *siddhaṁ naḥ samīhitam,* and as such it is often literally and more correctly translated by 'fulfilled' or 'accomplished'. Instead of *siddham,* many other inscriptions have *siddhir astu,* but seldom a variant *siddham astu* which one would expect if *siddham* can be used substantively. The substantive use of such forms as *samīhitam, hasitam, ruditam, gītam, pralapitam, bhāṣitam* and so forth is perfectly understandable, for they have, irrespective of grammar, the backing of the common usage. And even when a poet like Māgha prefers the rather uncommon *gatam* to *gatiḥ*, as in *gataṁ tiraścīnam anūrusāratheḥ* (Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha*, I, 2), he has his justification in the requirements of metre, rhythm, alliteration and the like. But no such reason can be adduced in the case of *siddha* in *siddhayātrā* and the allied expressions with which we are concerned. And it is significant that in all these cases the form *siddha* alone is employed and nowhere *siddhi*. And yet the advocates of the 'magic' theory all take it in the sense of *siddhi*, most of them even correcting the reading *siddha* into *siddhi* to make it yield the sense that suits their interpretation. This emendation is suggested even by certain lexicographers in connection with *siddhayātrika,* which they need not do, if the very word *siddha* is capable of yielding the sense of *siddhi* according to Pāṇini, III, 3, 114. We have no right to presume that all these scholars were ignorant of that simple rule of grammar.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 132.

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First of all, we have the authority of the *Mahābhārata* itself. Vaiśampāyana, relating the merits of the study of the epic to Janamejaya, says, *inter alia:*

> *vaṇijaḥ siddhayātrāḥ syur vīrā vijayam āpnuyuḥ* ।
> *āstikān śrāvayen nityaṁ brāhmaṇān anasūyakān* ॥
>
> (Ādiparvan, ch. 51, v. 36).[1]

The context shows that there is no question of any magic here. The first sentence simply means 'The traders will be successful in their voyages (if they read or listen to the *Mahābhārata*)'.

Next, we have the testimony even of the earlier epic, namely Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. Rāma, accompanied by Sumantra, seated in his chariot, is proceeding from his palace to that of Kaikeyī on the day fixed for his *yauvarājyābhiṣeka*. He is yet unaware of the terrible news of his exile that is in store for him there. The streets of Ayodhyā are full of jubilant crowds, eagerly looking forward to the happy hour of Rāma's *abhiṣeka*. When they see him pass by, they admire him and shower their blessings on him. The greetings emanating from the womanfolk in the crowd include:

> *nūnaṁ nandati te mātā Kausalyā mātṛnandana* ।
> *paśyantī siddhayātraṁ tvāṁ pitryaṁ rājyam upasthitam* ॥
>
> (Ayodhyākāṇḍa, ch. 16, v. 40.)[2]

There is no suggestion of any magic in this context either. The commentator Rāma in his commentary *Tilaka* simply paraphrases the term *siddhayātram* in this verse by *saphalagamanam*.

This stock phrase, as it might now well appear to be, seems to have its roots buried deeper still. For we have a closely analogous expression, a more explicit one indeed, in a work of the Vedic category. It reads:

> *Kaśyapasy = ātithiḥ siddhagamanaḥ siddhāgamanaḥ*
>
> (*Taittirīyāraṇyaka*, *prapāṭhaka* 1, *anuvāka* 8.)

The double compound of this text plainly means 'one successful in his onward journey and successful in his return journey'. And it is obvious enough that *gamana* and *āgamana* amount to a *yātrā*. Likewise, no connection of any magic is to be sought here.

It may be possible to find many more instances of the use of *siddhayātra* or allied expressions by a careful search in the wilderness of Sanskrit literature. Two things emerge clearly out of the foregoing examples: first, the expression was commonly used among the people in India, so much so that it had become a set expression, a stock phrase, so to say, centuries before Christ; secondly, it had no

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[1] The reference is to P. P. S. Sastri's edition.

[2] The reference is to the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press edition with the commentary (*Tilaka*) of Rāma, and to the Madras Law Journal Press edition.

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tinge of any magic about it. And we know how largely the inscriptions of Indonesia have drawn upon the epics and early classical poems of India. Instances of their echoes in the terminology and phraseology of Indonesian epigraphy can be cited by the score.[1] Thus, possibly the expression *siddhayātrāṁ samāgamat* or *siddhayātrāṁ upāgamat* found in the Nhan-biéu inscription is but an adaptation along the lines of such borrowings, without having any hidden 'magic' about it.

B. CH. CHHABRA.

GENERAL ASPAVARMA AND HIS DYNASTY

There are some Indo-Scythian coins which present a singular feature. These present Greek legends on one side and Indian on the other side. For instance, the Greek legends on one side name King Azes (now called Azes II) and apply to him the usual Greek epithets written in Greek characters—Basileus Basileuon Magaloy Azoy—while the Indian side bears the following legend written in Kharoṣṭhī characters—'*Indravarmaputrasa Aspavarmasa Strategasa jayatasa,*' '(of) the victorious general Aspavarma, son of Indravarma.' This second Azes ruled between A.D. 1–19. Thus this Asparavarma piece is marked by two unusual numismatic features. Usually the legend in Kharoṣṭhī characters copies the Greek inscription of the obverse. But here the Kharoṣṭhī legend is completely independent of the Greek. In the second place, while all the words of the Indian legend are Indian, they include the Greek word *strategos* to which is added the Sanskrit genitive case-ending. The employment of a Greek term in the Indian legend was no doubt due to the fact that it could best signify the particular position which Aspavarma occupied in the Greek administration under Azes II. As Dr. W. W. Tarn points out (*The Greek in Bactria and India*, p. 241), the Indian Satrapies under Greek administration were governed by generals, *strategoi*. If Aspavarma were an Indian, no other Indian leader is called a *strategos* in any official document.

Alexander Cunningham has noticed some rare pieces of Aspavarma himself (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1890), together with two pieces of which the reverses bear the legend *Vijayamitraputrasa*, 'Vijayamitra's son'. From numismatic point of view, the type of coinage of Vijayamitra's son is the same as that of Aspavarma's coinage, though they differ in style. But they have common designs on both Obverse and Reverse.

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[1] Compare, for instance, a reference given in *JGIS.*, Vol. XII, p. 15, and another in note 2 on p. 54 of *JRASB.* (Letters), Vol. I (1935).

In the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1910 are published coins of the same Aspavarma described as son of Indravarma, but as *strategos* of the successor of Azes II, viz. Gondophares (*c.* A.D. 19–45), the renowned Indo-Parthian King described as King of Kings. The Greek legend of these coins is somewhat illegible. But its Kharoṣṭhī legend is the same as that of the Azes money, with the addition of the epithet *Tratarasa* which is the equivalent of the Greek term *soter*. This term points to a higher status than the term *strategos*, almost approaching royal status.

Sir John Marshall's excavations at Taxila have also brought to light a small coin of copper or mixed metal, which resembles the Azes money, but its Greek legend cannot be read. Its Kharoṣṭhī legend runs as follows: *Indravarmaputrasa Aspavarmasa Strategasa.* There are also discovered completely new bilingual silver coins of Indo-Parthian type, bearing on the obverse the symbol of Gondophares. Unfortunately, their Greek legends are not legible but they bear a Kharoṣṭhī inscription which mentions a person, named Sasan described as a *Mahārājā* and as the 'brother's son of Aspa'. The legend may be reconstructed as follows: *Maharajasa Aspabhrataputrasa tratarasa sasasa.* In this legend Aspa may be taken to be the *Strategos* Aspavarma. It is interesting to note that two separate issues were struck in great abundance in the joint names of Gondophares and Sasan (*Panjab Museum Catalogue*, pp. 147, 148). The Kharoṣṭhī legend speaks of Gondophares and of Sasan but the relationship, if any, between these two associated rulers, is not stated. Very probably, Sasan came to be a colleague of equal status with Gondophares. E. J. Rapson suggests that he was possibly a *strategos* or commander-in-chief (*Cambridge History of India*, I, 577). The Kharoṣṭhī legends of all these coins show that Aspavarma had served as *strategos* under both Azes II and his successor Gondophares under whom he was able to improve considerably his position later, and became a *Mahārājā*. Sasan, however, had a better start than his uncle Aspavarma. He began where his uncle ended as Mahārājā under Gondophares. And later he became his colleague of the same imperial status.

P. Thorburn possesses two coins which exhibit fully the Kharoṣṭhī legend which runs thus:—*Vijayamitraputrasa Itravarmasa apracharajasa*, '(of) the son of Vijayamitra, Itravarma, the *apracharaja.*' Itravarma may be taken to be Indravarma, father of Aspavarma, and, in that case, these coins reveal a family of four generations, grandfather Vijayamitra, father Indravarma, son Aspavarma and nephew Sasan who seems to have had the most successful career of them all, having achieved an equality of status with Gondophares, the King of Kings. The title of *Apracharaja* is somewhat singular, it means a King without a rival.

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It may also be noted that while the names Vijayamitra and Indravarma are Indian, the name Sasan is Iranian. The fact was that this family was not Hindu by race. In those days many Saka military chiefs were fond of assuming Indian Sanskrit names, became Hinduized, and described themselves as Kṣatriyas.

About 1936 was discovered in Bajaur near Peshawar a steatite casket bearing two sets of inscriptions. The earlier one records the consecration of the corporeal relics of the Buddha in the reign of *Mahārājā* Menander and mentions the name of the donor of the casket as Viyakamitra who is also described as *apracharaja*, 'one without any royal rival or adversary.'

Sten Konow holds that the first part of the inscription, mentioning Menander (second century B.C.), must be taken as standing by itself without reference to his feudatory or any princeling and that the other part of the inscription mentioning *apracharaja* Viyakamitra was added perhaps a century later. It may also be assumed that the casket was the gift of the ruler of the region in which it was found. We may therefore work out the following history: the unrivalled (*apracharaja*), prince Vijayamitra ruled in Bajaur. The title *apracharaja* seems to have been his dynastic title because it was transmitted to his son Indravarma. Thus we have a House of princelings, Vijayamitra, his son Indravarma, and his grandson Aspavarma as ruling in ancient Udyana (Swat valley). Aspavarma's nephew Sasan achieved for his House the greatest power and prestige by his position as a co-ruler with the paramount sovereign of that region named Gondophares whose authority probably extended from Kabul to the Jumna. It may also be noted that the date of middle of the first century B.C. as assumed by Sten Konow is quite consistent with the fact that his grandson Aspavarma lived fifty years later, in the reign of Azes II (*c.* A.D. 1–19), as narrated above (*References*: N. G. Majumdar, 'The Bajaur Casket of the Reign of Menander', *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xxiv, part 1, January 1937; for joint issues of Gondophares and Sasan see *Indian Museum Catalogue*, vol. I, and *P. M. Cat.*, Pl. XV, 35. The subject of this article I had the pleasure of discussing with the renowned Numismatist, Dr. R. B. Whitehead, at his home at Cambridge in February, 1947.)

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI.

REVIEWS

WAR IN ANCIENT INDIA by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A., with a Foreword by Lt.-Col. Sir Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar. Second edition. Published by Macmillan & Co., 1948.

This book was first published in 1944 and the second edition is just out. I congratulate the author for the speedy sale of his first edition and I think that the present edition will also have a good demand in the market. The book consists of nine chapters with four appendices, a bibliography and an index. The author has ably examined the psychological factors leading to ancient Indian wars, *viz.*, (*a*) The mental atmosphere of the community being a caste society, (*b*) psychological barrenness of peace, (*c*) heroism and adventure, (*d*) human pugilism and pugnacity, (*e*) defence complex, (*f*) angry behaviour and spirit of jealousy, and (*g*) the mastery motive. Professor Dikshitar is right in pointing out that policy and method characterized wars in ancient India and that the wars were not recklessly entered into and ruthlessly fought. In his chapter on the laws of war he has ably shown that they, including the laws of chivalry, were so varied and complicated that they led to ineffective discipline, in some cases owing to excess on the part of leaders, and in other cases to the gradual extinction of the martial qualities by misplaced generosity through forgiving dangerous enemies who sought shelter in order to study the weakness of the enemy. He has admirably dealt with the weapons of war as far as can be gathered from literature. He has referred to the *āgneyāstras* (fire-arms) and has made a careful examination of them on the evidence of the Epics and the *Purāṇas*. Such minor weapons as *bhindipāla*, *śakti*, *tomara*, *nālika*, *laguḍa*, *pāśa*, *cakra*, *dantakaṇṭa*, *musuṇḍi*, have not escaped his attention. It is interesting to note that all the weapons were used in battles at the time of the Epics. The author has made use of the *Jātakas* in finding out references to various arms but in *Jātaka* (Vol. V, 128) mention is made of the following armours: *sandhiyuttameṇḍakasiṅgadhanu* (a bow made of the horn of a ram), *sandhiyuttatuṇhīra* (a quiver made up of joints). In the same *Jātaka* there is a reference to *sannāhakañcuka*[1] which is a kind of armour but its details are not given. The author has referred to javelin but he has not mentioned a kind of light javelin called *nārāca* (an iron weapon)[2] used by the Bodhisatta. In p. 105 of his book the author has referred to it on the authority of the *Vaśiṣṭha Dhanurveda*. Various ancient forms of weapons as they appear in the sculptures have received a good treatment at the hands of the author. Some kinds of arms and armours exhibited in various coins of India have been well examined. The Chapter on army and army divisions having various sub-sections dealing with Elephants, Cavalry, Infantry, Admiralty, Units of the Army, etc., is very interesting. In his Chapter on the Departments of the Army, the author has not failed to do full justice to such topics as War-Council, War-finance, Arsenal, Foreign Department, Intelligence Department, Military and Non-Military Officers. As regards strategy and tactics in War discussed in Chapter VI, the author has divided wars under three heads: Land-war, Naval-war, and Aerial-war, but he has not gone into the details of these wars. Under strategical considerations he has dealt with the actual march of the army. He has shown from the *Agni Purāṇa*, how an army marched with its different units. Encampment, site for the battle-field, construction and siege of forts, siege-operations are some of the interesting topics discussed by him. The author has clearly shown that the tactics were effectively used both in

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[1] Defensive weapon made up of steel rings-*saṃyutta*, V, 6 ; *Jātaka* II, 443., etc.

[2] *Majjhima*, I, 429 ; *Jātaka*, III 322 ; *Milinda*, 105, 244, etc.

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righteous and unrighteous warfares. Aerial warfare is a burning problem of the day and is sure to attract as much attention as it deserves. His treatment of naval warfare is equally interesting, although it must be admitted that the materials for such a study are very scanty. In his Chapter on the history of diplomacy, the author has rightly shown that the ancient Indian diplomacy was 'a curious mixture of idealism and realism and was governed by sound principles of international morality'. The book is on the whole very readable, and it will surely be well received by all those interested in this important topic. The utility of the book has been greatly enhanced by supplying an useful Index and seven plates at the end illustrating ancient Indian warfares.

B. C. Law.

HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF INSCRIPTIONAL PRAKRITS. By Madhukar Anant Mehendale; Deccan College Dissertation Series: 3; pp. XXXVIII, 345; Poona, 1948.

Poona may well be proud of this splendid work, which everyone interested in Indian Linguistics must always have at his elbow beside Pischel's Prakrit Grammar. What Mr. Mehendale has done is to present the entire inscriptional materials dating from the middle of the third century B.C. to the end of the fourth century A.D. in such a convenient manner that the relevant forms on any particular point can be picked out in a moment by every intelligent reader. But it is not merely a work of mechanical recording, though that too by itself would have been a stupendous achievement. The author has moreover tried to locate, both in time and space, the exact spot where each of the various speech-tendencies involved had its origin, and to indicate the directions in which those tendencies spread. For this purpose he has divided the inscriptions into four regional groups, Western, Southern, Central and Eastern, leaving out Asoka's imperial edicts dictated from Pāṭaliputra, which he deals with separately in his first chapter. Author's synoptic treatment of the Asokan inscriptions in contrast to his regional treatment of the rest, suggests that he is not prepared to accept the Asokan dialects as truly independent living idioms. There he is right in my opinion. Indeed the Asokan inscriptions of the south could not have been meant for the people to read and understand. But why then the dialectal variations also in Asoka's southern inscriptions? This question, so far as I know, has not yet been answered—not even by Mr. Mehendale in the work under review. I have very little to add by way of criticism. Only it seems to me that in phonology Mr. Mehendale has not always fully considered the possibility of compensatory nasalisation, which is all the more important since it may not have been accorded proper graphic recognition in the inscriptions, as he himself has admitted (e.g., p. 87). We have a typical case of compensatory nasalisation in *Sankaṃsana<Saṅkassana<Saṅkarṣaṇa* (p. 83), and who can say that we have not it also in dasana<darśana (p. 82) and in many other similar instances?

Batakrishna Ghosh.

LITTÉRATURE SANSKRITE par Louis Renou, avec en appendice ure table de concordance du Rigveda; Glossaire de l'Hinduisme; Collection dirigée par Jean Herbert et Lizelle Reymond; Fascicule V; pp. 1-160; Paris 1946.

This book aspires to be nothing more than a descriptive index to Sanskrit literature, but since it is written by its author it has all the characteristics of the work of a master hand. Moreover, it gives us a foretaste of what Professor Renou's *History of Sanskrit Literature* will be like when it comes. But even as it is, this little descriptive index gives the essential matter much more than any of the existing

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works on the history of Sanskrit literature, for the author has fully taken into account the latest publications and the most up-to-date research. The author has purposely confined himself to the Brahmanical literature, taking note only of those Buddhist and Jaina texts of which the sectarian character is not too obtrusive. Thus works in Prākrit and Apabhraṃśa have found mention in it, though not those in Pali. Each of the paragraphs, arranged alphabetically according to the names of the authors and the titles of their works, mostly very short, is a model of perspicuous presentation. Bibliography could not but be meagre in a work which in fact claims to be nothing more than a descriptive index.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

LA KĀVYAMĪMĀṂSĀ DE RĀJAŚEKHARA, traduite du Sanskrit par Nadine Stchoupak et Louis Renou (Société Asiatique VIII; pp. 1–286; Paris 1946).

This translation of Rājaśekhara's well-known work was begun by the late Madame Nadine Stchoupak, but fate willed that it should not be completed by her. Her work has now been completed by her friend Professor Louis Renou. Besides giving a literal translation, Professor Renou has dealt with numerous minute problems in elucidation of the text in the foot-notes which are so numerous that what we have is practically a running commentary on the whole text. The work under review is therefore much more than what its title announces it to be, and every page of it bears eloquent witness to Professor Renou's vast erudition and conscientious versatility. Those who have read the text already will be surprised to see when reading this translation how much they had missed before.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

LES ÉCOLES VÉDIQUES ET LA FORMATION DU VEDA par Louis Renou (Société Asiatique IX; pp. 1–225; Paris 1947.)

Nothing has been published in recent years in the field of Vedic philology that can even distantly be compared with this book, in which even quite minor texts, usually altogether ignored in accounts of the Vedic literature, have ben subjected to penetrating scrutiny by a scholar like Professor Renou, who has here discussed threadbare the problem of affiliation to particular schools of particular texts, from the *Saṃhitās* to the *Gṛhyasūtras*, taking full account in each case of the internal evidence, linguistic and otherwise, as well as the external evidence afforded by the ancillary literature, the Purāṇas, and other possible sources. But the most important feature of the work is contained in those parts where, apart from the question of affiliation, the author, quite objectively, deals with the structure, contents and language of the *Saṃhitās*, *Brāhmaṇas*, *Āraṇyakas*, *Upaniṣads* and the *Sūtras*. Literary evaluation of these texts has not been attempted at all. Otherwise the book under review might well have been called a critical survey of the Vedic literature.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

NOTES AND NEWS

The Presidential Address delivered by Dr. B. C. Law to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal has been well received.

Dr. E. J. Thomas:—Comprehensive and enlightening survey . . . most instructive as to what has been done as well as a wide sweeping picture of the many tasks before us.

Mr. Oldham:—Most interesting and comprehensive address.

Dr. R. L. Turner:—Most interesting address . . . It is indeed a very fine account of what has been done during your Presidency of the Society.

Sir John Marshall:—I have found it of very great interest and a most valuable survey of what you are achieving in the field of Indian research. It is no less valuable, too, for the many pointers it gives for future research.

Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri:—I have read with very great pleasure and profit your lucid survey of the present position in oriental studies and of the noble part played in them by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal during the year of your stewardship. I did not know of the Sanskrit version of the Achaemenid inscription by Dr. Sukumar Sen and I have learnt many other valuable things besides from your learned address.

The Allahabad University conferred on Dr. B. C. Law the honorary degree of D.Litt. at the Convocation held in December 1947 on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of the University.

The First volume of the comprehensive history of India which is being edited by Dr. B. C. Law under the auspices of the Indian History Congress is progressing very well. The editor expects to bring out the volume in 1949.

B. M. Barua Commemoration Volume

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BUDDHA'S LAST MEAL

By E. J. THOMAS

The subject of this note is one that would have been highly suitable for the abilities of the scholar whose loss we are now deploring.

The meaning of *sūkaramaddava*, the food eaten by Buddha at his last meal, has often been debated. My immediate purpose, however, is not to discuss modern theories, but rather to ask what we may take to have been the conclusions of the earliest commentators. These are Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the *Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta* (4. 18) and Dhammapāla on the same passage, as it occurs in his commentary on *Udāna*, VIII, 5. Their comments consist of two parts, that in which they set forth their own views and that in which they record the views of others.

Buddhaghosa's words are: *Sūkaramaddavan ti nātitaruṇassa nātijiṇṇassa ekajeṭṭhaka-sūkarassa pavattamaṃsaṃ. Taṃ kira muduñ c'eva siniddhañ ca hoti. Taṃ paṭiyādāpetvā sādhukaṃ pacāpetvā ti attho.* This tells us that the substance was the fresh flesh at an excellent boar, neither too young nor too old, that it was held to be soft and oily, and that Cunda caused it to be prepared and well cooked.

Dhammapāla gives the same information in a more concise form, but he makes an important addition by telling us that the explanation comes from the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*. It is probable that all our real information goes back to this lost commentary. His words are: *Sūkaramaddavan ti sūkarassa mudu siniddhaṃ pavattamaṃsan ti. Mahā-aṭṭhakathāyaṃ vuttaṃ.* Buddhaghosa has merely expanded this, and there can be little doubt that he as well as Dhammapāla drew his information from the old commentary. We may form the important conclusion that neither of them knew more about the matter than what they found in this commentary, and there they found that it was boar's flesh. There is no reason to think that they knew more than what the commentary told them. They were living in South India or Ceylon, several centuries after the event, and what they knew depended on the tradition preserved in the commentaries, and not upon any knowledge of the preparation of food in the time of Buddha.

The word in question does not simply mean boar's flesh, but in the view of the commentators some confection made from it by cooking. This gave the opportunity to seek for other interpretations. Dr. Waldschmidt in his important discussion of the question says that already among the old native commentators a great uncertainty prevails about the meaning of *sūkaramaddavaṃ*.[1] This is scarcely a fair statement of the problem. The two oldest commentators are not uncertain. They are in agreement, and it is clear that they state definitely that it was boar's flesh. They record the views of others, which they reject. Buddhaghosa himself does not seem to have known of them, as the passage in his commentary recording them does not occur in the oldest MS., and that this is not an accidental omission, but a later addition to the text is shown by the fact that in one MS. it has been added in brackets. Consequently we cannot suppose that the matter is very old, even if it is as old as Buddhaghosa. The words are: *Sūkara-maddavan ti pana mudu-odanassa pañca-gorasa-yūsa-pācana-vidhānassa nām' etaṃ yathā gava-pānaṃ nāma pāka-nāmaṃ. Keci bhaṇanti: sūkaramaddavaṃ nāma rasāyanavidhi, taṃ pana rasāyana-satthe āgacchati. Taṃ Cundena Bhagavato parinibbānaṃ na bhaveyyā ti, rasāyanaṃ paṭiyattan ti.* Here we have two interpretations: (1) that it was soft rice prepared according to a method of cooking with the five products of the cow, and (2) that it was a kind of *rasāyana* such as occurs in the *rasāyana-śāstras*. *Rasāyana* is well known in Sanskrit. Böhtlingk in his shorter Dictionary explains it as an elixir, a class of substances intended to strengthen the organism, to revive it, and to give long life. That this is meant here is shown by the further statement that Cunda had prepared it in order that the Nirvāṇa of the Lord should not take place, i.e. in order that he should continue to live.

The text of the corresponding passage in the Udāna commentary is in a sad state. The editor puts the correct reading *rasāyanan ti* in the margin, and gives as the text the meaningless *rasāyantan ti*. He appears to suggest in a note that this is meant for *rasāyatanan ti*, and it is probable that this is what the scribe intended to write, but here it makes no sense. The following words show that an elixir or strengthening drug was meant: 'They say that Cunda having heard that the Lord will today attain Nirvāṇa, thought that surely after having eaten it he would live longer, gave it from a desire that the Master should live long.'

Why should these views have arisen? They are in contradiction not only with the older view but with one another. Dr. Waldschmidt suggests that they are due to the objection to flesh-eating in some schools. This objection is quite clear in the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra*. This is not an early sūtra, but it may quite well have existed in the time of Buddhaghosa. There is however no indication of this motive in the commentaries.

The view that the food was a preparation of milk and rice admits of another explanation. Later on in the sutta the mention of this meal, Buddha's last meal, is brought into comparison with his last meal before his enlightenment. Both of them are said to be alms of greater fruit and blessing than any others. As the meal before his enlightenment was an elaborate preparation of milk, it would not be surprising for a commentator to explain the last meal as being of the same kind, but it does not appear how this could be an explanation of *sūkaramaddava*. The view also that it was *rasāyana* is no explanation. Even if Cunda's motive had been the wish to give a strengthening elixir, it tells us nothing about the nature of the substance or its name.

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[1] *Beiträge zur Textgeschichte des Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, Göttingen, 1939.

The two remaining explanations mentioned by Dhammapāla both rest on the view that the substance was something vegetable:—(1) *sūkarehi maddita-vaṃsa-kalīro*, sprout of bamboo made soft by boars, and (2) *sūkarehi maddita-padese jātaṃ ahicchattakaṃ*, mushroom grown in a place made soft by boars. The last has been a favourite explanation of modern expounders. Rhys Davids said it was truffle, apparently because he knew that both truffles and mushrooms are fungi. But the picturesque name *ahicchattaka*, 'snake-umbrella', proclaims that it was not like truffle an underground fungus.

We are thus left with the view of the earliest commentator that the substance was a preparation of boar's flesh. The two oldest extant commentators accept this view. The other theories recorded are some of them absurd, and probably not old, as Buddhaghosa does not appear to have heard of them. Neither he nor Dhammapāla knew much, but it was probably all that was known in South India some eight centuries after the event. One gap in the evidence still remains. What was the word used in Sanskrit versions of the Canon? We may guess that it was *sūkara-mārdava*. The researches of Dr. Waldschmidt carry the matter a little further. He has been collecting all the remains of the Sanskrit version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* as well as those preserved in Tibetan and Chinese versions, and has translated the account of Buddha's last meal from the Sarvāstivādin *Dīrghāgama*. The translation of the Chinese words is given by Dr. Waldschmidt as *Sandel* (*Baum*) *pilze*, 'sandal-wood mushroom'. The Chinese translator has not tried to translate the Sanskrit word, but has taken the interpretation which he found current, probably in a Sarvāstivādin school, and which almost agrees with the *ahicchattaka* recorded by Dhammapāla.

WAS THERE ANY VAISHṆAVA SECT IN EXISTENCE IN THE GUPTA PERIOD?

By D. R. BHANDARKAR

Though there are many Paramabhāgavatas especially among the Gupta Princes, it was not clear whether there was any Vaishṇava sects flourishing in the Gupta period. The Vaishṇava sects that were well known were those of Rāmānuja, Madhva, Nimbārka, Vallabha and so on. But they all arose from the 11th century onwards. In fact, no scholar has shown on epigraphic evidence that there was any Vaishṇava sect in existence before the 11th century. In the course of my study of the Gupta Inscriptions, I happened to light upon an epigraphic record found at Tuśām in the Punjab and belonging to the 4th or 5th century A.D., which speaks apparently of a Sātvata sect. It records the benefactions of *Āchārya* Somatrāta, who was the younger brother of *Āchārya* and *Upādhyāya* Yaśastrāta (II). The latter pertained to the Gotama *gotra* and was a son of *Āchārya* Vasudatta born of Rāvaṇī. Whether Rāvaṇī was an individual name of his mother it is difficult to say. But Rāvaṇī seems to be a metronymic, Rāvaṇa being a branch of the Vaśiṣṭha *gotra*. At any rate, the very fact that Yaśastrāta (II) is said to belong to the Gotama *gotra* is enough to show that this family of Āchāryas was Brāhmaṇ by caste. Vasudatta's father was Yaśastrāta (I), and this Yaśastrāta was a devotee of Bhagavat (Vāsudēva), to whom, we are told, the Yōga practice of the Ārya Sātvatas had come down through many generations. This makes it quite clear that this family of *Āchāryas* were not only Brāhmaṇ by caste but were adherents of the Sātvata sect with its peculiar type of Yoga. This receives a most welcome confirmation from the *Sātvata-saṁhitā*, the contents of which have been so admirably summed up by R. G. Bhandarkar. Rāmānuja also sums it up succinctly as follows: 'That this worship of that which is of a four-fold nature means worship of the highest Brahman, called Vāsudeva, is declared in the *Sātvata-saṁhitā*: "This is the supreme-Śāstra, the great Brahmōpanishad, which imparts true discrimination to the Brāhmans worshipping the real Brahman, under the name of Vāsudeva."' That highest Brahman, called Vāsudeva, having for its body the complete aggregate of the six qualities, divides itself in so far as it is either the 'subtle' (*Sūkshma*), or 'division' (*vyūha*), or 'manifestation' (*vibhava*), and is attained in its fullness by the devotees who, according to their qualifications, do worship to it by means of works guided by knowledge. From the worship of the Vibhava-aspect one attains to the *vyūha*, and from the worship of the *vyūha*,

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one attains to the 'Subtle' called Vāsudeva, i.e. the highest Brahman —such is their doctrine. By the *vibhava* we have to understand the aggregate of beings, such as Rāma, Kṛishna, etc., in whom the highest Being becomes manifest; by the *vyūha* the fourfold arrangement or division of the highest Reality, as Vāsudēva, Saṁkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha; by the 'Subtle' the highest Brahman itself, in so far as it has for its body the mere aggregate of the six qualities—as such it is called 'Vāsudēva'. R. G. Bhandarkar's summary of the *Sātvata-saṁhitā* supports the above statement in every way and supplements it in one respect. The most important point is that the Brahmōpanishad, the highest Śāstra, reveals itself to a qualified Brāhmaṇ only, when he worships Vāsudēva as Brahman. The second important point noticeable in his summary is that 'this Śāstra along with Rahasya is fruitful to those who have gone through Yōga with its eight parts and whose soul is devoted to mental sacrifice. The Yōgins, who are Brāhmaṇs guided by the Vedas and who have given up the mixed worship, are competent for the worship of the —single one, dwelling in the heart.' Thus the second important point noteworthy about the Sātvata sect is that there is a special type of Yōga connected with it. Now, both these points are noticeable about the Sātvata sect described in the Tuśām record. The Āchāryas of this sect are all Brāhmaṇs and belonged to the Gōtama *gōtra*. Secondly, the first of these Āchāryas named Yaśastrāta is described not only as a devotee of Bhagavat (Vāsudēva) but also as 'one to whom the Yōga practice of the *Ārya* Sātvatas had come down through many generations.' After this agreement in important points, can there be any doubt that there was a Vaishṇava sect called the Sātvatas which was in existence in the Gupta period? Further, we have to note that this Sātvata sect was, in regard to the order of succession, more akin to the Vallabhachārī where the succession was from father to son than to the Rāmānuja, Madhva or Nimbārka where the succession was from Saṁnyāsī teacher to Saṁnyāsī pupil.

ROBERT ORME AT MADRAS 1754-58

By C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

Robert Orme has been deemed the *British Thucydides* and the 'Father of Oriental History'. He was born at Anjengo, the southernmost English factory on the Malabar Coast, and celebrated as the birth-place of Sterne's *Eliza*. He was the son of Dr. Alexander Orme, who was Physician and Surgeon on the Bombay Establishment and subsequently rose to be the Chief of that settlement. After a period of schooling at Harrow, Robert was apprenticed in the Office of the African Company and subsequently, after a year of service in a Calcutta firm, was appointed to East India Company's service as a Writer in the Bengal Presidency in 1743. During his early service days, Orme composed the first and second books of his 'General Idea of the Government and People of Indostan' which was later published in his 'Historical Fragments' (1782). The Calcutta Council had a high opinion of his abilities and in 1752 asked him to formulate his views on the reform of the police and the municipal administration of that Presidency. When he visited England in 1753-54, he communicated his views as to French ambitions in India and the necessity of resolutely prosecuting the war in the Indian Peninsula with all vigour, to the Secretary of State, Lord Holdernesse.

Orme returned to India in 1754, having been appointed a Member of the Council of Fort St. George. Here he remained for about five years, and retired under a cloud. While at Madras he did some useful work, but spoiled, by his own acts, his reputation for honesty and straightforwardness. He had a conceit as to his own superior literary attainments and was proud that he was often called upon to draft important letters for the Madras Council, like the one dated Fort St. George, 20th August, 1756, exhorting Admiral Watson [1] to proceed with the King's Ships for the recovery of Calcutta (the greater part of this letter is printed in S. C. Hill's *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol. I, pp. 199-200), and that dated Fort St. George, 3rd September, 1756, exhorting Colonel Adlercron to proceed with his regiment for the recovery of Calcutta. An instance of his conceit which he had already developed, even at Calcutta, is seen in the letter from James Repington to Clive, dated Trivady (Tiruvati in the South Arcot District), 22nd February, 1753, in which the latter is complimented for having Orme as a companion for his coming voyage to England. It proceeds thus: 'I think Palk and you call him Cicero. If he's like the honest Roman of that name I can't pay you greater compliment than by quoting a sentence out of Quintilian, *"Hoc prepositum sit nabis exemplum. Ille se profecisse sciat cui Cicero valde placebit,"* and I must conceive a good opinion of Mr. Orme because he's esteemed by two gentlemen for whose judgment I have a profound veneration.' Orme was weak, like his companions in general, and hankered after both speedy promotion and a quickly amassed fortune. Unfortunately he resorted to very dubious means for realizing them; nor was he particularly fast and faithful to friends, though his friendship for Clive persisted undiminished in vigour for a number of years. Colonel Alexander Heron had asked Orme to act as his representative at Madras during his absence on an expedition to Madura and Tinnevelly (1755); but in one of Orme's lengthy letters to John Payne, a Director of the Company, dated Madras, 26th October, 1755, we come across expressions of considerable personal spite of the Colonel. In another letter dated Madras, February 9, 1757, describing the troubles in Tinnevelly, caused by Mahfuz Khan, Orme says that at the request of the Council, he personally drew up the charges upon which Colonel Heron was tried by a Court Martial, after dismission from the service, and rendered incapable of serving the Company any longer.

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[1] Orme is said to have written a poem on the death of the Admiral, in 1757 and pinned it on a blank leaf in one of his books.

To facilitate his rise in official favour, Orme did not scruple to criticize his seniors, especially Governor Pigot, in his private letters to John Payne, Deputy Chairman and Chairman of the Court of Directors; Payne no doubt was the prime sinner, but Orme had to be the greater sufferer by this action. Suspicions of Orme's conduct soon leaked out; he was subjected to a kind of social ostracism; charges of corruption were brought against him; and he had to resign his post and leave the country at the very moment when his succession to the Governorship had been sanctioned by the Directors. The only extenuating plea in favour of Orme's action is that such unholy alliances were then only too common between the Directors in London and their servants in India.

Colonel Davison Love describes the charges of corruption against Orme and also shows, however, after his return to England, the Directors expressed themselves assured that he had extorted large sums from the Nawab (see Vol. II of *Vestiges of Old Madras*).

Thus Orme's letter to Payne, dated Madras, 26th October, 1765, is prefaced as containing 'Characters of the Council, *entre nous*, nothing else very material, confidential.' In that letter he describes 'as a matter of duty' (!), the characters of Messrs. Lawrence, whom he describes as 'honourable but vain', Saunders as 'oversharp', Palk as 'intriguing and fond of money', Bourchier as 'sensible but weak and choleric', Wynch as 'prejudiced and violent'; says that

Clive had made a fortune of £40,000 as 'contractor to victual the army' at the rate of six *fanams* a man each day, and that the rate which was afterwards reduced to four *fanams*, still left a great profit; 'Cabal in Council against Saunders, headed by Lawrence and Palk; Pigot's extraordinary deference for Lawrence; much personal spite shown in the condemnation of Colonel Heron' (a greater part of the letter is printed in H. D. Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. II, pages 484 *et seq.*).

In another letter dated 2nd November, 1766, Orme explained the real reason for the attack on Calcutta by Siraj-ud-Dowlah, in 1756, ascribing it 'either to the private instigation of Hukm Beg or Coja Wajid or to the Nawab's eagerness to please the army by giving it the plunder of the richest town in Bengal.' He praised Holwell and condemned Drake for their conduct and—what is really very cunningly suggestive—concluded by saying that on account of his bad health he would not be able to accept nomination to be the President for Bengal. 'My constitution, which thro' my applications is now loaded with infirmities even in this the best of climates will render me utterly incapable of being of any service in that of Bengal which is the very worst.' In yet another communication, dated the day following that of the previous one, Orme really claimed for himself the entire credit and merit of arranging that Clive should command the expedition to Bengal, and maintained that Pigot, at his best, was of use to support him and Clive. Both of them—(designedly perhaps)—considered that the loss of Calcutta deprived Drake and his colleagues of their appointments as members of the Select Committee in Bengal; but Governor Pigot and the rest of the Madras Council were not of this opinion and held that the representatives of the Select Committee should continue to function. When Clive failed to return with his troops from Bengal to Madras after the events of 1756, Orme thus observed: (Letter dated Madras, July 6, 1757), 'The prevalence of Clive's genius is, by what I have observed of it, to be fighting; that he is not averse to advantages is certain, and if both these prospects have united I am no longer surprised that he (has) lost his reason on this occasion.' In another letter to Payne, Orme suggests that Pigot was weak to deal with the Marathas and sketched his own ideas as to what should be done with Mysore and the Nawab in their mutual wrangling over Trichinopoly in 1757. Regarding Nawab Muhammad Ali, Orme says: 'I know not whether such double-dealing may square with the politics of Europe, but in Asia nothing but dissimulation will do. In my private character, I pity no man on Earth so sincerely as I do this Nabob. He has cunning but no sense—cunning to make shifts, not sense nor courage to form a plan. He wants to spend like a Nabob at a time when he should withdraw his splendour to assume it some years hence with certainty. Still he is a Prince,

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and these avulsions from his State tear his pride to pieces—He is an object of compassion.'

That Clive and Orme had an unavowed secret understanding is seen from the letter of the latter to Lord Holdernesse, dated, Madras, November 15, 1757, in which he writes: 'Col. Clive has made his fortune at Bengal and writes to me that he is no longer a cross to my views in the succession to this (Madras Government)'.[1]

But while Orme was indulging in these hopes and insinuating himself into favour with the authorities at Home, Pigot at Madras became increasingly suspicious of Orme, who, in turn, shrewdly suspected that Payne might have communicated some of his remarks to the Governor. The misunderstanding between Pigot and Orme reached its climax when the former openly accused the latter, at a Council Meeting, of seeking presents from the Nawab, as well as of cowardly conduct in wishing to leave Madras, when the Presidency was threatened with an attack by Lally. Even according to Hill, who has a partiality for Orme, the fact that Orme was known to have acted as a spy upon his colleagues was the real reason of Pigot's enmity which brought about his own early retirement from the Company's service. Orme's failure in his game is attributed to bad health and weak character on which his friends looked with dismay. Clive had indeed warned Orme that with reference to his leaving Madras he would be charged with cowardice.

The sequel of Orme's spying upon his colleagues and reporting to Payne was thus a natural and quick retribution. Orme cherished strong hopes of succeeding Pigot as Governor; but his indiscretion and espionage having leaked out, he was ostracized socially by Pigot, Lawrence and others. Soon after the Company's Despatch arrived at Madras, September, 1758, which nominated Orme to succession to the Governorship after Pigot, the latter preferred two charges against him in open Council. The first related to his preparation to remit his fortune to England in Dutch bills and to take his passage for Europe in the *Grantham*, shortly before the expected French siege of Madras. These acts betrayed a weakness of character on which his friends like Clive looked with dismay as it was openly condemned as cowardice by his enemies. (2) A more serious charge was that, soon after the news of succession to the Governorship after Pigot's retirement had reached Madras, Orme had addressed a letter to the Nawab on his new prospects. He sent for the Nawab's vakil several times, stressed on the services he had rendered to the Nawab and said that he should be rewarded generously, or else he would put the management of the greatest part of the Nawab's territories into hands that would gratify him in the manner he desired.

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[1] 'During Clive's absence in the field, it was Orme who looked after his private business as well as his interests at head-quarters. So again, later on, when in 1756 it was proposed to send an expedition to Bengal, Clive and Orme acted in unison in the Council, and it was apparently on Orme's suggestion that Pigot chose Clive to take the command, and when Clive went, it was to Orme that he entrusted the care of his wife and of his private affairs. Then comes the first hint of difference. Clive refuses to return to Madras, and, worse still, refuses to send back the Madras troops. Orme suspects that his unexpectedly great success has turned his head, and that he is carried away by his desire for wealth and his passion for fighting. However, explanations are forthcoming. Clive's departure to Bengal had cleared the way for Orme's possible accession to the governorship of Madras and the breach is healed. Orme returns to England, whither he is followed not long after by Clive. The old friendship is renewed, and in 1763 the first volume of History is produced probably in close collaboration, but gradually the equality and friendship disappears.' (*India Office Library.—'European MSS. in—Vol. II, Part I; Orme Collection'*—by S. C. Hill (1916), Introduction—pages xxx and xxxi.)

Pigot made a statement in the Council that Orme mentioned in his letter to the Nawab his prospective accession to the Governorship; and that 'in whatever light he (the Nabob) might look upon the Governor, Colonel Lawrence and other gentlemen, he only was his particular friend; that it was he who had espoused his cause and prevented the management of his affairs going into other hands than his (the Nabob's); that he could have had sixty thousand pagodas from Teterapah Moodilly (Titarappa Mudali, Renter) if he would have farmed out to him the countries to the southward of Trichinopoly, and that Issoff Cawn (Yusuf Khan) would have given him forty thousand pagodas to have rented from him the countries of Seringham (Srirangam) and Trichinopoly. But that, notwithstanding it was in his power by the sway he had in the Council, to put this in execution, his desire of rendering the Nabob service made him decline it, not in the least doubting but the Nabob would make him a suitable acknowledgment:' (Madras Consultations of 25th September, 1758).

To this personal request the Nawab is said to have replied that his purse was at the time depleted; but he hoped, in a year or two, to be able to meet Mr. Orme's wishes. Thereupon, Orme became irritated and left the Nawab abruptly, declaring that he would take the necessary measures for putting the management of the country into other hands, if the sum he demanded was not immediately paid down. The Nawab felt insulted at this threat beyond measure and told Orme that his visit had lasted long enough and he was free to do as he pleased.

When these two charges were brought against him, Orme replied that, with regard to the first charge, his health was the main consideration for determining his departure, but the motive for his departure from the coast was not dishonourable. He totally denied the allegation of the Nawab that he (Orme) had made any stipulation, directly or indirectly, for any reward from him (the Nawab); and he maintained that the letter which he is said to have written to

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the Nawab was an absolute forgery. Finally he said that, rather than suffer under such imputations, he would forthwith resign the service of the Company. (Fort St. George Consultations, 25th September, 1758.)

Three days later, the inquiry began concerning the letter that Orme was alleged to have written to the Nawab. The Nawab confirmed the statement made by Pigot and in the Council and added that Orme had demanded 20,000 pagodas and said, emphatically and definitely, that he would not take even one pagoda less. The Nawab was accompanied on the occasion by his *vakil*, Antaji Pantulu. He asserted that Orme's note was delivered to him by Sunka Rama Junior, his dubash. Sunka Rama Junior, who was then questioned denied at first all knowledge of the note; but when he was made to face Antaji Pantulu, he admitted that he had indeed drafted and delivered the document, though without the knowledge of his master. The Madras Council decided that Orme's taking his passage for Europe on the eve of the French siege of Madras was 'an ill-timed step and unbecoming the station he bore in the Company's service.' With regard to his alleged note to the Nawab, the Council was of the opinion that though there was no actual proof of Orme having sent the note, it was 'extraordinary and unaccountable that Sunka Rama should have without his knowledge written it and delivered to the Nawab, along with an oral communication.'

On the question of the actual demand by Orme of a large sum from the Nawab, the testimony of the Nawab and his vakil appeared to the Council to be strong and clear; and the Board resolved that it 'had the greatest reason to believe that part of the charge at least was just and true.'

The Directors at Home decided, in November 1759, that Orme was a very unfit person to continue in their service. But since the ship in which he had embarked was captured by the French near the Cape of Good Hope, all the documents that she conveyed were lost and never reached the Company. Though the Directors then expressed their opinion that they were assured that Orme had extracted large sums from the Nawab, after a few years they condoned his behaviour at Madras and appointed him as Historiographer to the Company. Such was the shortness of memories in those days of intensive jobbery and political corruption.

Mr. S. C. Hill thus sums up what he deems a just verdict of Orme's conduct: 'It is to be regretted that no further information is to be found in connection with the charge of corruption brought against him by Pigot, more especially as the Court of Directors resolved that he had extorted large sums of money from the Nawab. Still the decision of the Court is not sufficient to convince one of Orme's guilt, when one remembers his comparative poverty at the time of his retirement, the unscrupulous character of the Nawab, the submission of the charges against Orme through and by his enemies in the Madras Council, and, finally, the fact that the Court took no action on its own resolution.' [1]

Orme was conscious of his lapses since he wrote to Payne, on November 17, 1757, from Madras, as if in partial extenuation of himself: 'I know not whether such double-dealing may square with the politics of Europe, but in Asia, nothing but dissimulation will do.'

Too late, Orme wrote, in November 1767, to Colonel Joseph Smith, when opining that he would have preferred the English allying themselves with Haidar Ali, rather than with the Nizam, and advised him to avoid the receipt of presents 'as the bane of every reputation in India'.

It is amusing to read that S. C. Hill thus upholds the fair name of Orme—'The decisive reason why Orme laid down his pen (when he had brought down his History to 1761) was the disgraceful conduct of many of the successors of Saunders, Pigot, Lawrence and Coote. He (Orme) had lived amongst heroes in an Age of Iron and had told their story in language which did honour both to himself and them; it was not fitting that he should describe how lesser men thought that in the misery of the country they had found an Age of Gold.' [2] One may ask: 'What did Clive, Orme's hero, do in the Age of Gold? What did Orme himself do in the Age of Iron?' [3]

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[1] Page xxi, Introduction to Vol. II, Part I, *Orme Collection*.

[2] Page xxxv of Hill's Introduction to *Orme Collection*.

[3] Refer to Orme's Mission to Murtaza Ali of Vellore early in 1756. The mission failed. What was the cause of the failure? (pp. 99-100 of C. S. Srinivasachari—*Vignettes from the History of the Walajahi Dynasty of the Carnatic*, 1744–1856).

THE VIṢṆUKUṆḌINS

By K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

Five copper plates are all the evidence we have on this ancient dynasty of eastern Deccan, there being hardly any references to them in the contemporary charters of other dynasties. I shall discuss the genealogy and the history of this line briefly as they have given rise to differences of opinion among scholars for which indeed, it will appear soon, there is really little justification. I shall start with setting forth the primary data:

CHIKKUḶḶA PLATES.[1]

Mahārāja Mādhavavarman, performed 11 aśvamedhas and 1,000 *kratus*—Sarvamedha, Bahusuvarṇa, Puṇḍarika, Puruṣamedha, Vājapeya, Yuddhyaṣoḍaśi, Rājasūya, Prādhirājya and Prājāpatya being named.

Vikramendravarman (Viṣṇukuṇḍi Vākāṭa vaṁśadvayālaṁkāra Janmā).

Mahārāja Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman, scattered his kinsmen by mere contraction of eye-brows,—Anekacaturdanta samara Sanghaṭṭa Vijayī; founded *ghaṭikas* and gave away much wealth, a Paramamāheśvara.

Mahārāja Vikramendravarman, eldest son had all kingly qualities even in infancy, Paramamāheśvara gave in 10th year *vi*. Regonram, S.E. of Ravireva on the Krishnavenna to Śiva temple from camp at Vijaya-Leṇḍulūra. (Seal lion standing to proper right with a fore-paw raised.)

THE RĀMATĪRTHAM PLATES.[2]

Mahārāja Mādhavavarman, worshipper of Lord of Śrī Parvata, ornament of Viṣṇukuṇḍins, performed eleven *aśvamedhas* and 1,000 other sacrifices.

Vikramendravarman, ornament of two families (not named).

Indravarman, a Paramamāheśvara Anekacaturdanta-samara sanghaṭṭa-vijayī; Donated from camp at Puraṇisaṁgama in 27th year of reign *vi*. Peruvāṭaka in Pḷakirāṣṭra to a Brahmin. (Seal lion advancing to proper right with left fore-paw raised.)

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[1] EI. IV, 193–8 (Kielhorn).
[2] EI. XII, pp. 133–6 (Hultzsch).

ĪPŪR, I.[1]

Mahārāja Govindavarman, worshipper of Lord Śrīparvata, member of Viṣṇukuṇḍin family and a devotee of *dharma* besides being liberal donor of cows, land, and gold.

Mādhavavarman—Hiraṇyagarbha prasūta, Trivaranagara-bhavana-gata-yuvati-hṛdaya nandanah; performer of 11 *aśvamedhas* and 1,000 *agniṣṭomas*; Donor in year 37 from camp at Kuḍavada of *vi.* Vilembali in Guddavadi-viṣaya to Agniśarman of Vatsa *gotra*.

Mancyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka, beloved son of donor, and executor of the grant.

Seal has two registers: upper one has Lakṣmī or Svastika on pedestal flanked by two lampstands and surmounted by Sun and Moon, Lower register bears legend: Śrī-Mādhava varma. (Alphabet earlier than Rāmatīrtham and Chikkulla.)

POLAMŪRU PLATES.[2]

Śrivikramahendra

Govindavarman Vikramāśraya victor in numerous battles.

Mahārāja Mādhavavarman Trivaranagara-bhavana-gataparama-yuvatijana-viharaṇaratiḥ; 1,000 *kratus*; hiraṇyagarbha-prasūtaḥ, and 11 *aśvamedhas*, Janāśraya. (Issued when king had just crossed the Godāvarī for conquests in the east, year 48.)

ĪPŪR, II SET.[3]

Mahārāja Mādhavavarman, eleven Aśvamedhas and 1,000 agniṣṭomas.

Devavarman
(of great valour).

Mādhavavarman Trikuta malayādhipati, devotee of Śrī Parvatasvāmi (grant from Amarapura in year. (4) 7) (alphabet earlier than Īpūr I).

There has been considerable difference of opinion on how to combine the genealogies of these five records into a united scheme. I have had occasion to consider this matter more than once, and I wish to state here the opinions I have formed after my last study which was undertaken some time ago along with Dr. S. Kameswararao who was then working on his thesis on the Gangas of Kalinga.

The scheme that is now holding the field is that of Dr. D. C. Sircar put forward by him in his *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pages 96–104. While I believe that his scheme is an advance on that of K. V. Lakshmana Rao which is rightly criticized by him, I believe a different reconstruction is possible and necessary.

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[1] EI. XVII, 334–7 (Hultzsch).

[2] JAHRS. VI, pp. 17 ff.

[3] EI. XVII, 337–9 (Hultzsch). Date of record is 17 according to D. C. Sircar and 27 according to B. V. K. Rao.

It will be readily seen that Nos. (1) and (2) above give the same genealogy and cause no difficulty, so that we start with this:

Mādhavavarman I
|
Vikramendravarman I
|
Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman
|
Vikramendravarman II

Again, Nos. 3 and 4 likewise agree and give us

Vikramahendra
|
Govindavarman
|
Mādhavavarman
|
(Manchyaṇabhaṭṭāraka)

Now comes the question if Mādhavavarman in these two genealogies is one and the same person. Hultzsch who was not aware of No. 4 as it was not before him, suggested the identity [1] and followed it up by saying that Mādhavavarman II of No. 5 was his grandfather, making thus three Mādhava-varmans in all. The latter statement is now antiquated by No. 4 which shows that Govindavarman's father was Vikramahendra, i.e. Vikramendra and not Mādhava.

Dr. Sircar holds that the identity of the Mādhavavarman of (1), (2) and (3) proposed by Hultzsch still holds good. This view rests on two grounds—paleography and common epithets. The argument from paleography is not decisive; Dr. Sircar himself ignores Hultzsch's view of the paleography of these records when he puts Madhavavarman II of No. (5) after the ruler of the same name in No. (3), and though he himself shows no awareness of the need for justifying this reversal of Hultzsch's view of the paleography of the two sets of Īpūr plates, Dr. Gopalachari has set up a defence for it which I no longer consider decisive.[2] It is well to remember Fleet's warning that 'it is not easy to fix within a century or so, or even more, on simply paleographical grounds, the time of an undated record'. And in this case we do not lack external evidence that the date of Nos. (3) and (4) must be put much later than the identification of Mādhavavarman of these records with the homonymous rulers of (1) and (2) would allow. It has been pointed out that the donee of No. (4) was the father of the donee of a grant of the same place made in the fifth year of the reign of Eastern Cāḷukya Jayasimha I. This difficulty in chronology is fairly insuperable as becomes clear from the breakdown of Prof. V. V. Mirashi's effort to link up Viṣṇukundin history with that of the Somavaṃśis on the basis of the resulting genealogy.[1] Grant No. (4) and with it No. (3) also must necessarily be taken much nearer the commencement of E. Cāḷukya rule in Andhra, and this can be done only if we recognize that Mādhavavarman of (3) and (4) was not the same as the ruler of (1) and (2) of the same name. Turning now to the epithets, Sircar takes his stand on the eleven *aśvamedhas* and 1,000 other sacrifices common to (1), (2), (3) and (4) for identifying all the Mādhavavarmans of these records. In his criticism of other views, I think he allows his rhetoric to get the better of facts when he says: 'But if we accept the above identifications we have three Mādhavavarmans—I, II and III—all of whom were performers of eleven *aśvamedhas* and thousand *agniṣṭomas*'. For I do not suppose that anyone said or can say that the second Mādhavavarman of Īpūr II set (5) performed these sacrifices. Also it may be said that while he spends effort proving an obvious point viz., the identity of the donors of Nos. (3) and (4) from the similarity of epithets and descent, he does not attach enough weight to the new epithets that distinguish this ruler from Mādhavavarman of Nos. (1) and (2) viz., *hiraṇyagarbhaprasūta* and *Trivara-nagara*, etc.[2] Now we are not in a position to say whether these epithets were factually true, or convention played a part in shaping them. Personally I have a strong suspicion against these tens of *aśvamedhas*, hundreds of other sacrifices and even of battles. They seem to be mostly rhetoric. And in interpreting such conventional attributes, it seems to me that we must take careful note of differences and not slur them. I suggest that Mādhavavarman of (3) and (4) got the titles which tradition attached to his earlier namesake, and had others added to distinguish himself from his ancestor, and I identify Vikramahendra of (4) with Vikramendra II of (1), and evolve the genealogy given below, which satisfies the objective test that the donee of (4) must come in the generation preceding that of the donee of the Polamuru grant of the Eastern Cāḷukya Jayasimha I.

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[1] EI. XVII, p. 335.
[2] *Early History of the Andhra Country*, pp. 204 ff.

The only objection to this, so far as I can see, is paleographical, viz., that it virtually ignores Hultzsch's view that Īpūr I (3) is earlier than the Cikkuḷḷa (1) and Ramatirtham (2) grants; but the other arrangement of Dr. Sircar ignores another dictum of Hultzsch

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[1] EI. XXII, pp. 20-1 esp. n. 3 on p. 21.

[2] Cf. JAHRS. X, pp. 18 ff. B. K. V. Rao: *Early History of Andhradesa* (pp. 446–52) contains a plausible explanation of the eleven aśvamedhas.

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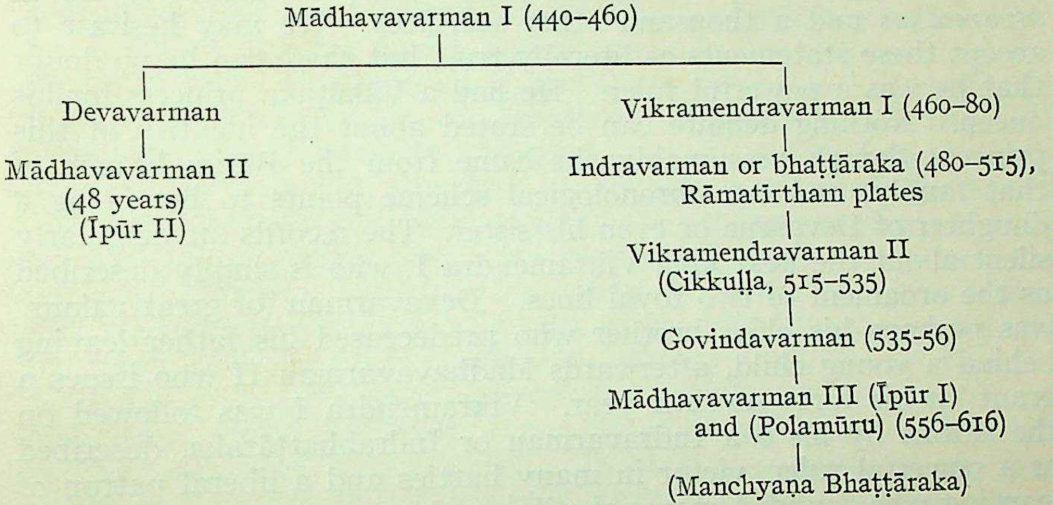
that (5) is earlier than (3). On the other hand (4), has been held to be much later than (1) and (2) and the identification of Vikramendra of (4) with the second king of that name in (1) has been proposed independently of considerations urged here;[1] this, if correct, would diminish very much the force of Hultzsch's view of the paleography of (3). Paleography, I have already said, cannot decide such narrow issues.

The remaining grant Īpūr II (5) causes no difficulty; the Mādhavavarman of this grant is obviously the same as the ruler of the same name in (1) and (2), so that the genealogy I propose is this:


Mādhavavarman I (440–460)
Devavarman
Mādhavavarman II
(48 years)
(Īpūr II)
Vikramendravarman I (460–80)
Indravarman or bhaṭṭāraka (480–515),
Rāmatīrtham plates
Vikramendravarman II
(Cikkuḷḷa, 515–535)
Govindavarman (535-56)
Mādhavavarman III (Īpūr I)
and (Polamūru) (556–616)
(Manchyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka)

The chronology can be only approximately determined from the fact, already mentioned, that the Polamūru grants of Mādhavavarman III and E. Cāḷukya Jayasimha I are separated by just one generation. Jayasimha's grant is dated in the fifth year of his reign which commenced in A.D. 633 according to some and 641 according to others. Adopting the later reckoning and *c.* 646 as the date of the grant of Jayasimha, we shall get *c.* 616 for the date of Mādhavavarman III's grant, which seems to be dated in his 48th year, and working backward from this datum, making the usual allowance for each generation subject to indications gained from copper plates regarding the regnal periods of monarchs, we can get to the middle of the fifth century as the period of the rule of Mādhaavvarman I and the beginnings of Viṣṇukuṇḍin power. The figures have been inserted in the genealogical table above.

Dr. D. C. Sircar who indentifies all the Mādhavavarmans of (1), (2), (3) and (4) necessarily finds the need for much special pleading over the interval between the two Polamūru grants of Mādhavavarman (Viṣṇukuṇḍin) and Jayasimha (E. Cāḷukya), has to postulate a prolonged survival of Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule in the Andhra country after its conquest by the Cāḷukyas, and work out an elaborate justification, as unconvincing as it is ingenious, for this highly improbable reading of Andhra history.[1]

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[1] ARE. 1914, II. 35.

I shall conclude with a brief sketch of Viṣṇukuṇḍin history as I understand it. Speaking generally, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins may be said to have ruled the Andhra country in the interval between the Śālankāyanas and the Eastern Cāḷukyas. They rose to power about the middle of the fifth century, and so far as we know Mādhavavarman I was the first ruler of the line. He is credited with devotion to the lord of Śrīparvata and the performance of eleven *aśvamedhas* and a thousand other sacrifices. We may hesitate to accept these statements as literally true, but there can be no doubt that he was a powerful ruler. He had a Vākāṭaka princess for his queen. Nothing definite can be stated about the identity of this princess though presumably she came from the Bāsim branch of that family, and our chronological scheme points to her being a daughter of Devasena or even his sister. The records are singularly silent about the next king Vikramendra I, who is simply described as the ornament of two royal lines. Devavarman 'of great valour' was perhaps his elder brother who predeceased his father leaving behind a young child, afterwards Mādhavavarman II who issues a grant in his forty-seventh year. Vikramendra I was followed on the throne by his son Indravarman or Indrabhaṭṭāraka, described as a powerful ruler, victor in many battles and a liberal patron of learning who founded many *ghaṭikas* and gave away much wealth. He is said to have scattered his kinsmen by the mere contraction of his eye-brows. This is perhaps best explained as implying an attempt on the part of Mādhavavarman II, after he grew up, to cross swords with his cousin and seek to get the kingdom into the hands of the elder branch. The quarrel obviously ended in a compromise and Mādhavavarman II, who is described as lord of Trikūṭa-Malaya and issues a grant from Amarapura in the forty-seventh year of his reign, was allowed to rule over a part of the western mountainous region in the kingdom owing a nominal allegiance to Indravarman. Trikūṭa-Malaya and Amarapura have been tentatively identified with Kottapakonda in the Narasaraopet taluq and with Amarāvatī on the bank of the Krishṇā, both in the Guntur district; but we may not be sure of these identifications though they in no way contravene the suggestion made here about the region of Mādhavavarman's rule. The Rāmatīrtham plates of his 27th year show that till very late in his reign Indrabhaṭṭāraka continued to be master of the bulk of the Vizagapatam district, as Pḷakirāṣṭra, where he made a grant, corresponds to the northern part of this district.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 105–22.

But towards the end of his reign, he had to face a hostile combination formed against him possibly on account of his increasing power and territory. The Godāvarī plates of Rājā Prithivīmūla [1] mention an alliance among several chiefs to uproot by force Indrabhaṭṭāraka, whose elephant Kumuda (of the S.W. quarter) was struck down by Indrādhirāja mounted on his own elephant Supratīka (of the N.E.). The monarch mentioned last was doubtless the E. Ganga ruler of Kalinga, Indravarman I, the earliest ruler of the line. He might have got help also from the Vākāṭaka Hariṣeṇa II among whose conquests Andhra is also included in the Ajaṇṭa inscription. It is probable that as a result of this conflict the Viṣṇukuṇḍin ruler lost his northern marches to his rising namesake of Kalinga. Of the next two rulers Vikramendra II and Govindavarman Vikramāśraya no striking achievements are recorded. But Mādhavavarman III who seems to have been the last great ruler of the line is said to have been a *hiraṇyagarbha prasūta*, i.e. one who performed the sacred rite of *hiraṇyagarbha* which consists in the performer passing himself through an egg of gold which was afterwards distributed among the officiating priests. He made the grant of Polamūru when he had just crossed the Godāvarī with the desire of making conquests in the east (*prag-vijigīṣayā Godāvarīm atītaran*). Obviously this was a campaign undertaken to recover the country lost to the rulers of Kalinga by Indrabhaṭṭāraka as we have noticed above. The result of the expedition is not known. In both the grants of his reign dated in the 37th and 48th regnal years, the king is said to have caused delight to the young damsels of Trivara-nagara. This has been taken to mean the city of Trivara, i.e. Tīvaradeva, king of Mahākosala, and Mādhavavarman has been credited with a victory over that king.[2] Tīvaradeva has been assigned to A.D. 530–550. But as the dates both of Tīvara and Mādhavavarman III rest on approximate calculations, the slight chronological discrepancy need not be a serious objection to the acceptance of this suggestion. Or the success might have been won against Tīvara's son and successor Chandragupta, as Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao has suggested.[3] But Tīvaradeva was a powerful ruler of Kosala, and there is no evidence whatever in support of the suggestion of a war on the Somavaṁśis besides the rhetorical attribute given to Mādhavavarman in his plates. Again, Trivara is not the same as Tīvara, and the expression, *Trivaranagara* is susceptible of the interpretation: three good cities, and it is not altogether impossible that the ornamental epithet means no more than that there were three flourishing cities in the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kingdom where the king resided by turns.

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[1] JBBRAS. XVI, p. 116.
[2] EI. XXII, pp. 19 ff.
[3] *Op. cit.*, 521.

Mādhavavarman had also the title Janāśraya, and on the strength of this title a book on prosody, *Janāśrayī Chandoviciti*, is attributed to the king himself or at least to his reign. Mādhavavarman is described in his Polamūru grant as *avasita-vivida-divyah, lit.* one who knew the various forms of ordeals. It may also mean one who put an end to them. It is not easy to decide if the king resorted to the use of ordeals in the judicial processes in his kingdom or abolished the practice. The former alternative seems the more likely one.

A damaged stone record of Mādhavavarman in archaic characters in Sanskrit language noticed at Velpuru in the Guntur district may belong to this king.[1] There is evidence that parts of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kingdom were breaking loose from it even before the invasion of Pulakeśin II; for at the time of that invasion we find a certain Prithivi-mahārāja ruling Piṣṭapura as an independent ruler, though his father's name Vikramendra is clear evidence of the feudatory relation in which the family had stood to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins not long before.[2] Either Mādhavavarman himself or his son Mañchyaṇa must have been the Vengi ruler that suffered defeat at the hands of Pulakeśin in the battle of Kuṇāla (Colair lake); the Viṣṇukuṇḍins might have continued in a subordinate capacity for some time after the battle, we do not know. Their overthrow by the Cāḷukya invader very near their capital is the last that we hear of them in history. Coins with the lion and vase emblems, till now wrongly attributed to the Pallavas, must be assigned to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins who were also notable patrons of rock-cut architecture as the cave temples at Mugalrājapuram and Uṇḍavalli near Bezwada and at other places testify.

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[1] 581 of 1925.

[2] EI. XXIII No. 15, Tāṇḍivāḍa grant.

VEDIC ṚTÚ

By Louis Renou

It is generally agreed that the word *ṛtú* which uniformly indicates the 'season' from the Vedic Texts could not have such a restricted sense in the Ṛgveda. It is admitted since Roth that it is necessary to establish therein at the origin of the Vedic tradition the meaning of 'time, suitable time, proper time for the sacrifice', and sometimes even 'rule, usage'. Sāyaṇa himself expounds it occasionally by *kāla* or by a similar expression.

It is nevertheless doubtful that one should have the point of authentic departure in it. The key to the interpretation of the word is furnished by the hymns I. 15 and II. 36-37 which admit of the expression *ṛtunā* (*ṛtubhis*) in several verses. These hymns are the invocations to certain divinities enumerated in a fixed order, with an invitation to drink the Soma. The names are: Indra, the Maruts, Tvaṣṭar, Agni, Indra, Varuṇa and Mitra, Draviṇodas, the two Aśvins, lastly gṛhapati Agni; with the invocation to Draviṇodas running over 4 consecutive stanzas, we have a total of 12 stanzas. These divinities are evidently considered as the patrons of the officiating priests of the cult, for in the hymn I. 15, mention has been made of the *potar*, the *neṣṭar* or the *brahman* in three of them, whereas in II. 36-37 we have a more complete enumeration which gives, besides the *hotar*, the *agnidh* and the *praśāstar*. It is said of these gods that they drink the Soma not 'from the cup of such and such a priest' as it is sometimes queerly translated but in the more exact and forceful manner, 'by reason of their qualification as *hotar*, *potar*, *neṣṭar*, etc.' We are in the presence of an old connection between the divinities and the priests, a traditional division aiming at associating certain gods, certain divine functions to the sacerdotal functions. In fact the correlation is incomplete. But if we take out from other hymns the names of the seven officiating priests to whom is added the name of the 'master of the house',—that is to say, of the lay patron of the sacrifice—we obtain in an almost fixed order the series: *hotar*, *potar*, *neṣṭar*, *agnidh*, *brahman*, *praśāstar*, *adhvaryu*, lastly *gṛhapati*. Except for certain variants, it is the nomenclature which results from II. 1, 2; II. 5; IV. 9 and X. 91, 10.

It is not difficult to associate these names with the divinities of the hymns I. 15 and II. 36-37 with which we have started. This association is partially furnished in the hymns themselves; it is integrally present in a Khila of the Ṛgveda which serves for 'invitation' (*praiṣa*) to a ritual about which we are going to speak hereafter.

The connection of Indra with the *hotar* as well as the *brahman* is explained by considerations of prestige. That of the *adhvaryu* (or more precisely of the two *adhvaryus*) with the two Aśvins emanates from the common traits, undoubtedly superficial, but sufficiently clear: on both sides there is 'active' rôle, worker, manual so to say. That of the *praśāstar* (or the two *praśāstars*) with Varuṇa and Mitra is so much in vogue that the more recent name of this officiating priest could be exactly *maitrāvaruṇa*. That of the *agnidh* (or *agnīdhra*) and of Agni is disclosed in the name itself. That of the *neṣṭar* and *Tvaṣṭar* is explained by the rôle of accompanist of women common to both. Though there is not a perceptible connection between the *potar* (rôle very much thrown into the background) and the Maruts, it is not doubtful that it ought to have existed in one way or the other. Lastly, it is natural that the *gṛhapati* (formerly called the *yajamāna*) should be associated with this *gṛhapati* kat exokhèn represented by Agni.

Now the term which accompanies the invocations contained in these hymns, the term which is found in an obligatory manner everywhere where it has some significance for these sacerdotal values, for these connections, it is *ṛtu*. It is found sometimes as *ṛtunā*, sometimes as *ṛtubhis*. Geldner translates it by 'in its turn', taking it for granted that he defines these hymns as the Götterturnus and that, deservedly in a sense, it corresponds with a well-known ritual episode what is exactly called the Ṛtuyāja or the Ṛtugraha, in which each divinity and each officiating priest are invited 'turn by turn' to drink the Soma.

We think that the proper meaning of *ṛtunā* (*ṛtubhis*) is 'according to the division', that the word *ṛtu* indicates here very precisely the distributive 'function' in virtue of which the officiating priests and gods are bound according to a fixed scheme to the appointed aims. In other words, in an enumerative series (more or less hierarchised, like all the Indian enumerations), *ṛtu* marks the factor of division. From that, the word could be easily employed for marking a division in the duration, in a temporal continuum, and subsequently the first period of time articulation, the season, in this essential continuum which is the year. The word *parvan*, correctly 'knot of a stalk' or 'joint of the body', has also assumed the meaning of 'epoch' and especially 'lunar period, the calendar festival'.

There is, however, one difficulty. The stanzas of I. 15 as well as those of II. 36-37 (and also those of the Khila) are twelve in number, corresponding to the twelve libations of the posterior ritual. Now the officiating priests are seven and the associated gods are likewise seven. It is necessary to suppose that, for a motive which we shall have to see, the original number of seven (eight with the final stanza devolving on the *yajamāna*) is expanded into twelve (*yajamāna* included). The interpretation is clear: the divine name of Draviṇodas 'giver of riches', a simple elevated divine epithet for the circumstance as an autonomous entity, spreading over four stanzas without setting apart any priest for it, lastly the plural *ṛtubhis*, which aims at the plurality of the stanzas attributed to this pseudo-divinity—all confirm a secondary addition, but all the same anterior to the organization of the hymns in Saṁhitā.

If the ritual has expanded into twelve elements a rite which consists of only seven or eight, it is because it has associated with these invocations and enumerations the feeling of the twelve months of the year, and it has understood the word *ṛtu* as indicating the 'season', that is to say, the combination of these months by groups of two. As for the pressing in the morning of the Soma sacrifices, it is described to us in fact a succession of twelve cupfuls and twelve libations which take place for each of the months of the year, to begin with the two months of the Spring—*madhu* and *mādhava*. We have got one of these allusions to the seasons, under the form of a sort of a round *vasantādi* as the lyrical literature of the classic ages would later develop some of them in its innumerable *ṛtuvarṇanas*. Besides the name itself of the seasons (or rather the months of which they are made), some details can confirm this new meaning. The fact itself that, of the two priests entrusted with the cupfuls, one of them enters into the pavilion of the chariot of Soma at the very moment when the other goes out, that their going is effected by different routes, which however, at the moment when they cross themselves, one of them passes his arms around the other—all this staging evokes the succession, the enchainment of the seasons which, as it is said in the ŚB. XII. 8, 2, 34, 'are all in the head, all in the middle, all at the end,' without so much confounding itself; 'the season is hunted out by the season' adds TĀ. I. 3, 2*a*. If the cups of Soma in the course of this rite 'ought not to be displaced', it is because the year itself is *asanna*, says MS. IV. 6. 7 'does not ever take rest'. We have indeed here the application to the seasons of the liturgical episode of 'round'.

This connection of the Ṛtuyāja and the seasons is, however, secondary. We have sufficiently marked that it has not any support in the ṛgvedic tradition (Khila included). None of these stanzas forming the Ṛgveda contains the least allusion to a season or to a month. The commentaries of Vedic times, in the Yajurveda itself, only furtively explain, not precisely, the subject of the seasons. The expression *ṛtunā* (*ṛtubhis*) would result according to ŚB. IV. 3, 1, 10 and ff. from the fact that 'the seasons, it is the year', 'the seasons are six in number,' etc., the mythical episode subjoined to the rite would be the creation of the day and the night, or rather of men and animals. TS. V. 1, 9, 1 is not more precise. The Schools of the Ṛgveda, AB. II. 29 and KB. XIII. 9 relate only to the identification of the Ṛtuyāja to the winds. This insufficience is so much more remarkable that, in other circumstances, these texts have much to say about the seasons, that they themselves of their own accord undertake the literary description on this subject. Lastly, even the number of the libations, which is principally 12, can be raised to 13 or 14. For the thirteenth, it has not been difficult to find a connection with the 'intercalary month', which in certain computations is added to the series of the twelve months; for the fourteenth, no explanation whatever could be invented.

In fact, all this episode is secondary and the initial use of the two ṛgvedic hymns, with their contemporary ritual, was quite different. That ought to be, we think, the choice of the priests, such as it has happened to the preliminary days of Agniṣṭoma and the ceremonies connected with them. This solemn choice exactly requires the statement of the initial words of the 'invitations', the complete text of which figures in the Ṛtuyāja. In other words, the *hotar* is chosen after connecting him with the divinity on which he depends: 'Indra (it is said of him) by reason of his function of hotar, is in agreement with the Heaven and the Earth....', 'Agni, on account of his function of āgnīdhra . . .' and similarly the rest. In sum, seven names of the priests, plus the layman as he is understood. It is in this episode alone that the formula of the Ṛgveda and the Khila finds its full justification, and it justifies also the general system of the 'functional' correlations. The series of the twelve libations is an ulterior invention, destined to make this ritual theme connected with the months and seasons, because the old word *ṛtu* in its meaning of 'functional division' was not properly understood and in conformity with the post-Vedic linguistic usage it has been given the new meaning of 'season'.

Having established this point, it remains for us to see briefly the other attestations of the word *ṛtu* in the Ṛksaṁhitā. In a number of passages it is obviously the question of the choice of the priests: if Agni X. 2 is called *ṛtupate,* it is because he practises the *hotra,* the *potra* and the diverse functions that devolve on him (see 2). It is thus that he will arrange '(*kalpayāti*) the *ṛtus*' (3) or what is instructive enough, that he will 'dispose of' (i.e., functionally divide) the gods by means of the *ṛtus*' (4), or lastly 'will sacrifice to the gods according to their distribution' (5). In the stanza II. 1, 2, which describes the rôles of Agni, figures the derivative *ṛtvīya*; Indra is called *ṛtupa,* 'he who drinks according to the distribution'; it is simply by the effect of the *māyā* that he is *anṛtupa* III. 53, 8.

It is not surprising under these circumstances that the generic name of the officiating priest had been *ṛtvij,*—properly 'he who sacrifices (or: who pronounces the *yājyās*) according to the distributive norm.'

Morphologically *ṛtu* is a name of action, meaning 'effective' like *kratu*, *hetu*, *yātu*, and others. The distributive nuance is found again in several group words, thus in *kṛtu* (plur. *kṛtvas*) *dhātu -dātu*. The fundamental use of the root *ṛ-* is to 'bring about a continuity', or to 'articulate'. It is the sense which, with the orientations, different every time, is at the base of *ṛta* 'domain of the organized, of the group, *nirṛti* 'disorganization', *aram* 'in a well-arranged manner, in due distribution', *arati* epithet of Agni as distributor of the functions'.

We know enough of the Indo-European connections of the root *ṛ* and more especially of the derivative in *-tu-* (lat. *artus* 'articulation').

But it is convenient to take up again, at least in some words, the comparison with the Avestic word *ratu* which has been described several times and then abandoned. Phonetically the avestic word would conceal a Vedic **ratu* (or in the strict sense **artu*), the structure of which would be that of *kratu*. But this divergence is accessory. AV. *ratu* designates, at first, in some passages, a 'period' of variable dimensions, but in all cases fixed: sometimes putting together 'three springs' Vd. XVIII. 9, sometimes coinciding with the duration of preparation of the *haoma* (we are here indeed in the environment of the *ṛtu* of the Agniṣṭoma) Y. II. 18; III. 1; IX. 1; Vd. VII. 4.

Another word *ratu*, infinitely more important, seems at first quite remote from Vedic *ṛtu*. Certain beings, certain institutions, are designated as the *ratu* of the *aša*, that is to say, 'conceived as controlled by a protecting spirit belonging to the world of the divine order', thus notably Ahura Mazdāh is the *ratu* of the gods, Zarathuštra that of the human beings.

One would cite some important indications for the relationship with the Vedic:

(*a*) the connection of the *ratu* with the *aša*. In the Ṛgveda the *ṛtu* is the animated principle, active, of a distributive organization of which the *ṛta* represents the continuance or the abstract idea. The *ṛtu* is from the domain of the *ṛta*, undoubtedly the expression *ṛtasya ṛtuh* which would coincide with the avestic expression is not adequate but the nearness of the two terms is frequent enough for having some instructive value.

(*b*) In the same way, as the Avesta speaks of the *ratu* belonging to divers entities, down to the *vīsya ratu*, in the like manner the Ṛgveda mentions the *pārthivānām ṛtūn* I. 95, 3; it speaks of the beasts and men, down to the winged birds, which shoot to the interior of the heavens according to the *ṛtu* of the Aurora (I. 49, 3), the feminine goddesses which are the *ṛtu* of the women (V. 46, 8). Here the value of 'presiding principle, *adhikāra*', which has often been postulated for the

Avesta, is entirely plausible. The liturgy *Vīspe ratave* invokes the celestial *ratu*, the human *ratu*, 'those that fly into the air, etc.' Lastly, the most significant text perhaps is: RS. II. 13, 1 in which the *ṛtu* is called the mother of Indra, that is the power thanks to which the god, by his exploits, had introduced order into the primitive anarchy. The *ṛtu* is so to say the Śakti of Indra. 'The time (or: the season) is his mother', as it is usually translated has no sense whatever.

THE AVESTA FROM THE HINDU POINT OF VIEW

By Motilal Das

In the whole of world literature, there is nothing which can stand comparison with the Vedas. For their serene and solemn outlook, for their grand style, for their spiritual values and for their universal appeal, these are the loftiest masterpieces of ancient human achievements. The Avesta, the book of the old Iranians, who were the nearest kinsmen of our Aryan forefathers throws considerable light on the thoughts and ideals of the Vedas, and when studied in the background of Vedic literature, the Avesta discloses new shades of meanings. A comparative study of the Vedas and the Avesta is thus of real positive value both to the Hindus, whose culture and religion are based on the Vedas and the Parsis who look upon the Avesta as their sacred Bible.

The meaning of the word 'Avesta' is uncertain and different scholars give different meanings. We would think, however, that the name is derived from the Sanskrit word *Upastha*, which is a synonym for the Veda. Sanjana in his work on 'the Ancient Persia and the Parsis' writes: The conjecture of Prof. Andrews, which Karl F. Geldner is disposed to concur in, is that Avistak on Avistāk is to be traced back to the old form *Upastha* and thus signifies foundation or foundation-text. Sanjana, however, does not seem to have known that *Upastha* is equivalent for the Veda just as Śruti, Amnaya and others. The Sanskrit equivalents for the Veda, Mantra, Śruti, Amnayas, Chandas have their counterparts in the Avesta as Mathra, Prasruti, Menai and Zend. The Atharvaveda is styled as Atharvāṅgirasa or Bhrigwangiras. Generally it is interpreted to mean that the Atharvaveda consists of two classes of Mantras—spells that protect the sacrifices and hymns that refer to sacrifices. But a better conclusion would be to take the Atharvaveda to consist of two books, one of the Atharvans and the other of the Aṅgirasas. Atharva and Aṅgira are two famous ṛṣis. Their descendants and followers are known as Atharvans and Aṅgirasas. There is a Ṛk which says that it was Atharva, who first disclosed the path of sacrifice. The heirs and disciples of Atharva, who were the fire-priests of ancient India, are to be identified with the Athravas, the fire-priests named in the Avesta.

We would presume that the Avesta is the lost Bhargava Upastha. The extant Atharvaveda in India is only the Aṅgirasa book of the Atharvaveda.

It has been ascertained beyond all doubt that the old Iranians and our Aryan forefathers once lived together. They had common conceptions and common ideals. But, later on, there was a schism between the two sections. The real reason of the quarrel is not known. We can conjecture that it was due to differences in worship. In the *Mahabharata* we find that there was a fight between the Devas and the Asuras. The Devas selected Brihaspati, the son of Aṅgira as their preceptor, while the Asuras selected Śukra the Bhargava as their priest and teacher. It is further stated that because of this fight, the two sections began to have their prayers and sacrifices by different mantras. This would explain the loss of Bhargava Upastha from our sacred literature. But if we bear this in mind, it would be possible for us to interpret the Vedas and the Avesta correctly with reference to the common ideals and conceptions. The Avesta has close resemblances, both in language and spirit to Vedic literature and if we try, we shall be able to find Vedic words, idioms and ideas as equivalents to Avestic ones.

In Yasna 71: 11. we get that 'there is but one path—the path of Āśā—all others are false paths'. The essence of Avestic teachings is contained in the deep and fundamental conception of Āśā. The scholars are unanimous that the Avestan Āśā and the Vedic Ṛta are the two variants of the same word. In the Vedas we are told that the gods are mighty because they uphold the eternal law of Ṛta. The divine deities are lords of Ṛta and protectors of the eternal law. Madhucchanda, the Vedic Ṛṣī says, 'O thou Mitra and Varuṇa, thou art great and mighty, because thou lovest the everlasting law, thou cherishest the eternal order of universe'.

The *gāthās* embody this Vedic idea and uphold that human life should be founded on Āśā. In Yasna 60. 12. we find that the worshippers express the wish that 'Through the best Āśa, through the highest Āśā, may we get a vision of Thee, may we get a vision of Thee, may we draw near unto Thee, may we be in perfect union with Thee.'

The Indo-Iranians looked upon this universal order, prevailing in nature with awe and reverence and tried to mould life gracefully with the ordered movement they saw all around them. The Āśā-Ṛta conception is the noblest achievement of human mind. It stands for the righteousness of Godhead and exhorts man to be of one will with Aśā and thereby approach Ahura-Mazda, the great Āśūra, the highest divine being. Āśā is *vahista*, i.e. *vashistha*, the best that man can think of. To be upholder of Āśā, man must be pure in body, mind and spirit. He should have good thoughts, good words and good deeds. We must live in the atmosphere of Āśā and radiate it all around in our life. It would bring us inward peace and joy in our daily hardships and trials. It is for this reason that *Asem vohu* has been ordained as the daily prayer of the devout Zoroastrians.

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It runs thus:—

Asem vohu vahistem asti, ustā asti;
Usta uhmai hyat Asai vahistai Asem.

It can be put into a Sanskrit verse word for word without much change:

Ṛtam vasu vasishtam asti, istam asti;
İstam asmai yatas Ṛtaya vasishtaya Ṛtaṃ.

'A righteous life is the richest life we can have—it is the best and should be the goal of life on earth. He attains the goal who lives for righteousness alone.'

Around this sublime pivot of universal order and righteousness the ethics of our Indo-Iranian forefathers revolves. The gods are gods because they are possessed of Āśā and Ṛta and man may divinize himself by conforming his life to this noble truth in his life. Man is free to choose for himself the path of righteousness or the path of wickedness; one is hard and the other pleasant. But if he wants abiding peace, joy and immortality, man must embrace Āśā and follow the good life through all the struggles of life.

The Indo-Iranians were lovers of life. To them life is a joy. They had robust faith in living. It is for this reason that the Ṛṣīs in the Vedas ask for hundred autumns of cheerful and happy life.

A Vedic hymn runs thus: 'We must see with joy hundred autumns, we must have our feast of life for hundred years, we must live and live for hundred autumns. We must thrill with the joy of life and increase ourselves for hundred autumns. We must have the boon of life growing with joy and cheer from day to day during our long life. We must be in unison with nature for these hundred years. We must have enthusiasm for these hundred years—nay not only hundred but more years.'

In Yasna 43. 1. Zarathustra preaches also the joy of living: 'Happiness comes to him who gives happiness unto others. The great lord bestows joy and peace to one who dedicates himself for the good of others. For progress and for upholding the path of righteousness, one must pray for vitality and strength of soul.'

Pessimism took hold of the Indian mind later on and our thinkers and philosophers lost faith in the robust optimistic outlook of the Vedic singers. To them, this world became a place of sorrows and sufferings and they sought out means for escape from this sordid world. Life is pain and suffering and we must have deliverance from the world-ache. But there is nowhere this sorrowful outlook in the earliest songs and hymns. To these hardy and hopeful life was full of honey.' They saw joy and gladness in all the movements of nature. Gotama Rahugana sings with glee:—

'Let the wind waft sweets, the streams pour sweets for him that keep to the path of Ṛta. Let the plants be sweet to us. Sweet be the night and sweet be the dawn, sweet be the dust of the earth and sweet be our father Heaven to us.

May the lordly trees bring sweets and pleasant be the sun.

May the quarters of the earth be full of sweets to us.'

Zarathustra too asks for earthly blessings. The reward of joyful and happy life is invoked in most of his prayers. We must accept life as we find it but shall make it sweeter and richer by becoming a radiating centre of cheer and happiness to all with whom we come in contact.

This philosophy of optimism was later on embodied in the theory of Anandam. Man is born of Anandam. He lives and has his being in Anandam and he merges into Anandam. This grand message of Anandam of our forefathers must be revived in the fever and fret of modern life.

But this life of happiness is not a life of sloth and idleness. It is a life of active self-sacrifice. The Aryans and the Iranians were both followers of sacrifices. Martin Haug says: 'The Izeshne ceremony, as performed by the Parsee priests now-a-days contains all the element of which the different parts of the Jyotishtoma cycle of sacrifices, the prototype of all the Soma sacrifices is composed. The Agnishtoma (i.e. praise of Agni, the fire) which is the opening sacrifice of this cycle and indispensable for every Agnihotra, to gain the object wished for, viz. heaven, bears particularly a resemblance to the performance of Izeshne.'

Yajna, however, is no mere ceremony. It is the realization of the great design of Godhead in the evolution of the world. Progress is possible, advance is secured only by the active services of man in society. When we work for the good of others and render our services for society, we not only become ourselves richer in spirit but we preserve the social order and add meaning and purpose to human history. Each man must exert himself to the best of his powers and consecrate himself for the good of humanity. We must not live for ourselves alone. We must live for one and all. We must render active services and add something worthy to the sum total of the life of humanity.

It is said in the Ṛgveda—Kevaladas Kevalagho Bhavati—one who eats for himself, eats sin alone. The great world cycle moves because of sacrifice of the great lord and we must also daily perform these sacrifices in promoting the divine kingdom of Righteousness.

Let us now turn from these general conceptions and look to some of the particular aspects of the Avesta. The Avesta glorifies Ahura mazda. Its Vedic variant is Asura-mahat. In the earliest hymns of the Ṛgveda we have references to this Asura-mahat and there can be no doubt that before the schism Asura-mahat was a

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common name for the highest divine being among the Indo-Aryans.

In a hymn of Vamadeva we get the following:—

Mahat tannama Guhyam Puruspṛig, yena Bhutam janayo yena Bhavyam.

'Mahat' is that secret name which embraces everything, whereby thou createst all that is and all that shall be.'

There are seven ministering angels who together form the great Lord Ahura mazda. There are more or less symbolic ideals, and moral concepts. They are known as Amesha spentas whose sanskrit transliteration would be Amartya shivatama—the benevolent immortals. These are known as Vohu Manah, Asha, Kshathra, Aramaiti, Haurvatat and Ameratat. They are the variants of Sanskrit, Brahman, Ṛta, Kṣatra, Aramati, Sarvatati and Amritatwa. The first three are active virtues which, when followed bring devotion, infinite blessings and immortality to the worshipper. Vohumana is generally translated as good mind. Man obtains power through goodness of mind. Good mind directs the paths of the devotee and through him he is able to traverse the path of Righteousness. One who resorts to the wisdom and grace of the Lord through Vahu Manah and Āśā attain the power worldly and heavenly, of God and thereby inaugurate the kingdom of Mazda on earth.

Let me conclude the little essay with a brief discussion of the Ahuna vairya mantra, which is regarded by the pious Zoroastrians as the very root of their faith. Zarathustra is acclaimed by them as a world-teacher and it is said that the hymn contains the essence of his teachings—the eternal principles of Truth, Love and Service.

Yatha Ahu vairyo, Atha Ratus asat cit hoca
Vangheys dozda Manangho syaothananam angheus Mazdai
Xsathrem ca Ahurai a yim driguvyo dadat.

Its Sanskrit transliteration would be something like what is given below:

Yatha Asu Viryam Atha Ratus Rtat chayat asya
Brahmasya data manasas kryamananam Ayusha Mahatas.
Kshatramch Asurasya yam durgataya dadat vastram.

'Just as the sovereign-Lord is all-powerful so is the spiritual leader through the store of Āśā, the universal order. The gift of Brahman comes to him who works for God the Lord of life. The strength of God descends on that man indeed, who gives shelter and love to the poor and meek.'

The whole world moves in the path of law. We must adore this eternal law and follow it in the desires and actions of our life. This divine law is fulfilled in our life only when we lead active lives doing good to others. The great design of God is furthered by our active co-operation and service.

This mantra therefore contains the true meanings of the prophet of Ahura Mazda. To attain the peace and joy of God, we are to follow the three paths—the path of knowledge, the path of love and the path of service. These are inter-related. We now know and feel the presence of God, our Lord Ahura Mazda and by love and faith we now embrace him. But this love and faith is to energize us into action. There is evil in this world. We must perish evil. Our life is to be one of continued battles against the powers of evil and wickedness. This we can do best by seeking salvation of all mankind. We fight the evil best when we make others good. The good must triumph ultimately and we can espouse the cause of truth and virtue by fighting against wickedness and working for righteousness.

A synthetic integral philosophy of life is what the care-worn and troubled humanity needs today. We shall find it in the oldest teachings of our Indo-Iranian ancestors.

Let us cling fast to their noble and sublime teachings. Their faith was brimful of life and cheer, their love was deep and fervent, their worship was pure and holy and their work was selfless and pure. Let the unhappy world turn once more to the glad-tidings.

The Avesta and the Vedas together supplement one another. They proclaim the message of hope and joy. They are not unaware of the existence of evil in life. This stubborn fact cannot be denied. What man can do in this world of conflicts is to lead a life of growth and evolution. Perfection would perhaps never be attained by man but no one can be apathetic to the creed of development. We daily attain perfection and health by the ever-enduring process of perfection. Happiness is the criterion of the value of human life, pleasure is not the standard; but a life of love and service where we daily enrich and perfect our lives by our failures and defects.

As a Hindu I hail the mystic lore of the Avesta and I fondly hope that this forgotten Bhargava Veda will take its rightful place among the vast body of our sacred literature. It would be a source both of curious delight and ennobling inspiration.

ESCAPE (NISSARAṆA)

By I. B. HORNER

Although a certain amount might be written on the etymology of the word *nissaraṇa*, which seems to mean 'without' (*nis-*) 'a refuge' or shelter (*saraṇa*), I am not attempting this here. Nor am I discussing the related word *paṭisaraṇa*.[1] The point I wish to make is that it is possible to see from relevant contexts in the Pali canon that those states or conditions to which no refuge or shelter is given, or, to put it differently, that have no refuge or shelter, are states and conditions that can be escaped from, indeed are to be escaped from, *nissaraṇīya*. In this way they give rise to escape, escapes, *nissaraṇa*, for there is an escape from them. States or conditions that are to be escaped from can be escaped from, both because they have no refuge or shelter and because there is an escape from them. It is man who makes the escape effective, usually either by setting up some new state against the one to be escaped from, and so driving it out; or by controlling it, and so likewise driving it out and getting rid of it.

I shall take *nissaraṇa* from the man's point of view, as the escape he is to make from various states and conditions, mentioned in the Pali texts, and which are, broadly speaking, impermanent, ill, not-self, hindering and obstructing him in his search for the highest goal.

I shall render the noun *nissaraṇa* consistently by 'escape'; the verb *nissarati* (not of frequent occurrence[2]) as 'to escape'; and the gerundive *nissaraṇīya* as 'to be escaped from' (not as 'leading to escape', 'whereby should be escape', or 'tending to deliverance'). If we can translate these words consistently wherever they are found, we stand a better chance of realizing the solidarity of thought and idea which governed the choice and use of them in the contexts where they occur. The old editors were extremely precise in their use of words, and if we are to get at their thought we must attempt to be as precise as they were.

The word 'escape' has already been used by some translators. I adopt it here, as it seems the best rendering. Other English words that have been used for *nissaraṇa* are: salvation, deliverance, outcome, refuge, way of refuge. And for *anissaraṇapañña* (not wise as to the escape, not knowing it, not conscious of it), these phrases have been used: 'discerning that they are unsafe,' 'without realizing that they afford no refuge,' 'he knows not how unreliable they are'. Now, 'salvation' (and even although the Commentaries are apt to explain *nissaraṇa* by *nibbāna*, there are exceptions) seems to me too big a word, suggesting the whole being of man; and there are, besides, other drawbacks. 'Outcome' is too small, and does not convey the right meaning—'coming out' would be nearer. For 'deliverance' there is the word *vimutti*; moreover the texts make it clear that *nissaraṇa* is not quite what *vimutti* is, nor is it susceptible to different kinds, as is *vimutti*, with its *cetovimutti*, *paññāvimutti* and so on. 'Refuge', even if it is etymologically wrong, for *nissaraṇa* and *saraṇa* are opposites, might be accepted, but only if it is remembered that one escapes from something bad to the refuge of something else, regarded as good. 'Not-the-refuge' would be better, the not-refuge of some state, as for example, 'This is not-the-refuge of material shapes, that is to say immateriality', for this would mean that material shapes have no foothold, no refuge where they can stay in what is not material. But in spite of *nissaraṇa* being a negative word, I think some more positive rendering is called for, and this is supplied by 'escape'. Moreover, it is difficult to say, following another context, that 'this is not-the-refuge of material shapes, that is to say the control and ejection of passion and desire for them'. The escape from them lies in such a control (*vinaya*, aversion, diversion, discipline) of them that they are got rid of, and hence escaped from.

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[1] E.g., *M*. iii. 9; *S*. v. 218; *A*. i. 199, iii. 186.

[2] E.g., *S*. iii. 30; *A*. i. 260.

I have collected here at least fifty-four states or conditions from which the Pali canon says there is an escape. As treated in the Pali canon, they fall roughly into nineteen categories or groups, some of which however contain only one item. These categories, if taken item by item, are found to comprise about sixty-seven members. But because some of the categories contain one or more of the items contained in others, the total of sixty-seven becomes reduced to about fifty-four.

I will now give a table of these states to be escaped from, and in all cases where the Pali canon tells us what the escape itself is from any state to be escaped from, I add this in its appropriate place in a second column. Those states which occur in more than one category are denoted by italics.

States from which there is an Escape.	*The Escape.*
I. What is born, *become*, made, *composite*	The unborn, not become, unmade, incomposite
Ud. 80, It. p. 37	*Also* the stopping of things that are ill, the calming of the constructions

	States from which there is an Escape.		*The Escape.*
II.	*Sense-pleasures*		Renunciation of them
	Material shapes		Non-material shape
	Whatever has *become*, is *composite*, has uprisen by way of cause		Its stopping
	It. p. 61, D. iii. 275		
III.	*Sense-pleasures*		Renunciation of them
	Ill-will		Non-ill-will
	Harming		Non-harming
	Material shapes		Non-material shape
	One's own body		Its stopping
	A. iii. 245-6, D. iii. 239-240		
IV.	*Ill-will*		Freedom of heart that is love
	Harming		Freedom of heart that is compassion
	Discontent		Freedom of heart that is sympathetic joy
	Passion		Freedom of heart that is indifference
	All signs		Freedom of heart that is signless
	Barb of *perplexity and doubt*		Rooting out the conceit that 'I am'
	A. iii. 290, D. iii. 247		
V.	*Sense-pleasures*		*In each case:* control and ejection of desire and passion for them
	Material shapes		
	Feelings		
	M. i. 84 ff.		
VI.	*Material shape*	The five Khandhas	*In each case:* control and ejection of desire and passion for them
	Feeling		
	Perception		
	Constructions		
	Consciousness		
	S. iii. 61–65; cf. S. iii. 27–29, 103, 174		
VII.	Passion for *sense-pleasures*	The five Hindrances	
	Ill-will		
	Sloth and torpor		
	Restlessness and worry		
	Doubt and perplexity		
	S. v. 127; cf. A. iii. 234 ff.		
VIII.	*Sense-pleasures*	The four Āsavas, Oghas, Yogas	Non-obsession with them is release, *visamyoga*, from them
	Becoming (*cf. Sn.* 69)		Released from them, one is secure from the bonds, *yogakkhema*
	View		
	Ignorance		
	A. ii. 11-12		
IX.	Six spheres of sense-contact		
	M. ii. 230, S. iv. 83		

	States from which there is an Escape.	*The Escape.*
X.	Five sense-organs *S. v. 193-4*	
	Six sense-organs *S. iv. 8*	
XI.	Pleasure Pain *S. iv. 205*	
XII.	Painful feelings *S. v. 208-9*	
XIII.	Feeling that is neither painful nor pleasant *M. iii. 285*	
XIV.	The world *S. i. 128, A. i. 258 f., 260*	Control and ejection of desire and passion for it
XV.	The four elements *S. ii. 171 ff.*	
XVI.	Ill, ageing and dying *S. ii. 5, 9, 10*	
XVII.	Seven Stations of Consciousness Two Spheres *D. ii. 69-70, M. iii. 25 ff.*	By full comprehension of them one is freed
XVIII.	Slightest faults *Vbh. 247*	
XIX.	Material things (such as robes, almsfood, lodgings, medicines = the four requisites = gifts) *D. iii. 46, S. ii. 194-5, A. i. 74, 274*	

The above list, although giving but the bare bones as it were of the subject, cannot fail, I think, to underline the importance the canonical texts ascribed to the notion of escape. Although the greatest emphasis is on sense-pleasures and then on material shapes (that is, if we go by the number of times these are mentioned in the escape passages), there is yet a considerable diversity of states from which there is said to be an escape. It will be noticed that the escape from the same state or set of conditions is sometimes differently expressed. Thus, for example, the escape from ill-will and the escape from harming have both a negative and a positive form: the former appearing as non-ill-will, non-harming; and the latter as freedom of heart that is love, freedom of heart that is compassion. It may be for this reason that the *Vinaya* speaks of escapes, using the plural: conscious lying is a stumbling-block to the escapes.[1] Or it may be that in this *Vinaya* passage each and every escape from each and every state that is said to have an escape is being thought of.

What this list does not show at all is the sequence that at some time became stereotyped: *assāda, ādīnava, nissaraṇa,*—satisfaction, peril, escape. But more details of this sequence will emerge as we go along. Nor does it at all fully show the connection of the escapes with freedom, *vimutti*. This is fairly well marked, and can be seen in several of the relevant contexts.

Thus, taking Group III, it is said that if a monk pays attention to the states named there, his mind is not freed; but if he pays attention to their opposites, namely to the escape from them, his mind is freed, *vimuccati*. Because his mind is well or totally freed, *suvimutta*, from each condition, he is freed, *mutta*, from the *āsavas*, cankers, or fluxions, which arise on account of each of the conditions to be escaped from, *nissaraṇiya dhātuyo*. To be freed from the cankers is tantamount to arahantship. The achievement of escape is therefore a step forward on the journey on the Way; as a stepping-stone it is valuable.

Freedom of mind or heart is well to the fore in Group IV. As to another form of freedom frequently mentioned in the Pali canon, *paññāvimutti*, freedom by wisdom or intellect, the *Dīgha*[2] says that a monk is freed without any substrate remaining, *anupāda vimutta*, who is freed by wisdom, and who comprehends the uprising and setting, the satisfaction and peril of the seven stations of consciousness, *viññāṇaṭṭhiti*, and the two spheres, and the escape from them. (See Group XVII.)

Again, the idea of freedom enters into both the contexts I have adduced to exemplify Group IX. In the one, Gotama is reputed to say: 'As to this (that they theorise about), it is composite, it is material (*oḷārika*), but there is indeed a stopping of the constructions', and having understood it thus, the Truthfinder sees the escape from it, has gone beyond it. This Sutta, the Pañcattaya of the *Majjhima*,[3] ends by saying: 'Thus it is that the matchless path to peace is well awakened to by the Truthfinder who, having understood the rise and fall, the satisfaction and peril in the six spheres without substrate remaining.'

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[1] *Vin.* i. 104.

[2] *D.* ii. 69-70.

[3] *M.* ii. 230 ff.

In the other passage exemplifying Group IX, 'to be freed' is shown to be a stage subsequent to that of 'understanding': a monk is *vedagū*, expert in knowledge, if he comprehends, as it really is, the rise and fall, the satisfaction and peril of the six spheres of sense-impingement, and the escape from these; but he is an all-conqueror, *sabbaji*, when, after he has understood all these aspects of the six spheres, he is freed without any substrate remaining.[1]

In relation to Group VI it is said that if a monk is skilled in seven points and is an investigator in three ways, he is accomplished, *kevalin*, in this dhamma and discipline, he has lived the life and is a supernal person, *uttamapurisa*. The seven points that he comprehends are material shape, its arising, its stopping and the way leading to its stopping, together with the satisfaction and peril in it and the escape from it. This escape lies in the control and ejection of desire and passion for material shape. (The same is then said of the remaining four *khandhas*.) Whoever fully knows these seven points about each of the five *khandhas* fares along well by his disregard and dispassion for them and by his stopping them. By these processes he is freed without any substrate remaining; he is totally or well freed; being well freed he is an accomplished and supernal one whose course (like that of arahants) is not known.[2]

From the above evidence it therefore cannot well be doubted that there exists a strong connection between escape and freedom. The means of getting free are many, and one of them lies in making good the escapes.

Three and five and six elements to be escaped from, *nissaraṇīya dhātuyo*, are mentioned in the texts (see Groups II, III and IV). To some smallish extent they overlap, so that taking them all together there are ten elements to be escaped from, instead of fourteen as appears if the groups are taken separately. The expression *nissaraṇīya dhātuyo* is not used in any other contexts besides these. Yet this does not preclude some of the items included in them from having parallels in other escape passages where, however, there is no mention of the phrase *nissaraṇīya dhātuyo*.

For example, the *Itivuttaka* and the *Dīgha* [3] (Group II) speak of three conditions to be escaped from, the *Dīgha* saying that they are difficult to penetrate: 'from sense-pleasures, this is the escape, namely renunciation; from material shapes, this is the escape, namely non-materiality; and the escape from whatever has become, is composite and has uprisen by way of cause, is its stopping.' Yet the escape from what has become and is composite, mentioned in the last clause, is also much emphasized in another *Itivuttaka* passage,[1] corresponding with an *Udāna* passage,[2] but where the words *nissaraṇīya dhātuyo* are not used: 'There is an unborn, not become, unmade, incomposite, and were it not for this unborn, not become, unmade, incomposite, no escape could be shown here for what is born, become, made, composite. But because there is the unborn, not become, unmade, incomposite, an escape can be shown for what is born, become, made, composite.' This has the appearance of a general statement of which all the other conditions and elements from which there is an escape are particular instances. The Commentary says that what is made is made by way of cause, causally made, which would therefore bring this item into line with the last item of the other *Itivuttaka* passage and the *Dīgha* passage mentioned above: 'whatever has arisen by way of cause.'

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[1] *S*. iii. 61–65.

[2] *S*. iv. 83.

[3] *It*. p. 61; *D*. iii. 275.

The *Itivuttaka* proceeds to a verse,[3] not found in the *Dīgha*, which tells where this escape leads, and what it is:

> The born, become, produced,
> Made, composite—not lasting;
> A composite of ageing and dying,
> A nest of sickness, brittle,[4]
> A conduit for food, come to be—
> It is not right to delight in that.
>
> The escape from it to the real [5]—
> Which is beyond reasoning, lasting,
> Unborn, unproduced—
> To the sorrowless, dustless path,
> Is the stopping of things that are ill,
> The calming of the constructions, bliss.[6]

This lovely verse is reminiscent of the Upanishad's 'From the unreal lead me to the real.' For it too draws a distinction between the born and unlasting on the one hand, and the unborn and lasting on the other. The escape from the one is to the other.

In the ariyan quest that Gotama set himself [7] he sought six objectives, amongst them some of those mentioned in this *Itivuttaka* verse. He sought the unborn, the unageing, the undiseased, the undying, the unsorrowing and the stainless (*cf.* the 'dustless' in *It.*), and describes each as 'the incomparable security from the bonds—nibbāna.' And when he had found them, he knew, 'Unshakable is freedom for me'.[8]

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[1] *It.* p. 37.

[2] *Ud.* 80.

[3] *It.* p. 37.

[4] *Cf. Dh.* 148.

[5] *Santa.*

[6] With last line *cf. Dh.* 368.

[7] *M.* i. 163 ff.

[8] *M.* i. 167.

But before his awakening, this thought occurred to him as it did to each of the preceding Buddhas while they were still *bodhisattas*: 'There is being born and ageing and dying and passing (from one birth) and uprising (in another). But one does not comprehend, *nappājānāti*, the escape from this ill, from ageing and dying. When shall the escape from this ill, from ageing and dying, be perceived?'[1]

Escape therefore presented itself as something to be looked for and found. Before their full awakening the Great Beings seem to have been aware of its importance, so it must be presumed that early in their ministries it was an idea with which they were much concerned; and this is indeed borne out by Gotama's account of the beginnings of his quest and striving, as found in the Ariyapariyesana Sutta.

'Ageing and dying' are, I think, merely examples of 'this ill' which is 'all that is denoted by the word "mortality"',[2] emphasizing the fact that the bodhisattas in seeking an escape from ill would know, as Buddhas, that escape from it is possible because there is an unborn, not become, unmade, incomposite—the very antithesis of the impermanence and changefulness, hence the ills, which characterize the psycho-physical components: body, feeling, perception, the conformations (or constructions) and consciousness. For Buddhas, as well as instructed disciples of the ariyans, comprehend as they really are, the arising, the passing away, the satisfaction, the peril of these five grasping groups, and the escape from them[3] (see Group VI).

Other thoughts about escape that he had, while still a bodhisatta, are recorded to have been recollected by Gotama.[4] Before he became Buddha, he had wondered what was the escape from these five grasping groups or components of grasping. In each case he came to the conclusion that it was the control and ejection of desire and passion for them.[5] And once he had understood the satisfaction and the peril of these grasping groups and the escape from them, he knew that he was fully awakened. Before, he had been doubtful.[6] He then says that not only has the escape, which there is from these groups, been rightly seen by him by means of wisdom, but that, because there is an escape from them, beings escape from them—otherwise they could not do so.[7]

This is somewhat differently put in various other passages, and in particular I am thinking of some which refer to the 'world', by which is meant the six sense-organs, as at *S.* iv. 93–95, which is also one of the meanings that 'sea' has in it the discipline for an ariyan.[1] Thus, when the *Anguttara* says:[2] 'Whatever is the control and ejection of desire and passion for the world, this is the escape from the world', and again,[3] 'Because there is an escape from the world therefore beings escape from the world . . . when beings know the satisfaction of the world as such, the peril as such, the escape as it really is, these beings are released from the world, unfettered, freed, and they live with a mind whose barriers are down,' I think the reference is to the world of the six senses, or, as the Commentary says,[4] to the world of the constructions—to the world that is to be found in this fathom-long body.

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[1] *S.* ii. 5, 9, 10.

[2] A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, p. 50.

[3] *S.* iii. 174 ff.

[4] *S.* iii. 27-28.

[5] As at *M.* iii. 18; *cf. S.* v. 220 ff., of feelings.

[6] *S.* iii. 29.

[7] *S.* iii. 29–31.

It is also significant that when Māra, who has as one of his snares the pleasures of the senses,[5] was trying to tempt a nun of Āḷavī,[6] and again the therī Selā[7] to stop being aloof,[8] he uttered this verse:

> There is no escape from the world.
> What is the good of aloofness?
> Enjoy pleasures and delights.
> Do not become one who repents later.

But the nun replies: 'There is an escape from the world; it is well accomplished (*suphussita*) by me through wisdom . . . it is not you who knows that path.'

Another aspect of the 'world' is that of the four great elements: earth, water, air, fire or heat. There is an escape from each one of them (Group XV). Again, it is said, if there were not, beings could not escape from them; but because there is, beings escape from them.[9] It may be, although it is not explicitly said so, that the escape is to be found in disregarding and being dispassionate towards the four great elements,[10] and all that they imply.

Turning to the pleasures of the senses, which are in Māra's domain, his snare, and to pleasant and painful feelings, the following passage[11] is somewhat reminiscent of Māra's tempting of the nuns: 'Of recluses and brahmans who are greedy and avid for the five-fold pleasures of the senses, not seeing the peril in them, not aware of the escape from them, this can be said: they have fallen into misery and calamity, and are to be done to by the Evil One as he wishes'. Whereas, if they live aloof from the pleasures of the senses, they are called those who have made Māra blind (or, have put a darkness round him).[1] Here the escape, which the Commentaries are apt to call nibbāna, is however said to be reflection and knowledge.[2] This must mean reflection on and knowledge of the six senses, a view which could be corroborated by another *Majjhima* passage:[3] 'Only a person who comprehends, *pajānāti*, the satisfaction as such (among pleasures of the senses, material shapes and feelings), the peril as such, and the escape as such, can fully know, *parijānāti*, for himself the pleasures of the senses, material shapes and feelings, and can instruct others so that they too can fully know them.' So a complete knowledge of these things demands a full knowledge of their satisfaction, their peril and the escape from them.

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[1] *S.* iv. 127.
[2] *A.* i. 258.
[3] *A.* i. 260
[4] *AA.* ii. 365.
[5] *Vin.* i. 21; *S.* i. 105, 111, etc.
[6] *S.* i. 128.
[7] *Thig.* 57; *cf. Thig.* 190.
[8] That is, I think, from sense-pleasures, as explained at *SA.* i. 189, and does not refer to being 'alone', as stated at *K.S.* i. 160.
[9] *S.* ii. 171 ff.
[10] *S.* ii. 172.
[11] *M.* i. 173; *cf.* shorter version at *D.* i. 245.

Whatever the Commentaries mean precisely whenever they explain *nissaraṇa* by nibbāna,[4] a certain *Saṃyutta* passage[5] also comes near to admitting that the former is the result of some notable achievement. It says: 'Whatever ariyan disciple comprehends, *pajānāti*, the uprising and passing away, the satisfaction and the peril of the five sense-organs, *indriya*, and the escape from them as it really is, is called an ariyan disciple who is a stream-attainer, assured, bound for awakening.' A stream-winner has had vision of nibbāna; he is on the true way, for he has entered the stream of dhamma.

Pārāpariya, a thera, meditating on sense-perception, says that if a man, not seeing the peril, goes among material shapes and sounds with his organs of sight and hearing not restrained, he is not freed from ill. If he indulges in scents and does not see the escape, *anissaraṇadassavī*, he is not freed from ill, he is longing for scents.[6] Sights, sounds and scents, in common with the remaining sense-data, are a source of pleasure as well as of pain. According to the formula of casual uprising, it is from contact with sense-data that feeling uprises. But there is an escape from feeling, be it pleasant or painful:

Experiencing pleasure, not knowing feeling,
He becomes addicted to passion, not seeing the escape.

Experiencing pain, not knowing feeling,
He becomes addicted to repugnance, not seeing the escape.[7]

It is not said here what the escape is; and the escape from painful feelings is not sensory pleasure. This is the only escape from them that the average uninstructed person knows,[8] whereas the instructed ariyan disciple knows an escape from painful feelings apart from pleasures of the senses.

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[1] *M*. i. 174.
[2] *MA*. ii. 193.
[3] *M*. i. 84–90.
[4] E.g., *MA*. ii. 37; *cf*. *SnA*. 308 *gatinissaraṇaṃ nibbānam pi jānāmi*.
[5] S. v. 193-194.
[6] *Thag*. 730–732.
[7] *S*. iv. 205.
[8] *S*. iv. 208-209.

A passage in the *Majjhima*[1] should be compared with the *Saṃyutta* verses just quoted. It too associates a pleasant feeling with addiction to passion, and a painful feeling with an addiction to repugnance; and it then proceeds to the feeling that is neither painful nor pleasant. If someone is experiencing this kind of feeling, but does not know its origin or its passing away or its satisfaction or its peril of the escape from it, an addiction to ignorance obsesses him.[2] Since ignorance is the root cause of this whole mass of ill, it is quite consistent with this passage to find the *Saṃyutta* verses continuing as follows:

> If there is neither pain nor pleasure, it is taught by the very wise
> That, if he rejoices in this, he is not freed from ill.
>
> But if a monk is ardent, does not fail in comprehension,
> Then he, a wise one, fully knows all feelings.
>
> He, by fully knowing feelings, is cankerless here and now,
> At the breaking up of the body is one on dhamma standing,
> He is past reckoning, versed in knowledge.[3]

It is from other passages that we learn that the escape from feelings lies in the control and ejection of desire and passion for them. It is by facing them, it is not by shunning and avoiding them, which is the way of ignorance, nor is it, on the other hand, by seeking sensory pleasure that the escape is to be made from them. There is here, or so it seems, an echo of the teaching on the Middle Way, *majjhima paṭipadā*, the middle course between the two extremes or dead-ends of self-indulgence and self-torment.

Passages on the escape from the five Hindrances (Group VII) do not say what it consists in, but merely that, if anyone knows this escape, he knows and sees his own good and that of others and that of both himself and others.[4] Three of the Hindrances, however, appear in some of the other Groups (III and IV) and it is here we must look to discover the escapes.

In regard to Group XIX, that of material things: although there are various references to these, and to there being an escape, it is not explained in the texts what this escape is. Other contexts place dhamma as the opposite of material things, *ānisaṃsa*; for example, 'Be ye therefore heirs of dhamma in me, not heirs of material things'[5], but we could not confidently deduce from this that dhamma is specifically the escape from material things.

The passages dealing with material things have a tendency to include a kind of formula to the effect that, if a monk has received a gift of almsfood, robe-material, lodgings or medicine, he should make use of it 'without clinging, without infatuation, without attachment, seeing the peril, aware of the escape.'[1] A monk such as this is one who, in this connection, is quite pure,[2] he is one who honours true dhamma,[3] and his train of thought is of renunciation, non-ill-will, non-harming, and he is diligent, not slothful.[4]

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[1] *M.* iii. 285; *cf. S.* iv. 205, 209.

[2] *Cf. M.* i. 303-304.

[3] *S.* iv. 206-207.

[4] *S.* v. 124 f.; *cf. A.* iii. 243 ff.

[5] *M.* i. 12.

Now, since renunciation, non-ill-will and non-harming are given in other contexts as the escapes from sense-pleasures, ill-will and harming, it is perhaps not illegitimate to regard them also as the escapes from material goods. On the whole these are taken to be the four requisites. It seems that a virtuous monk renounces all desire for them, is contented with whatever he gets, and is not perturbed if he gets nothing[5]; he also renounces, in accordance with his ascetic's training, all picking and choosing between gifts, and if they do not please him he ejects any desire for them.[6] The inference to be drawn from the passage, which says that a monk who is not entangled in greed is one who thinks about non-ill-will and non-harming,[7] is, surely, that he bears no grudge against anyone and wishes him no harm even if he either gives nothing to the monk or something that he does not like. Thus, if this be so, the escape from gifts and material things may be said to lie in thoughts of renunciation, non-ill-will and non-harming; or in the control and ejection of any desire for material things.

In addition to the various kinds of escapes we have noticed, at least five canonical passages mention a 'further escape' or an 'escape beyond', *uttariṃ nissaraṇaṃ*,[8] all of them interesting not only for their leading idea but for the various notions they associate with it.

It appears to have been through ignorance, *avijjāgata*, that a person might be led to speak as if there was not a further escape, as was the case with Baka the Brahmā.[9] He spoke of the permanent, the lasting and the eternal as if they were the same as the impermanent, the unlasting and the non-eternal respectively; of the whole as if it were the same as the non-whole; of what is liable to pass away as if it were the same as what is not liable to pass away; and in cases where there is a being born, ageing and dying, and passing (from one birth) and uprising (in another) he said: 'This is not being born and ageing and dying and passing and uprising'. And although there is another further escape he said that there was not.

It would seem that the householder Anāthapiṇḍika understood impermanence better than did Baka. He is reputed to have confounded wanderers by saying[1]: 'Whatever has become, is composite, thought out, arisen by way of cause,[2] all that is impermanent; what is impermanent, that is ill; what is ill, that is not mine, that am I not, that is not myself; having well seen this thus by means of right wisdom as it really is, I comprehended, as it really is, the further escape from it.' Any guess at the nature of this further escape would be hazardous, although it cannot be said of nibbāna that it is composite, thought out or ill, or that it is not-self. Turning back to Groups I and II, we find that an escape from what has become, is composite and has arisen by way of cause, is to be found in stopping them. What has become, is composite and has arisen by way of cause, refers largely to the *khandhas*, all of which are also spoken of as *anatta*, not-self. Yet, although *attā* is the logical opposite of *anatta*, as *saraṇa* is of *nissaraṇa*, it would be unwise to conclude that those passages which stress the need to make of self a lamp and refuge, *attasaraṇa*, suggest that this is a refuge or escape from what is not-self or for what is not-self. For the self that is to be the refuge can hardly have anything to do with non-self.

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[1] As also at *A*. iii. 242, etc.

[2] *D*. iii. 46.

[3] *A*. i. 74.

[4] *A*. i. 274.

[5] *S*. ii. 194-195.

[6] *D*. iii. 46.

[7] *A*. i. 274.

[8] *S*. i. 142 = *M*. i. 326; *M*. i. 38, iii. 25 ff.; *A*. iv. 76, v. 188.

[9] *S*. i. 142 = *M*. i. 326.

Another passage brings us to the point where the stopping or ceasing, *nirodha*, of perception and feeling is the escape beyond which there is no further escape. This is the last of the nine stages in the meditative or contemplative process. As it is recorded,[3] step by step Sāriputta knows that, having successively attained the four stages in meditation, *jhāna*, from each of them there is a further escape. The contemplative is not to stay in any of them, not to remain there, but is to go further in contemplation, to the plane of infinite space. But this has a further escape—the plane of infinite consciousness, and this the plane of naught, and this has neither perception nor non-perception as its further escape; while the further escape from this is the stopping of knowing and feeling. Here Sāriputta knows that at last there is no further escape. Therefore in this connection the final escape is the final meditative stage, the stopping of knowing and feeling, *saññāvedayitanirodha*.

Although, in the meditative process there may be no further escape once the stopping of perceiving and feeling has been attained, the *Majjhima* states[4] that there is a further escape from what is perceived, or from perception, *saññāgata*. 'Whoever knows: There is this, there is the low, there is the excellent, there is a further escape from this that is perceived—the mind of one who knows thus, who sees thus is freed from the cankers of sense-pleasures, of becoming, of ignorance, and in freedom the knowledge comes to be that he is freed; and he comprehends: Destroyed is birth, lived is the Brahma-faring, done is what was to be done, there is no more of being such or such.' He, in fact, utters one of the formulae of arahantship. The Commentary refers the whole position to the *brahmavihāras*[1] which have been mentioned previously in the text, and the practice of which, as other canonical records show, leads to rebirth in the Brahma-world and not to arahantship. But 'this', according to the Commentary, is arahantship; 'the low' is penetrating the truth of the uprising of ill; 'the excellent' is the uprising of the truth of the Way. Endowed with this perception of the *brahmavihāras*, one knows that there is the further escape which is nibbāna.

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[1] *A*. v. 188.

[2] *Cf. It*. p. 61; *D*. iii. 275.

[3] *M*. iii. 25 ff.

[4] *M*. i. 38.

This commentarial exegesis, that there is a further escape from the perception of the *brahmavihāras*, is as much as to say that although one has attained the Brahma-world through their practice, and not arahantship, there is nevertheless a further escape—one may pass on from a Brahma-world. This view is corroborated by an *Anguttara* passage,[2] which states that there is a further escape from the Brahma-world. So no one, neither a brahman nor anyone who practises the *brahmavihāras* in their completion, need feel that, having attained the Brahma-world, there is no escape from it, or that his remaining life-spans will have to be spent there.

By its use of the word 'escape' it seems to me that the Early Buddhist teaching cannot be accused of 'escapism' as used in the modern sense. Present-day escapism means to turn one's back on life and living, throw off the usual mundane responsibilities, and lead a life devoted to the fulfilment of selfish aims, shutting oneself up in a world of one's own. The escape in Early Buddhism was no easy way out of the tangle of living. As usual, this teaching likes us to face facts, and get to know and comprehend all that goes to make up mortality. With this comes a stern control of self, based on a thorough knowledge of things as they really are: to know fully that all is passing and transitory is no longer to hanker after it, no longer to feel dejection at not possessing it. When one is able to turn away and to disregard one is calmed; and when one is calmed one is freed. To 'get free'[3] was part of the ideal. 'As the great ocean has but one taste, that of salt, so this dhamma and discipline have but one taste, that of freedom.'[4] Interwoven as the whole of the early teaching is, it is therefore perfectly consistent that some of the escapes should be the same as some of the freedoms, namely those of the mind, or heart (see Group IV). Since escape is not, however, central in the teaching, not of absolutely primary importance, one would not expect to find it connected with the freedom than which there is nothing higher. One of the highest kinds of freedom, owing its position to its close connection with the winning of arahantship, is unshakable freedom of mind, *akuppā cetovimutti*. Having points in common with the freedom called *asamayavimutti*, the freedom which is neither temporal nor temporary, and from which there is no falling away, this unshakable freedom of mind 'is the goal of the Brahma-faring, this the core, this the culmination.'[1] No such claim ever appears to have been made for *nissaraṇa*, although as I have tried to show, it was to some extent contributory to the winning of freedom. It certainly does not exist as some detached or independent aspect of a teaching, strongly marked as is Early Buddhism by its solidarity.

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[1] *MA.* i. 176.

[2] *A.* iv. 76.

[3] *Thīg.* 2.

[4] *Vin.* ii. 237; *Ud.* 55; *A.* iv. 203.

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[1] *M.* i. 197, 201.

BUDDHISM IN MALAYA

By RICHARD WINSTEDT

Buddhism with its abolition of caste barriers and of the prejudice against crossing the sea and being polluted by barbarians was one of the influences that led to Indian traffic with the Malay Peninsula at the beginning of the Christian era. Buddhist inscriptions in Kedah and in Province Wellesley, that was formerly part of Kedah, were chiselled in Sanskrit as early as the fourth century A.D. And the great sailor from Rakta-mṛttika, Buddhagupta, who erected a pillar at Bukit Meriam, in that century or earlier, was probably by no means the first Buddhist adventurer to cross the Bay of Bengal. It had been supposed that the Buddhism of these early traders was Hinayana only. But in 1940 (*JRAS. Malayan Branch*, XVIII, pt. 1) Dr. Quaritch Wales published his discovery, on the river Bujang (? = Bhujangga) in Kedah, of a Mahayanist inscription on a clay tablet. The Sanskrit defied identification until a young Chinese scholar in Paris traced it to the *Sagaramatipariprechā*. The script was in Pallava Grantha and has been dated by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti as early in the sixth century A.D.

At another site on the same river Dr. Quaritch Wales found a crude image of a Buddha belonging to the Gupta period (*ib.* XX, pt. 1, 1947). This little standing bronze appears contemporary with a much-damaged small standing Buddha from Tanjong Rambutan in Perak. Stylistically both are older than two other Hinayana images from the same district of Kinta in Perak, which are of Gupta type and have been attributed to the fifth or sixth century A.D.

Then for a while the Hinduism of the Pallavas prevailed, until the famous Ligor inscription of 775 A.D. introduces the far-flung Malayo-Buddhist empire of Sri Vijaya. Many papers have been written about that empire and the Ligor stone. The two most recent are one by Professor F. D. K. Bosch in the *Tijdscrift* (*deel* LXXXI, *af.* 1; 1941) of the Royal Batavian Society, and one on the 'Cailendra Interregnum' by F. H. van Naerssen in 'India Antiqua', a volume presented to Dr. J. P. Vogel (Leiden, 1947). Dr. Bosch, contradicting the theory of Dr. R. C. Majumdar that the two faces of the Ligor stone refer to different persons, would make the Maharaja of the inscription a Sailendra prince from Java, who had just become ruler of Sri Vijaya by marriage with a daughter of the ruler of the old Sumatran Buddhist kingdom of that name. He surmises that Java's Chandi Kalasan was built in honour of this lady, to whom was due the conversion of the Sailendras to Buddhism.

With the advent of this princely house we reach a Pala Mahayanist culture, derived not only from South India but Bengal. This influence is apparent in three Mahayanist bronzes of Avalokitesvara from Perak, all of a type purely Indian. But why was it that the Sailendras, when driven from Java, did not continue their architectural zeal and build great monuments in Kedah and in Palembang, their Sumatran capital? The answer may be that from neolithic times the Javanese had been artists, but the Malays who manned the fleets of Sri Vijaya were men of the sea.

After many blows, from rival Sumatran jambi, from the advent of Islam and the assaults of Hindu Majapahit, the far-flung empire of Sri Vijaya broke up, and Buddhism vanished from the Malay world. But traces of its culture survive in the use of water for oil to anoint rulers at their installation, in the incantations of village medicine-men, and in folk-lore. There are Jataka tales of dogs trying to drink a river dry, of a 'tar baby', of the jackal staging a mock funeral in order to catch a goat: for all three of these tales there are Malay mouse-deer versions. It is possible that an early collection of Malay tales (*Hikayat Pelandok Jinaka*), probably from Kedah, marks the beginning of Muslim prejudice against the older religion, that is, if the celebrated Dutch scholar van der Tunk is right in deriving *jinaka* from the Sanskrit *jainaka* 'a little or contemptible Jaina or Buddhist, used always of one who took advantage of the credulity of man and applied to mouse-deer as the hero of a romance which has a bias against Buddhism.'

Malay folk-romances have been mostly imported from Sumatra. In them the birth of the hero prince is modelled closely on that of the Buddha, when all the worlds quivered, musical instruments sounded of their own accord, birds ceased flying and rivers checked their flow. Verse passages in some of the Malay folk romances owe their origin to the Tamil Buddhist story of Manimekalai.

After the establishment of Islam by Indian missionaries, allusions to Buddhism in Malay literature are indirect and unsuspected. An example is the three Malay versions, translated from Arabic and Persian, of the story of Ibrahim of Balkh, who imitated the Buddha by abandoning a throne for a life of ascetic piety.*

Right down to modern times the lotus has remained a favourite *motif* in the Malay silver-ware made in the State of Perak.

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* A fuller account of Buddhist traces in Malay folk-lore will be found in my 'History of Malay Literature' (*JRAS.*, Mālayan Branch, Vol. XVII, pt. 3, 1940).

THE PLANT KARṆIKĀRA IN KĀLIDĀSA'S WORKS

By C. A. RYLANDS

असूत सद्यः कुसुमान्यशोकः स्कन्धात्प्रभृत्येव सपल्लवानि ।
पादेन नापैक्षत सुन्दरीणां संपर्कमाशिञ्जितनूपुरेण ॥
सख्युः प्रवालोद्गमचारुपत्त्रे नीते समाप्तिं नवचूतबाणे ।
निवेशयामास मधुर्द्विरेफान्नामाक्षराणीव मनोभवस्य ॥
वर्णप्रकर्षे सति कर्णिकारं दुनोति निर्गन्धतया स्म चेतः ।
प्रायेण सामग्र्यविधौ गुणानां पराङ्मुखी विश्वसृजः प्रवृत्तिः ॥
बालेन्दुवक्राण्यविकासभावाद्बभुः पलाशान्यतिलोहितानि ।
सद्यो वसन्तेन समागतानां नखक्षतानीव वनस्थलीनाम् ॥

Kumārasambhava 3. 26–29.

These verses show direct observation of the spring-flowering trees: the tendency of the Aśoka to put forth its flower-heads from the branches, or even from the trunk; the coral-coloured young leaves of the mango; the crescent-shaped buds of the Palāśa. But what is Karṇikāra? It must have been well known to Kālidāsa's readers; but Sir William Jones sent out pandits to bring him a specimen, and wondered that they could not find it (*Asiatic Researches,* vol. 4, 1795). In Bengal indeed there seems to be no tradition regarding the name, and the modern investigator must rely on books.

First, our aim being to discover Kālidāsa's plant, and aware that other plants may at different times or in different parts of India have had the same name, we search his works for passages containing the word which may give some description or clue from habitat or season of flowering. We next consult with due caution the commentaries on these passages. Then we look for the word in other authors, especially the early ones, including the ancient lexicons with their commentaries, and the medical works and glossaries, which, although they do not describe the plants they mention, sometimes contain names that are something of a description. Lastly there is the evidence, which requires careful handling, of the names of known plants in the modern languages.

Applying these methods to Karṇikāra we see first from *Kum.* 3. 28 that it was without scent. This rules out the usual identification with *Pterospermum acerifolium*, for this tree (Kanak champa) has conspicuously scented flowers. Then it is bright-coloured; but what colour? The verse

अशोकनिर्भर्त्सितपद्मरागमाकृष्टहेमद्युतिकर्णिकारम् ।
मुक्ताकलापीकृतसिन्दुवारं वसन्तपुष्पाभरणं वहन्ती ॥

Kum. 3. 53.

shows it is yellow, and this is confirmed by passages in *Mbh.* (Supīta, suvarṇavarṇa), and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (hiraṇmayabhujair iva Karṇikāraḥ); and perhaps by *Daśakumāracarita* (Karṇikāragauraḥ), and in Pali by *Visuddhimagga* 256. Other passages in Kālidāsa, *Rāmāyaṇa*, the Jātakas and other works say that the tree grows on hillsides and that its flowers are suitable for ear-ornaments, but we cannot infer much from these, and mostly the name occurs in conventional lists. The commentators show no sign of being familiar with the tree, and the later ones quote *Amarakośa*, which in its only mention of the word gives as synonyms parivyādha and drumotpala. Now drumotpala is usually believed to be *Pterospermum acerifolium*, and the modern name Karṇikāra or Kaṇiyār seems to be applied nowadays in the west of India to this tree, which is certainly not Kālidāsa's.

The *Dhanvantarīya Nighaṇṭu* (in its original form said to be older than *Amara*) puts us on the right track: it has one list of synonyms headed āragvadha (which is *Cassia fistula*, amaltās in Hindī, sonāli in Bengali); and the next list, headed āragvadha viśeṣa, contains the word Karṇikāra. Probably then our plant is some species of Cassia, and it remains to find which species best suits the requirements: yellow flowers, no scent, blooming in spring, and sufficiently well known in ancient India to have been put beside the Aśoka, the mango and the Palāśa.

SIDDHAYATRA AGAIN

By K. A. Niḷakanta Sastri

I have read with great care Dr. Chhabra's note on this term in *Indian Culture,* XIV, 4, pp. 201–4 and write these few lines with considerable hesitation as I do not think that either of us is carrying knowledge further by these notes. The innuendo in the verse *yasya kasya,* etc., the long note on Pāṇini III, 3, 114 and the two new instances he has cited, as he thinks, to clinch the issue, leave my withers unwrung. I see that he sticks to his view after reading my article in the *Journal of the Greater India Society* IV, and after reading his present note, I do not feel called upon to change mine. He seems to have missed the point of my remark that the *Pañcatantra* and *Jātakamālā* were anterior to the Indonesian inscriptions; I was thinking of semantic changes in the meanings of words and phrases in different ages, countries, and contexts. From this point of view the two new examples of Dr. Chhabra do not also differ from his previous illustrations of his position. But even of these, though the citation from the Ayodhyākāṇḍa (16. 40) supports him, I doubt if the *phalaśruti* of the *Mahābhārata* is so much on his side. What is the meaning of saying that merchants would make successful voyages by studying the great epic? Is there no suggestion of occult magical potency here? Monier-Williams in his Dictionary says that *Siddha-yātrika* is wrong reading for *Siddhi-Yātrika,* and explains the latter as 'one who makes pilgrimages to learn magical arts or to gain good luck or beatitude', and refers to the *Pañcatantra.* I am not concerned to deny the ordinary meaning of *Siddhayātrā,* a successful journey; but I do not think that anything Dr. Chhabra has urged invalidates the view that the word has an occult import surely in the Kedukan Bukit inscription and the loose stone inscriptions of Telaga Batu (Palembang) and possibly also in the Nhan-bieu and other records. I may mention that Dr. Krom has done exactly what Dr. Chhabra thinks I should have done, viz. to point out a shrine to which pilgrimages were made in Indonesia. He does this in his paper *Die Heiligdommen van Palembang* (Med. Kon. Ned. Akad. Afd. Lette., 1938, No. 7). Perhaps Dr. Chhabra may also usefully reflect on the analogy between *Siddhayātrā* as Huber, Coedes, and I understand it, and the words *Siddha-varti* and *Siddha-añjana* meaning, respectively, magical wick and magical ointment (Monier-Williams).

ANTAKA

By W. STEDE

Man lives a double life: that of reality and that of the mental construction. Ordinarily he moves in the latter. Life itself is positive, the construction is negative, full of doubt, and it searches for means of release from itself. Thus it is and becomes more and more an obstruction to life. It may be said to be a human device for fitting the Eternal into Time. The Dhamma (Norm) is not in time, it is akālika; dhammatā (normality) is a construction and changes with time. The idea of Nothingness is a mental (untrue) construction; all figures representing Gods are mental constructions, superimposed on forces of Reality. But the Dhamma, the Imperishable and Eternal, is Life itself.

The mental construction is a conscious inhibition of the life-instinct, it is protection against fear and consequently produces more fear. But because it is a reaction against compulsion it produces a greater conscious realization of Life. For life will always demand its own right, will ultimately have its way at the cost of death which is an unalterable fact in the scheme of life. The construction rebels against death and finds subtle means of doing away with it. We argue it out of life and deceive ourselves over its fundamental necessity, and so the construction creates the illusion and expresses it in words and phrases that death itself has been deceived, that Antaka has been beaten.

In this view of self-deception death is evil and life is evil because it leads to death. It is a hopeless failure to square the formidable reality of life with fictitious imaginations: there is only one way of grappling with this reality (including that of death) and to alleviate its tragedy of suffering: that is the good life, the hallowing of the life of sin, error and ignorance, by the sublime life, the life in God (brahma-cariya), and only by leading this best life can the Dhamma, the reality of universal necessity, be fulfilled. The fiction which screens and covers a fictitious world is the mass of darkness and ignorance which must be destroyed by acknowledgment of the Fact in all its bareness and bitterness, by a view which sees the things as they are and makes them its own through their being experienced in every self.

Antaka is a fiction, and the only way of dealing with this fiction is to recognize it as such and to turn it into an Anantaka, into the never-ending reality of Eternal Life. Antaka can refer only to the evil principle in man's moral constitution, to an embodiment of the

Tempter, like Māra, the name being based on a primitive analogy which regards the end of life as the reward (punishment) of sin.

To destroy Antaka means to put an end to sin, to make an end of moral death, but it can never mean (although it has been imagined to mean) to overcome the fact of physical death, which can never be overcome. Man's physical death is in itself *life* but Evil is moral death and can be turned into more good and happiness through the good life which is equal to Immortality. This immortality or *Amata* is not a thing to be had or acquired by knowledge like everything else in the sphere of mental construction, but it is to be won and held only by exertion and earnestness in finding out a higher and better mode of life than merely living by the illusion of the intellect.

Why is death so ugly, so repulsive? Not because it destroys life as such, but because it kills the hope of life, its ideal, the holy life, and breaks into the ordered course of events which seeks release from life by legitimate means, by sublimation and sanctification, and ensures a better life at the next chance of life. Antaka is the shadow which spreads over the spiritual life and covers it with the darkness of sin. The physical and the spiritual are so closely interlinked in the ancient Indian view of life that it is impossible to keep their courses and aspects apart and to speak of the transference of the one notion to the other or the metaphorical use of the one for the other. They are so much one that even what we call the purely physical life is governed by ethical factors and proceeds under the influence of moral forces in all its stages. Therefore Antaka is the morally evil principle of life which although incidentally destroying physical life does far greater harm in inflicting a deadly blow on the spiritual life by hindering its full effect on the final and definite release. It is true that release must be won, but it must be brought about by man's own and voluntary effort and not by an arbitrary, forceful and foreign agency such as is represented by the 'Killer' (Māra) and the 'Ender' (Antaka). These two embodiments of the life-antagonistic ideas are unlawful agents because they act *against* the Dhamma, whereas Mṛtyu (Maccu) and Yama are lawful agents because they act with the sanction of Dhamma, nay, *are* embodiments of the Dhamma although they hold sway over the extinction of life as cruel and yet kind genii.

The mental construction is determined by factors of real life such as health, climate, change of surroundings, demands of others on ourselves. It is therefore always relative and never authoritative, nor does it ever coincide with reality. The Dhamma, on the other hand, is the pure, unadulterated reality, as incomprehensible and unfathomable as the Great Ocean. It is not a state of affairs into which the childish fancies of limited human creatures are projected when they imagine that they come into this ephemeral and vanishing life once or twice or forever and ever. These fancies do not touch the real life.

At the same time the unfathomable law and order takes shape and grace and becomes accessible to the human heart, quite apart from any calculation in space and time, in the dhamma of the 'sat', the good and noble people (sappurisā), in the form of a life of holiness and purity, the brahmacariya. This is the inner reality which holds its own against the crushing necessity of the outward reality, and its sustenance and reward are peace and contentment. If this 'released' condition (nibbāna) which is free from the attacks of the Evil One, is, by an unavoidable mental construction, transferred and projected into a happy state after death, into a heaven, we must allow for this human failure, just as we have to allow for the illusion of 'no more renewed existences'. One can understand and forgive these aberrations from reality in this world of mortals because the Dhamma is deep and difficult, hard to comprehend and to wake up to, and its weight is so tremendous that those upon whom it falls in its fulness, are liable to break down under its load.

Almost synonymous (as far as words go) with brahmacariya is the expression brahmavihāra, abiding-in-God, one (if not the main) aspect of the brahmacariya, walking-in-God, and consisting in the cultivation of the four cardinal Buddhist virtues of mettā, karuṇā, muditā, upekhā, i.e. love, compassion, gentleness, equanimity. Here we must beware of transferring the condition of release to a life in heaven, and even Buddhaghosa falls back upon a mental construction when, at the end of his exegesis of the divine state of love, he says: 'He (who lives in God) cannot come to any further sanctification after the fulfilment of love, but, when he goes from here, he shifts to heaven (brahmaloka, God's world) like one awaking from sleep.'

Buddhism in its 'unmonasticated' form lays stress on the value and beauty of life for its own sake. It would be strange if that were not so, for Buddhists are not different from the rest of humanity, and humanity falls in with the rest of creation in being a living testimony to the grandeur of life. Life is indeed the keynote of creation. In the Pali Canon we would not come across so many passages which bewail the brevity of life if it were not for a genuine and natural desire for its preservation. The clinging to life goes even so far as to make the ministering angel exclaim to the impaled man 'live, O friend, for life indeed is best' (Petavatthu IV. I. 6), even in the depth of misery because life affords chances for improvement.

Incidentally, a few much-desired adjuncts of the life-ideal are mentioned under particular blessings and special endowments (iddhi) bestowed on good and fortunate people such as world-rulers and leaders of men. They are, amongst many others, a beautiful and strong body, perfect health, a good digestion, and dwelling in a decent climate. One also frequently comes across the formula *ciraṃ jīvāhi* 'long may you live', which is not merely a phrase of politeness but represents a vote of thanks and gratitude. It is often combined with the blessing *sukhito hohi* 'may you be happy'.

In striking contrast to this natural instinct, a strange view of the consummation of the holy life is expressed and reiterated in the stereotype exultation at the end of so-called conversion. It is fourfold and runs: 'Khīṇā jāti vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ katam karaṇīyaṃ nāparaṃ itthattāya (or: natthi dāni punabbhavo)', i.e. exhausted is (the chance of) birth, the walk-in-God has been lived, done is what was to be done, there is nothing further than this condition (or: there is now no more re-existence).

Happy is he who, when his last hour comes, will be able to say: 'the holy life has been lived and my duty has been fulfilled': that will be enough for him, for others and for the Dhamma. He will, however, not find consolation in the first assertion ('birth has run out') which he will dismiss as a mental construction, *avyākata*, irrelevant, and in that he will follow the Wanderer Gotama who declared that questions about the future condition of a 'released one' were as futile and dangerous as they are unanswerable. Equally he will dismiss the fourth ('there is no more rebirth') as a mental construction; but the middle part, centring in the holy life, is his own, real experience of truth. It is the core and kernel of the Dhamma and in full accord with the spirit and the word of Gotama Buddha.

On the same superstitional level stands the phrase *antimadeha-dhārin* 'wearing the final body'. How can anybody know whether he is wearing the first or the last or the 150th body? What is the relation between the wearer and that which is worn, if it can be said at all that he wears, i.e. possesses the body, which in the Buddhist view of anattā he does not?

It is not likely that a sudden change in a person's mental outlook (conversion), mostly due to a wave of emotion, should radically affect the course of the physical Universe so as to direct the stream of evolution into different channels. To be reborn is a far more serious and complicated matter than to wake up from sleep. It is a superhuman, cosmic process and happens *dhammena*, according to the unknown, intrinsic order of the Cosmos. People who talk about rebirth do not know what is involved in their talk. Those who have thought about it dismiss any speculation about it as a mental construction, and therefore not the Dhamma 'as it is' (yathābhūtaṃ).

BRĀHMANS FROM GAUḌA IN THE SERVICE OF CHAMBA RULERS

By B. CH. CHHABRA

Those interested in Indian archaeology are no doubt familiar with Prof. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel's masterly work on *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part I, which appeared as early as 1911. In this the learned author has dealt with the antiquities and inscriptions of the pre-Muhammadan period. It was his intention to publish the inscriptions of the later period in Part II, the preparation of which he had already taken up before he left India in 1912 for Holland, his native country. There he became Professor of Sanskrit and Indian Archaeology at the University of Leyden. The task of preparing Part II of his book somehow remained unfinished.

As a result of the negotiations between Prof. Vogel and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the then Director General of Archaeology in India, I was deputed to edit the unpublished inscriptions in the Chamba State, for which purpose I spent the summer months of the year 1939 at Chamba, the headquarters of the state. The inscriptions to be edited by me are eighty-one in number. Most of them are copper charters. I finished my job in the subsequent year, but the work has not yet seen the light of the day owing to the conditions created by the war and its aftermath.

In the course of my examination of the copper-plate grants, I came across a number of interesting facts one of which forms the subject-matter of the present paper. Prof. Vogel has pointed out that 'it was the Rājaguru who used to be charged with the duty of drawing up the grant and whose name is commonly found at the end.'[1] He illustrates this by saying: 'This, at least, was the custom during the Muhammadan period. Thus we find the name of Paṇḍit Surānand on some of the plates of Gaṇeśavarman, that of his son Ramāpati on those of Pratāp Singh, and that of Ramāpati's son Lakṣmīkānt on most of the plates of Balabhadra.'[2]

I may add that the three Paṇḍits just named belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gotra* and that their original home was the country of Gauḍa, that is to say, somewhere in Bengal. In Gaṇeśavarman's plates where Paṇḍit Surānanda figures as the composer of the charters, we have no description of the Paṇḍit himself. They simply mention: *sat-paṇḍita-śrī-Surānandaśarmaṇ = ālekhi*, i.e. 'it has been written by the noble Paṇḍit Surānandaśarman.' In the case of his son Ramāpati, however, we have several inscriptions both of Pratāpasiṁha and of Balabhadra, which acquaint us with his descent and native place. He served as Rājaguru under both Pratāpasiṁha and his grandson Balabhadra in succession, from both of whom he received gifts of lands as *gurudakṣiṇā* at the time when he initiated each of the two rulers. The grants recording such donations describe Ramāpati in the following terms: *Gauḍa-deśīya Bhaṭṭācārya-śiromaṇi śrī-Surānanda-putra tri-kula-nirmala tri-sandhy-opāsaka* and *ṣaṭ-karma-rata*. It may be noted that the family title *Bhaṭṭācārya*, peculiar to a class of Brāhmans in Bengal, continues to this day. In other charters where Ramāpati appears not as a donee but as a writer, he usually gives his father's name, whom he sometimes calls Surottama instead of Surānanda.

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[1] *Antiquities of Chamba State*, pt. I, p. 38.

[2] *Ibid.*

As regards Lakṣmīkānta, he is mentioned as a writer in a number of inscriptions of Balabhadra and Pṛthvīsiṁha, but almost everywhere in the following form: *likhitam = idaṁ paṇḍita-Lakṣmīkāntena*. It is thus not evident whether he was Ramāpati's son. On the other hand, in one of Balabhadra's inscriptions, the writer of which is again Lakṣmīkānta, the donee is a Brāhman, called Dharaṇīdhara, who is stated to be son of Paṇḍit Ramāpati of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*. If Lakṣmīkānta was also Ramāpati's son, then Ramāpati had at least two sons, Lakṣmīkānta and Dharaṇīdhara.

Of the three Rājagurus, Ramāpati is the most conspicuous. He served under two rulers in succession. He was in service at least for forty-three years, the earliest reference to him being in an inscription dated A.D. 1575 and the latest in another dated A.D. 1618. The records drawn up by him are grammatically more correct than the rest of the lot and, at the same time, exhibit a more dignified style of composition, thereby reflecting a great credit on his learning and scholarship.

Surānanda, the father of Ramāpati, is first mentioned in one of Gaṇeśavarman's inscriptions, which is dated A.D. 1558, from which we may infer that he came to Chamba about that time, or say a few years prior to that.

It is indeed interesting to know that a Brāhman travelled all the way from Gauḍa to such a remote region in the northern Himalayas as the hill state of Chamba, settled there and was a recipient of high honours at the hands of the local royal family. It may be observed that Surānanda's visit to Chamba roughly synchronized with the accession of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. We have no means to ascertain as to what necessitated Surānanda to leave his home-land for good. Perhaps he came there as a devotee on a pilgrimage to pay his homage to Maṇimaheśa, whose far-famed sacred shrine is within the territory of the Chamba State, and, being enamoured of the charms of Chamba, decided to spend the rest of his life there itself.

Pt. Thakur Das, the present Rājaguru at Chamba, related to me the following traditional account regarding Surānanda: 'Surānanda came to Chamba as a youthful *brahmacārin* from a distant land. At that time the Rājaguru of the then ruler of Chamba was a Brāhman of the Gautama *gotra*. He had a daughter as his only child. and no son who might succeed him as Rājaguru. And he could not find a suitable match for his daughter either, who had arrived at the marriageable age. It was at this juncture that Surānanda made his appearance there. The worried Rājaguru took a fancy to the newly-arrived *baṭu* and persuaded him to marry his daughter. Surānanda accepted her hand and in course of time stepped into his father-in-law's shoes as Rājaguru.' His lineage continued till recently in Chamba. Paṇḍit Mohan Lal, the Rājaguru previous to the present one, was, it is said, a direct descendant of Surānanda.

REFERENCES TO THE CUSTOM OF HOLDING GRASS IN THE MOUTH AS A TOKEN OF SURRENDER IN INDIAN AND FOREIGN SOURCES

By P. K. GODE

A historical and comparative study of Indian proverbial lore is a great desideratum in the field of Indology. A glance at the contents of the dictionaries of proverbs will convince all serious students about the necessity of such a study. Imaginary explanations of current proverbs spring up in the absence of their historical study and the only way to weed out these mushrooms is to undertake a serious study of the proverbs on the strength of documentary evidence arranged in a chronological order.

I propose in the present paper to trace the history of a proverb now current in the Marathi language, viz. "दांतीं तृण धरणें" (holding grass in one's mouth) which MOLESWORTH in his *Marathi-English Dictionary* (p. 408) explains as 'To humble one's self; to acknowledge defeat or subjection; to profess submission.' Molesworth does not record any usages of this proverb in his *Dictionary*. KARVE and DATE in their *Śabdakoṣa* (1935), p. 1555, do not also record any usages of this proverb; hence it is difficult to say when this proverb became current in the Marathi language.[1]

In the *Sunday Chronicle* of Bombay for 24th *December*, 1939, I read an article on 'Daria Dowlat' of Tippu Sultan and its frescoes. One of these frescoes depicts a 'battle scene' which shows Colonel Baille '*with a stalk of grass held between his teeth—the artist's depiction of the sign of submission*' according to the author of the article under reference. Here then we have a pictorial representation of the Marathi proverb some time before A.D. 1799. This picture is referred to by Pandit Chitrav Shastri in his article on Tippu (A.D. 1753–1799) in his *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa* (Poona, 1937, p. 420). 'Daria Dowlat' was the name of Tippu's palace, situated on the banks of the river Kāverī between Lālbag and Fort.

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[1] In the *Dictionary of Marathi Proverbs* (महाराष्ट्र वाक्संप्रदायकोश) by Y. R. Date and C. G. Karve, Poona, Vol. I (1942), p. 643, the custom and proverb about holding grass in mouth are explained with the following illustrative extract:—

"आणि ते टोप्या काढून व दांतीं तृण धरून श्रीमंत अप्पासाहेबांना शरण आले"

V.S. 2. 43.

This is a description of the Portuguese surrender to the Peshwa Chimaji Appa in *A.D.* 1739 (Siege of Bassein). The Portuguese *took off their hats and with grass in their mouths* surrendered to the Peshwa.

In a Marathi work called *Camatkārī Gītā* (चमत्कारी गीता) by Ramāvallabhadāsa *alias* Tukopant, edited and published at Hubli, 1925, we are informed that the author of this work composed his works *between* A.D. 1633 *and* 1636 (vide Introduction, p. 3). On page 5 of the *Camatkārī Gītā* there is a splendid description[1] of the storming of the Deogiri fort about A.D. 1627, when Tukopant was about 18 years old. In this description the author refers to the proverb 'holding grass between teeth' as a sign of surrender ("अधीर दांतीं तृण धरिती"). It is clear from this reference that the proverb we are studying historically was current in the Marathi language more than 350 years ago.

In the celebrated Marathi chronicle called the *Sabhāsad Bakhar* (ed. by K. N. Sane, Poona, 1912) we get the following references to the proverb under reference:—

Page 24—"भांडते लोकांनीं तोंडी तृण धरून शरण आले"।

Page 65—"रायबागीण कोंडली. तिनें दातीं तृण धरून", etc.

The date of this chronicle is about A.D. 1695.

In the Sanskrit Campūkāvya called the *Viśvaguṇādarśa* (N.S. Press, Bombay, page 99) by Veṅkaṭādhvari (about A.D. 1650) there is a description of the Āndhra country (आन्ध्रदेशवर्णन) in which we find the following stanza:—

"युद्धाय प्रमिलन्तु हन्त पटवो योधाः सहस्राधिका
यद्येकोऽपि बलात्तुरुष्क-यवनेष्वारूढघोटो भटः।
निस्त्रिंशं परिकम्पयन् स्वकान्निष्क्रामति क्रोधतः
सर्वे ते कृपणास्तृणान्यशरणा खादन्ति सीदन्ति च ॥ १६३ ॥"

The commentator explains the reference to the proverb in the fourth line of the above verse as follows:—

"तृणभक्षकान् वल्मीकारूढांश्च वीरास्त्यजन्ति इति प्रसिद्धेः"।

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[1] This picturesque description reads as follows:—

"धीर ते 'वीरमोच' पावती। अधीर दांती तृण धरिती।
कोणी अश्व सांडूनी पळती। कोणी मागती जीवदान।
कोणी शस्त्रास्त्र त्यजिती। दीनत्वें पाया लागती।
कोणी घायाळ कुंथिती। प्राण सोडिती भयें कोणी।
देखतां शस्त्रांचा लखलखाट। आणि अस्त्रांचा सणसणाट।
आणि यंत्रांचा घडघडाट। भयें पोटें फुगली कोणा ॥"

The expression "यंत्राचा घडघडाट" means the 'thunder of *yantras* or guns' which were common in Indian warfare at this time (see my article on *Guns and Powder in India from A.D. 1400 onwards* in *Sir Denison Ross Volume*, 1939, pp. 117–124).

(It is well known that warriors don't pursue people who hold grass in their mouth or those who sit on an ant-hill.)[1]

Rudrakavi in his *Rāṣṭrauḍha-vaṁśa-mahākāvya* (G.O. Series, Baroda, 1917, p. 71) gives a description of the defeat of the King of Jawhar[2] (Bombay Presidency) by the King of Bāglāṇ. In this description the Jawhar chief is described as "मुखे तृणं कंठतटे कुठारं" ('holding grass in his mouth, with the enemy's battle-axe on his neck'). This description shows the complete surrender of the Jawhar chief to the Bāglāṇ ruler. Rudrakavi composed this *mahākāvya* in A.D. 1596.

Emperor Baber in his *Memoirs* (Trans. by W. Erskine, 1826) refers to the custom of holding grass between teeth as a sign of surrender, which was current among the Afghans about A.D. 1500 as will be seen from the following extract:—

> *Page 159*—'The Afghans when they are reduced to extremities in war, come into the presence of their enemy *with grass between their teeth*; being as much as to say "I am your ox".'
>
> 'This *custom*[3] I first observed on the present occasion; for the Afghans, when they could not maintain the contest, approached us with grass in their teeth. Orders were given for beheading such of them as had been brought in alive and a minaret[4] was erected of their heads at our next halting place.'

From Baber's time (A.D. 1483–1530) we go backwards in our search for references to the custom under reference and come to A.D. 1305, when Merutuṅga composed his *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (Trans. by Tawney, Calcutta, 1901). This work also refers to the custom in the following lines:—

> *Page 55*—'Since even enemies are let off when *near death, if they take grass*[5] in their mouths,

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[1] I have not understood this allusion to *Sitting on the ant-hill* as a sign of surrender.

[2] See verse 61 of Canto XII of *Rāṣṭrauḍha-vaṁśa-mahākāvya*, which reads as follows:—

"मुखे तृणं कण्ठतटे कुठारं कृत्वा जवारिक्षितिपः सकम्पः ।
दयासमुद्रं शरणं शरण्यं नारायणं भूपतिमाजगाम ॥ ६१ ॥"

[3] 'It is as old as the time of the heroes of *Shahnāmeh*, or at least of Ferdausi.'—*Erskine*.

[4] 'This barbarous custom has always prevailed among the Tartar conquerors of Asia.'—*Erskine*.

[5] In the *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra* (N.S. Press, Bombay, 1911, p. 244) we find the following *subhāṣita* about the deer (*mṛga*) which is not spared by the hunters even though it holds the grass in its mouth:—

"तृणमुखमपि न खलु त्वां त्यजन्ति हे हरिण वैरिणः शबराः ।
यशसैव जीवितमिदं त्यज योजितशृङ्गसङ्ग्रामः ॥"

> how can you slay these harmless beasts who always feed on grass?'

Tawney at the end of his Translation of the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* records the following learned note on Merutuṅga's reference to the custom of holding grass in mouth as a sign of surrender:—

> *Page 210*—'Page 55, line 23 (text, p. 93, 6), "*They take grass in their mouths*".'

This is an allusion to a *most ancient custom*. Cf. *Harṣacarita*,[1] 132, 11 (Commentary, तृणं कातरैर्मुखे ध्रियते); *Caṇḍakauśika*,[2] 3rd Act: Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, 382ff.; *Grimm Rechtsalterthumer*, pp. 121ff.; 604, 205, 431 (Z). The passage referred to in the *Harṣacarita* will be found at the page indicated, in the Bombay Edition of 1892. Cowell and Thomas, in their translation, p. 101, note 4, say, 'To carry a straw in the mouth was a sign of surrender'; cf. Acworth's *Maratha Ballads*, p. 43.

'And 'twixt the teeth a straw is fit
For curs who arm but to submit.'

Liebrecht quotes from Elliot's *Glossary of Indian Terms*, 'Whoever wishes to appease the anger of an opponent takes a straw or a blade of grass in his mouth, and at the same time *stands on one leg*.' Liebrecht finds *traces of the custom in Europe*. An extract which he makes from Campbell's *Popular Tales of the Western Highlands* (II, 304) is particularly interesting, 'He went to the fair and he took a *straw in his mouth, to show that he was taking service*.' It was, I believe, the *custom in England*[3] *in old times*, for people who wished to be hired as *false witnesses, to sit with straws in their mouths*. The reference in the *Caṇḍakauśika* will be found in the Bombay Edition of 1860 on folio 11*a* (last line of the page) and on page 69 of the

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[1] Vide *Harṣacarita* (ed. by A. A. Führer, Bombay, 1909, pp. 174-75), *Ucchvāsa, IV*—

"यः परकीयेनापि कातरवल्लभेन रणमुखे तृणेनेव धृतेनालज्जत जीवितेन ।"

(Trans. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 101)—

'Even an enemy's life, that coward's darling, when *kept like a straw in the mouth of battle*, filled him with shame.'

The commentator Śaṁkara explains:—

"कातरेति तृणं कातरैर्मुखे धृ(ध्रि)यते । तृणेनेति सद्योपमा मुखे तृणधारणमनौचित्यमेव पोषयति"।

[2] Vide page 239 of *Sanskrit Drama* by A. B. Keith, Oxford, 1924. Kṣemīśvara, the author of the *Caṇḍakauśika*, wrote for Mahīpāla, who according to Keith was the patron of Rājaśekhara (*c*. A.D. 914).

[3] Brewer in his *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* (London, 1912, p. 546) possibly refers to this custom in the following remarks:—

'*To give grass*. To confess yourself vanquished.' No usage of this proverb is recorded by Brewer.

Calcutta Edition of 1884. When Hariśchandra wishes to sell himself as a slave the stage direction is "शिरसि तृणं कृत्वा".

The reference to the custom of taking grass in mouth as a sign of submission in the *Harṣacarita* pointed out by Tawney is very important as it takes the antiquity of this custom from A.D. 1305 (Merutuṅga's time) to the time of poet Bāṇa (*c.* A.D. 630), the author of the *Harṣacarita*. We also note with interest the traces of this custom in Europe as pointed out by Liebrecht.

Col. G. A. Jacob in his *Laukika-nyāyāñjali* (Handful of Popular Maxims), Part III (N.S. Press, Bombay, 1911), refers to this custom on pages 58-59 under "तृणभक्षणन्याय". He refers to the verse in the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* pointed out by Tawney, viz.

"वैरिणोऽपि विमुच्यन्ते प्राणान्ते तृणभक्षणात् ।
तृणाहाराः सदैवैते हन्यन्ते पशवः कथम् ॥"

as also the quotation from Acworth's *Marāṭhā Ballads* referring to the custom as "घ्यावें तोंडांत तृण" and further observes:—

Merutuṅga refers to this custom again on p. 300:—

"नाथो नः परमर्द्दिनेन वदनन्यस्तेन संरक्षितः ।
पृथ्वीराजनराधिपादिति तृणं तत्पत्तने पूज्यते ॥"

(Trans.)—'Grass is now worshipped in Paramardin's city, because, when taken in the mouth, it preserved our lord Paramardin from Pṛthvīrāja, the king of men' (Tawney's Translation, p. 189).

The late Col. Meadows Taylor, who was so thoroughly acquainted with Indian life, put the following into the mouth of one of his characters in *Seeta* (Chapter XLVII):—

> 'We have a good many prisoners, for I could not kill the wretches *who had put grass in their mouths* and were crying for quarter.'

Cobham Brewer in his *Reader's Handbook* (London, 1911, p. 444) makes the following remarks about the English phrase '*To give grass*':—

> '*Grass* (To give), to acknowledge yourself vanquished. A Latin phrase, *Herbam dare aut porrigĕre—Pliny*: *Nat. Hist.*, xxii, 4.'

If the phrase '*Herbam dare*' was current in the time of Pliny (A.D. 23–79) we can easily presume its existence in Latin many years before the Christian era.

While this paper was being drafted I had a discussion about its subject with my friend Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, the Editor of the

Bhāratīya Vidyā, Bombay. Subsequently on 14-7-1947 he wrote to me as follows:—

'I see one reference in Bhāsa's *Dūtavākya*, though Woolner and Sarup and Gaṇapati Śāstri's Commentaries interpret the passage differently. The reference is to *two passages* in the *Dūtavākya* which occur immediately after stanza 35:—

1. "वयं किल तृणान्तराभिभाषकाः।"
2. "तृणान्तराभिभाष्यो भवान्।"

Woolner and Sarup translate:—

1. Are we talking of grass?
2. Grass is the stuff for you.

(Pages 10-11, *Thirteen Trivandrum Plays*, Vol. II.)

Gaṇapati Śāstri's Commentary:—

"तृणेन अन्तरं व्यवधानं येषां अभिभाष्येण सह ते तृणान्तराः, तृणान्तराः सन्तोऽभिभाषकाः तृणान्तराभिभाषकाः। तृणमन्तरतः कृत्वैव त्वमस्माकमभिभाष्यो न साक्षादित्यर्थः।"

I translate as follows:—

1. We have come to speak about things other than grass.
2. You are fit to be spoken to (after) making you keep grass in your mouth.'

As we have taken the antiquity of the custom of holding grass in mouth as a sign of surrender up to about A.D. 600 on the strength of Sanskrit sources it is possible to accept Dr. Pusalkar's interpretation of the above references.

PLANTS IN EROTICS

By G. P. MAJUMDAR

The Science of Erotics constitutes the peculiar glory of India, the most fundamental characteristics of its civilization. It does not admit of any easy definition in Western languages, at any rate a definition intelligible to people who think in terms of modern specialistic culture. Nothing could be more hopelessly wrong than to associate it with merely love affairs as many people are apt to do. We hear a good deal about erotic poetry, erotic literature, i.e. literature dealing with love, poetry which has for its central theme love in its sensual and vulgar sense of the word.

Erotics in India means the science of human creation with its antecedents and consequents. It has for its object the enunciation, elucidation and enforcement of the laws governing the antecedents to that necessary act, the creation of the species, the control of the foetus throughout all the stages of its growth and development within the womb together with other essential preliminaries. Caraka[1] says:

> 'A man who has his self under control should seek progeny, since piety and wealth, enjoyment and fame, depend upon it. And a man, when he is free from disease should procure a son according to sastric rites.'
>
> 'As a branchless tree that is without shadow and without fruit and that emits a disagreeable scent, even so is a man who is lone and childless.' 16.
>
> 'A man who has no offspring should be regarded as one having no position, as one who is nude, as one who is empty, as one who has only one sense, and as one who has no necessity for work.' 18.
>
> 'A man with many children is like one who has many forms, or one having many faces, or one having bodies, or one of great activity; or one having many eyes, or one having varied experience, or having many souls.' 19.
>
> 'Joy, strength, happiness, livelihood, expansion, wealth, continuation of lineage, fame, future worlds of bliss, happiness hereafter, gratification: all depend on progeny.' 21.

'Men shall not live by the bread alone,' says Christ, 'but by every word that falls out of the lips of the Lord', i.e. man cannot and should not be merely a material creature but a spiritual being too—a mixture of flesh and blood with spirit in it. Similarly, the ancients of India laid down the dictum that every man and woman, no matter whatever he or she may be, must have to study the pursuit of religion, wealth, fulfilment of desires, and last, of salvation—*dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*. It is a fatal mistake to think of pursuit of any one of these without the rest. Salvation without the pursuit of wealth, without the fulfilment of desires is absolutely impossible, and hence the religions of India have faced the problems of life boldly and steadily.

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[1] The Caraka Saṃhitā, Cikitsāsthāna, ch. II; English transl., p. 1070.

The Science of Erotics is mainly concerned with the fulfilment of *kāma*, or the desires of the flesh. The regulation, the control, the proper guidance of the desires, and particularly the sexual desire with a view to the welfare of the country, the society and the family in which the man is born, constitute the scope of the Science. The control of birth is the main consideration, and religion and other things are considered secondary in this matter.

The birth of children when properly and deeply viewed are very vitally connected with and effectually governed by the following antecedent circumstances:—

> (1) The physical, intellectual and moral qualifications of the man and wife; (2) the kind of relation existing between them; (3) the articles that constitute the objects of their consumption; (4) their bodily behaviour during the time preceding conjugal rites leading to birth and accompanying them; and (5) the food of the parents, especially that of the mother during and after pregnancy.

The Indian Science of Erotics has taken note of each one and all of these factors, and has carried on elaborate observations resulting in the prescription of proper ways and remedies, the kind of food to be taken, ingredients to be used and processes, bodily, mental and spiritual, to be followed by the parties concerned. All the authoritative treatises dealing with medicine, and even some philosophical works deal with this topic. We may go earlier still and we find in that earliest monument of Indian culture and civilization, the Ṛgveda, some slight references, and in that equally monumental work, the Atharvaveda, elaborate descriptions of prescriptions and remedies on this problem.

Among the remedies, medicines and food described, plants of various types occupy a prominent part. As we proceed with our theme we shall very summarily refer to some of the typical plants concerned.

As we have already said that before we at all tackle the problem of birth we must have to face the problem of the relation between the man and his wife. Courtship in the European sense of the word has always been unknown in the Hindu society, but the cordial relationship existing between the pair has been always thought a tal necessity. This could be done in two ways:—

(1) By allowing the parties, especially the female, a wide liberty of choice as represented by the custom of *svayamvara*, whose origin can be traced in the misty past, and which lasted till the other day, Saṁyuktā, the daughter of king Jaychandra of Kanauj, being the last Indian lady who had the luck of choice in matrimonial matter.

(2) The second with which we are concerned is the process of bringing the wife absolutely under the control of the husband (after marriage) by magical, supernatural and natural means. This is called 'Vaśīkaraṇa' and 'Vājīkaraṇa'.

The origin of this practice can be traced to the sacred texts of the Ṛgveda[1] in the Indrāṇī Sūkta, 10th Mandala, where not indeed a husband but a rival wife uses a plant as a means of subduing her rival, illustrating thereby the utility of plants in erotic matters.

> 'I dig up the most potent medicinal creeper by which (a wife) destroys a rival wife, by which she secures to herself her husband.'

The Atharvaveda[2] contains a still more direct application of plants in erotic matters. There are quite a number of verses directly addressed to these:

> 'As the creeper Libiya has completely embraced the tree, so do thou embrace me..... that thou mayest be one loving me, that thou mayest be one not going away from me.' 1.
>
> 'As the eagle flying forth beats down his wings upon the earth, so do I beat down thy mind . . . that thou mayest be one loving me, that thou mayest be one not going away from me.' 2.
>
> 'As the sun goeth at once about heaven and earth here so do I go about the mind that thou, etc.......' 3.

There is another hymn (VI. 9) addressed precisely for the same subject, but this time to win a woman's love: 'Want thou the body of me....' 1.

So although plants are not directly applied here for the purpose of subduing the will of a woman they are indirectly applied, namely, in conjunction with mantras.

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[1] Rgveda (Wilson ed.), X. 145. 1–6.

[2] Atharvaveda, VI. 8. Whitney ed., p. 287.

The Caraka Saṃhitā devotes a particular chapter[1] to the topic called Vājīkaraṇa. This chapter begins with the following statement of its aim and scope:

> 'The pursuit of virtue, wealth, pleasure and fame are within the scope of this science. This science is at the basis of procreation, the child is the sole means through which virtue, pleasure, wealth and fame can be obtained, that is, through the application of Vājīkaraṇa (Aphrodisiacs) alone a goodly issue is born. A worthy son performs deeds conducive to the welfare of man whereby the above-mentioned blessings are acquired.'

Thus the treatise after dwelling on the vital necessity and the supreme blessing of having a good son launches out into a denunciation of the childless unfortunates—'A childless man is well comparable to a tree which does not cast a shadow and which possesses only one branch, is fruitless and full of bad smell. A man without a son is like a light painted on a canvass, or a pond that is dried up, like pinchbeck which resembles gold but is not gold. One should look on such unfortunate fellow in the light of a man-like fellow made of straw. One should regard such a man as unfamed, one-eyed, nude, of no substance and idle. And one must regard a man with multiplicity of children as possessed of plurality of selves, innumerable faces, many phalanxes, infinite activity, many eyes, vast vision and many souls.

'They applaud a many issued person thus: he is the source of all good, bountiful, blessed, puissant, multifarious, pleasure, strength, happiness, instinct, extension, wealth, pedigree, fame, command over men and the consequence of future happiness and satisfaction—all these centre round the birth of a child, and hence the man who covets the blessing of fatherhood with its consequent virtues above mentioned as well as the pleasure of senses should have recourse to Vājīkaraṇa.'

Here are mentioned plants which may be used in a variety of ways as ointment, as food, as objects of decoration and so forth. Although the scientific knowledge of this subject is a rarity, its use is still prevalent among the people not yet enlightened by modern education, who in their own crude ways make use of plants and other charms in erotic affairs with occasional good results showing thereby that a scientific knowledge and practice of this would have immense value to the society and country.

After the good will between the husband and the wife (Vaśīkaraṇa) has been established the next object which should occupy our attention is Vājīkaraṇa, or the art or the science of prescription of food necessary to the production of good children. Proper kind of food must be taken so that it might yield the requisite potentiality to the propagation of children.

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, Cikitsāsthāna, chap. II; Eng. trans., pp. 1071–1096.

A particular chapter [1] of the Caraka Saṃhitā has been devoted to the purpose. Therein nice prescriptions of the kind of food and medicines to be used by the parents as a means of increasing their vigour, virility, fertility and capacity for production, in a word, perfect manhood and womanhood as an indispensable preliminary to parenthood, are given. There a delicate problem has been frankly and scientifically handled. Unlike modern civilization the ancient civilization looked to the truth of the things in all its minute particulars with all its greatness and meanness. The ancients held that if God has in His infinite grace bestowed upon man great vices along with great virtues, making him at once 'a mighty mixture of the great and the base', it is for him to control, subordinate and make useful those vices and defects and not to abuse them. One of the great vices, when properly checked and guided, proves the greatest prop of human civilization, and the act of procreation is due to that. The ancient Indians throughout the whole course of their culture and history, in the midst of their sublime speculations, noble poetic flight, dreamy and gloomy reflections, had always their eyes to that. They always knew that man is made the image of God, that he is a potential God in man, that he is first a man and then is raised to the rank of Godhood and Divinity. His is first the bread problem, next the birth problem, third the life problem and fourth and the last, the salvation problem.

The ancient Indians approached, faced and solved the birth problem in a manner which reflects infinite credit on their foresight, in a manner infinitely beyond the conception and comprehension of the moderns. The Science of Erotics is a splendid monument to this acumen. Its first concern is the preparation of the union between the parents, next the perfection of parenthood. Under the second head comes Vājīkaraṇa, a science exclusively devoting itself to the scientific prescription and regulation of food in the most comprehensive sense of the word as a necessary preliminary to parenthood.

The germ of this science may be traced to the earliest philosophical speculations of India, for, there are verses in some of the Upaniṣads to this effect (and we have a particular Upaniṣad, called the Garbhopaniṣad, devoted to this topic), but the full-fledged science is to be found in the masterly work of Caraka. He lays down that mincing matters will not do. If you like to be fathers and mothers you must be first of all good husbands and wives, pleasing and pleased with one another and each other, and you must not lose sight of the physical factor in the matter. Apart from the question of spiritual and mental union you must see that you are physically satisfied with each other, and to this effect Caraka as well as Vātsāyana lay down prescriptions.

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[1] *Ibid.*, Śārîrasthāna, chap. VIII.

The following plants are prescribed as ingredients of the medicine and food to be used for the purpose.[1]

> Śaramūla, ikṣu, khāgramūla, kulekhāḍā, śatamūlī, kṣirakākolî, bhūmikūṣmāṇḍa, kanṭakārī, jīvantī, jīraka, medā, śālaparṇi, ṛṣabhaka, beḍelā, ṛddhi, gokṣura, rasnā, ālkuśī, punarnavā, yasṭhimadhu, drākṣā, yajñadumura, pipul, madhūka, kharjura, āmalakī, dārucini, elācī, nāgakeśara, aśvagandhā, māṣa, baṁśalocana, godhūma, dāḍima, pāniphala, and many others.

The Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad also devotes a chapter[2] to the consideration of the all-important problem of childbirth. The means that it suggests for bringing about the birth of a good issue is more of a spiritual than of a physical nature. Unlike Caraka its author does not prescribe medicine pure and simple, but the consumption of the sacred *caru* (sweet rice) on a particularly auspicious day in a particular manner. The instruction runs:

> 'He who wish to reach greatness (should) perform the vow called Upasat (of living on milk for 12 days immediately before the day appointed for the sacrifice) in the period called Uttarayana, when the sun moves towards the north, on an auspicious day of a bright fortnight, when the moon gradually increases, when a male asterism is in the ascendant, collecting all the wild and cultivated fruits and *oṣadhis* (herbs, medicinal and others) as prescribed by the Śāstras, in a vessel made of Udumbara, or in a spoon of bell-metal, and mixing them together, sprinkling the sacrificial place with water, spreading the kuśa grass, lighting the sacrificial fire, making an offering of the ghee that has been purified, and bringing the paste (mantha—ghṛtadadhimadhusaṁmiśram sarvauṣadhiphalaviśiṣṭam—) of all the grains of the herbs with the following mantra:
>
> 'Oh, thou Jātavedāh, all those adverse gods that are in thee, who stand in the way of man's (obtaining his) objects of desire, to them do I offer this potion, may they thus pleased, satisfy me with all my desires, Svāhā. That adverse (goddess) who considers herself (as the cause of) obstacles, to that goddess, named Samradhani (the accomplisher of all desires), I worship thee with the stream of ghee, Svāhā.' 6. 3. 1.

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[1] For a detailed information, see Caraka, Cikitsāsthāna, chap. II.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, chap. VI, Brāhmaṇas 3 and 4. S.B.H., vol. xiv, pp. 682, 694, 1916; also Lotus Library Ed. (Bengali translation).

Then the sacrificer should eat the mantha (in 4 morsels thus) uttering the mantra: '(May) the winds blow mildly; (may) the rivers flow gently; (may) the herbs (be) sweet to us; (may) the night as well as the dawns (be) pleasant; (may) the dust of the earth (be) sweet; (may) the atmosphere and the Fathers (be) sweet; (may) the tree (be) sweet to us; (may) the sun (be) sweet and (may) the cows (be) sweet to us. (He should say) May I be all this, and so forth.' 6. 3. 6.

> Om madhuvātā ṛtāyate madhu kṣaranti sindhavaḥ mādhvīrnaḥ santoṣadhī madhu naktamutoṣaso madhumatpārthivam rajaḥ madhudyaurastu naḥ pitā madhumānno vanaspati madhumāṃ astu sūryaḥ mādhvīrgāvo bhavantu naḥ. 6. 3. 6.

Uddālaka, the son of Aruṇa (instructing this mantha-doctrine to) his disciple, Yājñavalkya, the follower of Vājasaneya branch, said: Should one sprinkle it even on the dry trunk of a tree, branches would grow and leaves spring forth. 6. 3. 7.

In the 13th mantra (vi. 3. 13) direction is given as to the things to be made of the udumbara wood and the cultivated grains to be collected for the mantha thus: Four things are made of udumbara wood. Of udumbara is the sruva, of udumbara is the cup, of udumbara is the sacrificial fuel, and of udumbara are the two churning vessels. Ten are the chief cultivated (*grāmyāni*) grains, viz. rice, barley, sesamum seed, kidney beans (or) śyāmaka, panic seed, wheat, lentils, pulse and vetch. These, when grounded, (the sacrificer) should moisten in curds, in honey and in ghee. Of ghee (he) should make the offering to the fire.

Then in the 4th Brāhmaṇa (VI. 4) are described the quality of sweet rice (*putramantha*), and the circumstances under which it is taken as responsible for the quality of issue born. Thus:

> For the procreation of a son of pure white (śuklah) complexion, learned and long lived, the married couple should both take rice boiled in milk and mixed with ghee. Those desiring a son of brown complexion, learned and long lived, should both take *caru* boiled in curd and mixed with ghee. In procreating a son of blue complexion, red eyed, learned and long lived, the couple should take rice boiled in water and mixed with ghee. Those desiring a son erudite, illustrious, popular in court, of retentive memory and sweet speech, well versed in the Vedas and long lived, should jointly take boiled rice mixed with meat and ghee. For having a girl learned and long lived the couple should eat sesame and rice boiled together and mixed with ghee. (VI. 4. 14–18.)[1]

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[1] For details, see Majumdar, Some Aspects of Indian Civilization (1938), chap. X (ii).

The Sāṅkhāyana Gṛhyasūtra (I. 19) prescribes the pounding of the *adhyaṇḍa* plant by the husband and its sprinkling into the right nostril of the wife when her monthly period is about to set in uttering the two verses: Speed away from here, a husband has she. If the woman does not conceive after this, Paraskara (I. 13. 1) prescribes that the husband should on the 4th day of the menstrual period apply the pounded root of a white blooming *simhi* plant to the right nostril of the woman with the mantra: This herb is protecting, overcoming and powerful. May the son of this (great) mother obtain the name of a father.

The Caraka Saṃhitā (Śārīrasthāna, Ch. VIII; cp. also Suśruta Sam., Śārīrasthāna, Ch. II) prescribes that if the parents desire a healthy son endowed with great strength and energy, of fair complexion, good moral character and of powerful mind, the mother should be given wholesome and pure food in the form of thick gruel of barley mixed with honey and ghee and milk, the last obtained from a white cow with a white calf, in silver or white brass vessels every morning and evening. She should also be provided with a spacious room and comfortable bed for the purpose of sleeping at night, as also decent and clean robes and ornaments to put on. Every morning and evening she should be allowed frequently to have a look at a large bodied white bull of excellent breed.

A wife desiring a son of neutral complexion, with red eyes, wide chest and long arms should follow a prescribed process of sacrifice. And if she desires a son of dark complexion with dark hair, white eyes and white teeth, possessing great energy and strong mind, should also follow the same process of sacrifice, but the environment in these cases should be of a colour in accordance with the colour of the son desired. 1–10.

All these prescriptions, it will be seen, are really meant for the purpose of creating a necessary psychological condition of maternity, and providing nourishment for the parents, particularly for the mother as soon as puberty sets in.

As an illustration of the application of the mantha-doctrine for the procreation of a desirable child the story about the birth of Paraśurāma, the warrior Brahmin, as narrated in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa [1] may be given here: Ricika, one of the descendants of Bhṛgu, married Satyavatī, the daughter of Gādhi, a king in the lineage of Purūravas. In order to have a son Ricika prepared a dish of rice, barley and pulse with butter and milk for his wife to eat. And being requested by her he made a similar mixture for her mother by partaking which she should give birth to a martial prince; keeping both the dishes with his wife and giving her instructions as to which dish was intended for her and which for her mother the sage went to the forest. At the time of taking the food her mother said to Satyavatī, 'Daughter, every one wants to have a son gifted with great qualities, and nobody wishes to be excelled by the qualities of his mother's brother. It is, therefore, desirable for you to give me the food which your husband has set apart for you, and to partake of that intended for me, for my son shall be sovereign of the world. What is the use of wealth, strength and prowess for a Brahmin?' Being thus addressed Satyavatī gave her own food to her mother.

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, part iv, sec. vii. Eng. transl., M. N. Dutta, Vol. I, i, p. 182.

When the sage returned from the forest and saw Satyavatī, he said to her, 'Sinful woman, what hast thou done? Your body appears as very fearful to me, surely thou hast taken the food intended for the mother. Thou hast committed a wrong. That food I consecrated with the properties of power, strength and heroism, whereas your food was consecrated with the qualities of a Brahmana-gentleness, knowledge and resignation. As you have exchanged messes, your son shall follow a warrior's propensities and use weapons and fight and slay. Your mother's son shall be born with the desires of a Brahmin, and shall be devoted to peace and piety.'

Barua[1] writes in his History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy that the 'Mantha-doctrine in the Brihad Āraṇyaka is the Canonical basis of the rules regarding the practical amplification of the principles of Eugenics, and it is not improbable that Erotic Science (Kāmasūtra) developed on the lines of Uddālaka's Mantha-doctrine .... Svetaketu was the originator of Erotic Science' (in India).

Kāmasūtra of Vātsāyana.[2]

This is a scientific treatise on erotics, the only early treatise in the world on the subject, which gives us a thoroughly accurate and wonderfully effective solutions of the problem of procreation. The spirit and the method in which the author attacks the problem is so astonishingly modern that the statement of its aim might be translated *verbatim* from the texts.

'The stability and prosperity of the world depend upon the multiplication of the species; and the multiplication of the species, both in the vegetable and animal world, cannot take place without union between the male and the female.' Hence the all-important problem of their union has to be very seriously considered and the Kāmasūtra thus considered it in the following way. Chapter I of Book VII of the treatise, named Aupaniṣadhikam, i.e. secret means to gain one's end, is divided into three sub-divisions, namely, Śubhagamkaraṇam, Vaśīkaraṇam and Vṛṣyayoga, i.e. ways of securing the loveliness of the body, winning over the opposite party, and increasing one's virility.

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 127.

[2] Mahesh Pal edition, 1313 B.S.

Śubhagaṁkaraṇam is the practice whereby one can be fortunate in point of beauty, quality, duration of life and self-sacrifice. The blessing of beauty is very necessary in life. If a boy or girl be born ugly the misfortune of parents knows no bounds, but if they can be made beautiful through the help of the practice known as the Tagaradi Yoga, they are sure to be welcome to those who see them.

For this purpose Vātsāyana prescribes the smearing of the body with the powders of the leaves of Tagara, Kuṣṭha, and Tāliśapatra; anointing one's eyes with this powder mixed with the oil of Bibhītaka made into a collyrium, and the wearing of a wreath of flowers powdered with the dust of Punarnavā, Sahadevī, Sarivā, Utpalapatra, Kuranṭa and yellow or white Amaranth. All these when used will contribute to one's loveliness of the body (4–7). When half a tola of the powder made of the flowers of red and blue lotuses and Nāgakeśara is mixed with honey and ghee and taken daily, one's beauty and loveliness is sure to be enhanced. When a paste, made of the above three flowers with Tagara, Tāliśa and Tamāla, is rubbed over one's body, the beauty and loveliness of the same is enhanced. When an ornament made of the beads of Badara is worn it will contribute to one's lovely appearance (8–11).

In this connection we might note that the Agñipurāṇa[1] prescribes the following eight processes of making the body free of bad smell and thus pleasing to the wife or *vice versa*: by cleansing or washing, by gargling, by vomiting, by decorating the body with flowers and garlands, by heating and burning incense-sticks, by fumigation, and by using scents and perfumes. For fumigation the following plants and plant products are recommended: Nakha, kuṣṭha, dhana, māṅsī, śṛka, śaileyaja, saffron, shellac, sandal, agallochum, nīrada, sarala, devakāṣṭha, camphor, kāntā, vaṭa, kunduru, scented gum resin, and śrīnīvāsa; scented oils for bath by treating the oil with equal measures of tvaca, saffron, murā, analada, and vālaka, etc. In this way recipes for lotus scented, jātī flower scented and various other scented oils are given (19–32). Even prescriptions for the cure of halitosis (foul breath) are given (33–40). The processes recommended here are still popular practices all over India. The modern artifices of making that beautiful which is not beautiful seem to be anticipated by centuries here.

Vaśīkaraṇa Yoga, or the art of winning over wives by husbands or rather of bringing about a cordial, perfectly harmonious relation between the two constitutes the most important section of the book. The author has fully realized the importance of cordial co-operation and absolutely peaceful relation between the pair as of vital importance to the problem of the birth of children, it being calculated to prevent the possibility of hybrids (varṇasaṅkara) and the preservation of the purity of pedigree intact. All the authorities, Kātyāyana, Yājñavalkya, Manu and others, have prescribed useful drugs for the purpose, and Vātsāyana's treatise practically embodies the results of all previous thinkers' instructions. Among the drugs mentioned are the following plants:

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[1] Eng. transl., M. N. Dutta, Calcutta, 1904.

> Datura, marīca, pippalī, vajrā, snuhi, gaṇḍaka, vacā, mango, śiṁśapā, khadira, priyaṅgu, tagara, nāgakeśara, and others.

Vṛṣya Yoga, or the ways of securing the virility and strength of body by drugs and other means. The most glaring evil of the modern civilization is that it does not provide or enforce any rule or rules governing the sensual enjoyment with the result that it is confronted with the evils of immature growth, premature death, nervous debility and host of other diseases which the utmost effort of the medical science with all its perfections cannot prevent. The ancient Indians sought to strike at the root of the tree of evil, and sought successfully by means of prescribing remedies, regulations and processes. First and foremost of all is the question of physical strength in the pair without which mere cordiality was of no avail, and we find drugs, and among them the following plants mentioned as agencies, conducive to strength and virility:—

> The root of ucchaṭā, cavya, yaṣṭimadhu, liquorice, vidāri, kṣīrika, svayaṁguptā, piyāla, kṣīramoraṭa, śriṅgāṭaka, kaśeru, madhūlikā, kṣīrakākolî, aśvagandhā, māṣa, sesamum, śatamūlī, gokṣuravīja, pepper, wheat, srīparṇī, śrīṅgāraka, madhurasa, sanseviera, śatāvarī, svadaṁgṣtrā, etc. etc.

The Bṛhatsamhitā [1] also devotes two chapters to these topics—Chapter 75 [2] prescribes recipes for increasing one's vigour and energy. Only two recipes are quoted here:

> Ṯilāśvagandhākapikacchamūlairvidārikaṣaṣṭika piṣṭayoga ।
> Ājenapiṣṭah payasā ghṛtena, pakkam bhavecchaṣkulikātivṛṣyā ॥ 9
> Kṣīreṇa vā gokṣura kopayogam, vidārikākandakabhakṣaṇam vā ।
> Ṛkuvaṇṇa sīdedyadi jīryatehsya, mandāgninā cedidamatra cūrṇam ॥ 10

Chapter 76 [3] deals with various toilet preparations.[4]

Thus the Science of Erotics has for its scope the whole problem of birth. It is not simply a love affair in the dictionary sense of the word. It is at once scientific and religious. It takes into account man, his external environment, his internal propensities, and last of all, it faces the question of his responsibility in the world as a moral being. For the successful solution of its problems it has recourse to many agencies, and plants play a very prominent part among those agencies.

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, Vizianagram Sans. Series X, 1895–97.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, Kandarpikam, 9, 10, pp. 936–941.

[3] *Ibid.*, Gandhayukti, pp. 941–960.

[4] For further and detailed information, see Majumdar, Some Aspects of Indian Civilization, 1938, chap. IV, pp. 83–106, Calcutta.

'Its primary object,' says Barua,[1] 'as set forth in the closing chapter of the Brihad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad, is to teach a way of life which is essential to the preservation and betterment of the race, and as such the system forms an integral part of the Brahmanic Ethics ...... None should fight shy of claiming ancient Indian treatises of Erotic Science as a rich heritage.'

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[1] Barua, A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, p. 341. Calcutta, 1921.

THE THIRD CAVE-INSCRIPTION: BARĀBAR HILL

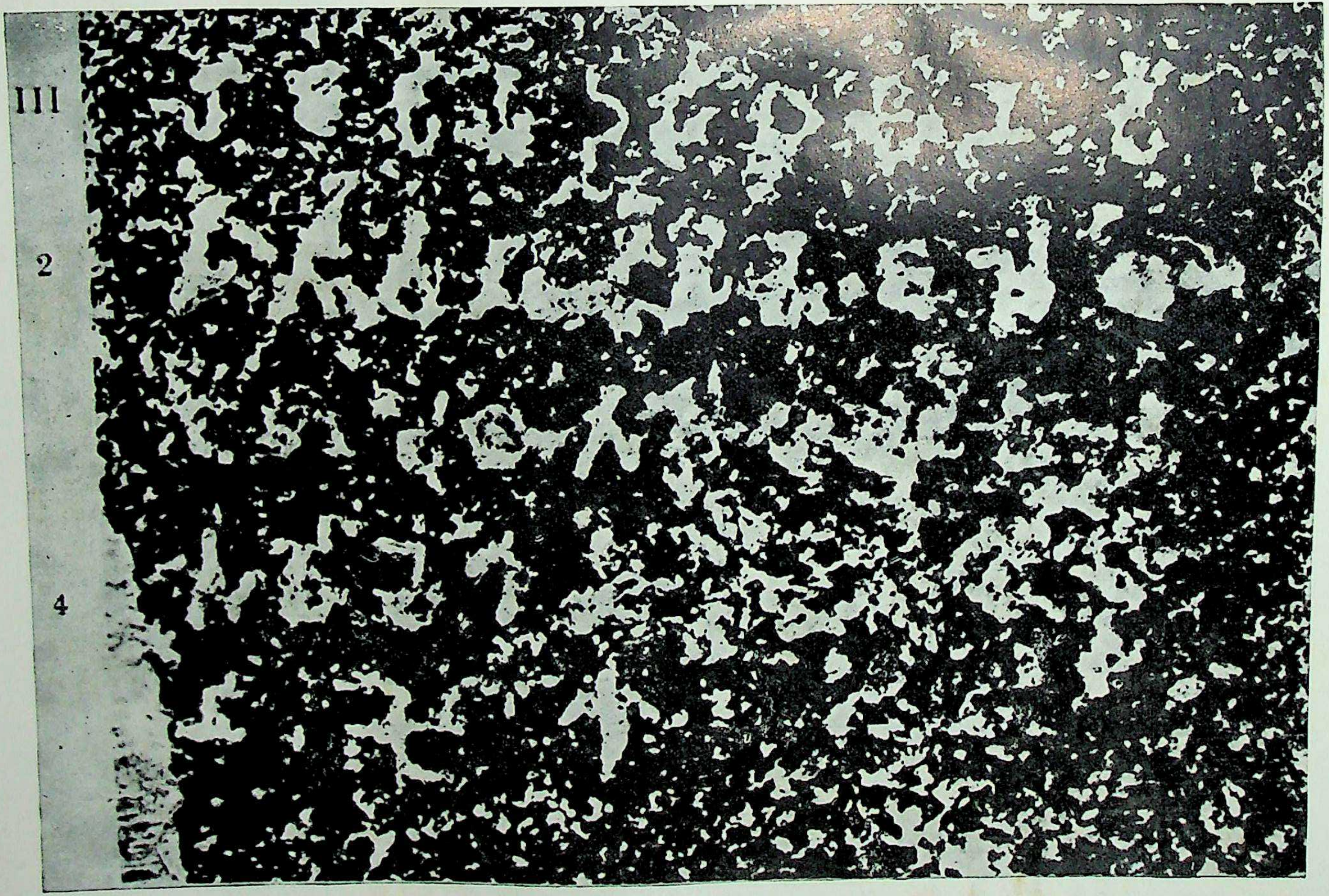
By SAILENDRANATH MITRA

THE PURPOSE OF THE GIFT OF THE CAVE

Hultzsch in his *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 182, reads the text of this cave-inscription as follows:—

1 lāja Piyadasī ekunavī-
2 sati-vasā[bh]isi[t]e ja[lagh]o-
3 [sāgama]thāta [me] i[yaṃ kubhā]
4 su[p]i[y]e Kha..........[di]-
5 nā

The purpose of the gift of the cave (in lines 2 and 3), with which I am mainly concerned in this paper, is peculiarly worded—*jalaghosāgamathāta*. Drawing attention to the expression *vāshanishidiyāye* ('for a dwelling during the rainy season') occurring in the three cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha (IA. 20. 364 f., and EI. 2. 274), Hultzsch translates his reading thus: 'for the sake of the approach of the roar of waters'. He construes the relevant text as *jala-ghosa-āgama-athāta,* doubtfully equating *athāta* with Skt. *arthataḥ* in the sense of *arthāya* (*Ibid.*, p. 182, fn. 4). That the shelter offered through the gift of the cave was to provide not so much against the 'roar of waters' (*jala-ghosa*) as against the 'flood of water' (*jala-ogha*), may be easily presumed. Verily, flood and famine were then, as now, the most dreaded calamities in India, the former being more regular and sudden, especially during the rainy season. Cf. Dhammapada: 'Suttaṃ gāmaṃ mahogho va maccu ādāya gacchati'. *Ogha* would seem to be more appropriate than *ghosa* in the context of this inscription. That it is so will be shown anon.—As regards *athāta,* it cannot be a counterpart of Skt. *arthataḥ* in Asokan eastern Māgadhī, which would only permit of a form in *-te,* as *athate* (cf. *hetute, viyaṃjanate,* Jaugaḍa Rock Edict III; also *Ujenite,* Dhauli Sep. R.E. I.; *Suvaṃṇagirīte,* Brahmagiri and Siddapura Rock Inscriptions). Nor can it be a counterpart of Skt. *arthāya,* for which the proper form would be *athāye* (as in Jaugaḍa Sep. R.E. II; Tōpra VIII), in preference perhaps to *athā* (Girnar R.E. XII) or *athāya* (Girnar R.E. III, IV, V, VI and XIII).—The difficulty is further enhanced by the suggested reading *me* ('by me') after *thāta,* which leaves the donor of the cave unnamed, there being no perceptible trace left in the mutilated por-



(*Reproduced from Hultzsch, 'Inscriptions of Asoka,' page 182.*)

THE THIRD CAVE-INSCRIPTION : BARĀBAR HILL

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tion of the inscription towards the end for the assumption of any such name, and especially because *me*, which is in the instrumental case, cannot be construed to mean *lāja Piyadasī ekunavīsati-vasābhisite*, a construction which is undoubtedly nominative absolute.—Then, again, the reading *supiye* (in line 4) as an adjective to *Kha*(*latika-pavatasi*), masculine, locative singular, is open to question, as it ends in *-e* and not *-asi*, which in the eastern dialect is the usual locative termination for the masculine or neuter gender in the *-a* declension.

Considering the mutilated appearance of some of the letters, there was, I believe, ground enough for Hultzsch to offer a tentative reading. But as it has still remained vague and obscure, it will, I daresay, be worthwhile to try to reconstruct and improve the reading in a sensible way and with as little changes as possible.

To come to the facsimile. In line 2 the last three letters, as Hultzsch reads them, are *ja*[*lagh*]*o*-. The *ja* is quite clear, but the second letter has a short vertical stroke below the left of the curve and a much shorter one below the right, which would make it read *lu* or *lū*. For the stroke hanging on the left, see the letter *lu* in *niludhasi* (Hultzsch, Pillar Edict IV, Lauriya Ararāj). The two pendant strokes may allow the reading *lū*. The last letter of the line is almost effaced in the vertical and it cannot be read as *gho* except only as *gha* or, at the most, as *ghā*. The trace that looks like a hyphen to the right on the margin is but a scratch and nothing else, for no other letter in this inscription encroaches on the margin. Thus, the three letters would read *ja lū ghā*.

In line 3, the first letter is so mutilated that it hardly permits of a reading *sā*, neither the loop nor the tail being visible. Depending on either of the two rough horizontal strokes running to the right of a vertical, I would read the figure as *ū*. But as initial *ū* is not traceable in the inscriptions of Asoka, I should only read it as *u*. The next four letters *ga ma thā ta* will remain as Hultzsch has read them. The next letter which he reads as *me* can be read as *ve*, discarding the slight scratch which has been taken to serve as the right horn of *m*, and taking into account the vertical stroke (regarded by Hultzsch as the left horn of *m*) which is crossed and encroached upon by a slanting scratch. The *-e* stroke, however, is not doubted.

In the light of this revision, I propose to replace Hultzsch's *jalaghosāgamathāta me* by the reading *jalūghā ugama thātave* with the literal meaning: 'to stay, going up (i.e., rising) above the flood of water'—in other words, 'to dwell aloft beyond the reach of flood (during the rainy season)'.

The forms of the words are now to be explained. *Jalūghā* is *jala*+*ogha*+ablative singular (Skt. *jalaughāt*), 'from the flood of water'. Cf. *jalaugha-vego* ('the rush of the torrent of water'), Rāmāyaṇa, canto 63, v. 18; also *udakogha* ('water flood'), Commentary on Vimānavatthu, 48. For *au* = *ū*, cf. Skt. *jalaukā* = *jalūkā*; Skt. *raudra* = Pali *ludda* (with shortening of the vowel before the double consonant). *Ugama* (Skt. *ud*+√*gam*+*ya*) corresponds to Pali *uggamma*, 'going up', 'rising aloft'; cf. also Pali *accuggamma* (*ati*+*uggamma*), 'rising out (of)'. *Thātave* (Skt. *sthātum*, from √*sthā*) is an instance of infinitive in *-tave*, and corresponds to Pali *thātave*, *ṭhātave*, 'to stay, to remain'.

The reconstructed expression *jalūghā ugama thātave* has a close parallel in Pali in almost identical terms. The following quotation is remarkable: 'Appekaccāni uppalāni......*udakā accuggamma ṭhanti*' (Dīghanikāya, II, p. 38), which is explained as 'udakaṃ atikkamitvā tiṭṭhanti' in Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī, p. 92 (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 3), 'there are some lotuses which rise and remain out of the water'. See also Aṅguttara, V. 152. For *ugama thātave*, cf. Mahāvaṃsa, ch. 4, v. 17: '(Thero) *uggamma* ......*ṭhito*', 'rising aloft....(the elder) remained'. Thus, the reading adopted is not only supported by evidence from literature, but it also does away with the difficulty of construction arising from the reading *me*, which has been replaced by *ve*, which, again, is joined to *thāta* to form the term *thātave*.

Now about *supiye* in line 4. As adjective to *Khalatika-pavatasi* (as restored by Hultzsch), the word, with the locative form in *-e*, is, as pointed out above, hardly in order. If it be suggested that it had better be taken as an adjective of *kubhā* (restored by Hultzsch on the analogy of the reading in the first two cave-inscriptions in the same hill), then the proper form of the term should have been *supiyā* (feminine, nominative), so as to read *kubhā supiyā* (meaning *Supiya-kubhā*, on the analogy of *Nigoha-kubhā* of the first cave-inscription in the same hill). But Hultzsch reads it *supiye*, and renders the whole expression: 'in the very pleasant Khalatika mountain'. Now, the word *khalatika* (Skt. *skhalatika*) by its very derivation points to some imperfection associated with the hill, which, as the name signifies, must have been shorn of shrubbery or green vegetation, so as not to justify the description *supiya*. We are reminded of the ugliness of Khalatiya Peta in the Petavatthu-Aṭṭhakathā, p. 46, where we read of a beautiful woman who was envied by her female friend, who managed to apply some depilatory preparations to her hair while she was taking her bath in a river, with the result that all her hair fell off (*khalitā*). She is described as 'vilūna-kesā' and 'luñcitapamattā kapotī viya virūpā'. And, again, 'sīsaṃ tassā tintakalābu sadisaṃ ahosi'. In the same way, the *Khalatika-pavata* may be regarded as originally bald and devoid of grace and, therefore, hardly 'very pleasant' (*supiya*). We do not know if it had changed its ugliness in Asoka's time. Presumably, there must be something wrong in the reading *supiye*. The late Dr. B. M. Barua rejected it and was inclined

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to restore the words in line 4 as *pavate Khalatikasi* on the analogy of *bahune janasi* of Pillar Edict VII. But *bahune* belongs to the *u*-declension and *pavate* to the *a*-, and the locative singular form (as required in the eastern dialect) would be *pavatasi*. So, the analogy of *pavate* with *bahune* does not hold good. I was almost tempted to read the word as *tatiye*, but not without doubts. For want of a plausible reading at present, the whole question should remain open until a reasonable suggestion is forthcoming.

Lastly, a word about Hultzsch's restoration *Khalatika-pavatasi*. From the facsimile it is evident that there is not room enough for seven letters after *Kha* in line 4 to justify his restoration. The space between *Kha* and the last letter of the line (which is read by Hultzsch as *di*) may suffice for four letters, or five at the most. Therefore, the reading *Khalatika pavatasi* is out of place here, though a shorter reading *Khalatikasi* would not be so.

EARLY BENGAL'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO BRAHMANICAL PHILOSOPHY

By Nalini Nath Das Gupta

To the memory of one who was by his frame of mind and inclinations more a philosopher than anything else, a very befitting tribute will perhaps be a contribution to some aspect of philosophy, and I can do no better than selecting for the purpose a subject enquiring into what early Bengal did in the domain of various Brahmanical systems of philosophy.

Bengal in mediæval times became pre-eminently known as a seat of *Navya-Nyāya* culture, and it was the University of Navadvīpa, where flocked students of this system from all quarters of India for study and degree, that mainly elevated it to that level of distinction. In the early period, which closed with the twelfth century, however, no such university existed in Bengal to diffuse Brahmanical learning and culture, for Somapurī and Jagaddala, Bha-ra-ha and Vikramapurī and the rest known as universities in early Bengal were all Buddhist in denomination and spirit, and even the temples of Bengal, as of other parts of Northern India, did not serve as academic institutions like so many temples of Southern India. Students of Brahmanical learning and culture, therefore, used to work in their individual capacities in their village or town homes or *ṭolas*, and notwithstanding the difficulties of segregated lives in the matter of inspiration for literary enterprises they succeeded to contribute much to all branches of learning—*Kāvya* and *Alaṅkāra*, *Darśana* and *Smṛti*, *Āyurveda* and *Jyotiṣa*, and so on. In respect of *Darśana*, the evidences show that Vedānta, Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā and Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika were the systems that they cultivated most.

VEDĀNTA.

It has been argued that the *Gauḍapādīya-kārikā* is an anonymous handbook of the schoolmen of Gauḍa, and that the name known to us as Gauḍapāda is but a figment derived from the title of the book, *Gauḍapādīya-kārikā*, 'Summary verses consisting in *Pādas* of the Gauḍa school'.[1] That the book is anonymous is too patent, but that a book, as such, had no particular author is without any justification to maintain. All that is indicated by the word *Gauḍapāda* is that he, the author, was a Gauḍa, and the term *pāda*, properly an honorific ending, is applied to it with as much consequence as that contained in its application in the names like Luipāda, Dārika-pāda, Tailika-pāda, Nāḍa-pāda, etc., or in the epithets like Avadhūta-pāda, Pūjya-pāda, Prabhu-pāda, etc. *Pāda* would thus mean 'of adorable feet', and when Gauḍapāda is styled as Gauḍācārya, as done by Sureśvarācārya in his *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad-bhāṣya-vārtika*[1] or by Vidyāraṇya Sarasvatī in his *Jīvanmuktiviveka*[2] and *Pañcadaśī*,[3] it proves, on the one hand, that the term *pāda*, which being, from the standpoint of an honorific title, equivalent to *ācārya*, had nothing to do with the subdivisions (*pādas*) of the work, and, on the other, that he was a native of Gauḍa. Indeed we have got like instances of this practice in the names of Koṅkaṇapāda,[4] Varendrapāda,[5] Keralīpāda,[6] etc. In case of Koṅkaṇapāda we do know that his personal name was Kokadatta, but in case of others, including Gauḍapāda, the real names remain screened by artificial ones, which are not exactly pseudonyms assumed by themselves, but instances of familiarizations which great respect to them brought into being.

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[1] Walleser, *Ältere Vedanta*, pp. 5ff.; cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 1362.

To the so-called Gauḍapāda goes the credit of reviving the a-dualistic ideas of the Upaniṣads, of comparing presumably for the first time the world-appearance with the dream-appearance, and of preparing the groundwork upon which Śaṅkarācārya enabled himself to erect later on the stately mansion of his *Advaitavāda*. Of his personal history we know practically nothing except that, in tradition, he was a pupil of one Śuka. The tradition is recorded not only in Vidyāraṇya's *Śaṅkara-digvijaya* (5. 94ff.) but in other works also,[7] and has the fortune of having even Winternitz to lend the weight of his name to credit it as sobre.[8] But in any case, whether the tradition tells us a truth or not, the discipleship of Śuka, unknown to literature or history, does not help to add lustre to the fame of Gauḍapāda.

The *Gauḍapādīya-kārikā*, or better *Māṇḍukya-kārikā*, the earliest systematic exposition of the monistic Vedānta, derives the name of *Māṇḍukya-kārikā* owing to its explaining in the first chapter, called *Āgama*, the text of the *Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad*. Of the remaining

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[1] Cf. I. 4. 389 (p. 510), 2. 1. 386 (p. 951) and 4. 4. 886 (p. 1866); also see *Ind. Ant.*, 1933, pp. 192-3.

[2] Tr. by M. M. Dvivedi, Bombay, 1897, Ch. II, p. 52.

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[4] *Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de La Bibliothèque Nationale*, par Cordier, II, p. 60.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 156.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 220.

[7] Cf. *Cat. of South Indian MSS.*, by M. Winternitz, London, 1902, p. 21 and pp. 288–90.

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To Gauḍapāda is also ascribed the authorship of the *Uttara-Gītā-vyākhyā*,[1] which is a commentary on the *Uttara-Gītā*, the *Uttaratāpanīya-vivaraṇa*,[2] a commentary on the *Uttaratāpanīya* (but this is doubtful); and a commentary on the *Vṛhad-Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad*,[3] as also the *Śrī-Vidyāratna Sūtras*, which has a commentary by Vidyāraṇya Muni,[4] said to be a pupil of Śaṅkarācārya. Gauḍapāda, as Dr. Walleser points out, is quoted in the *Tarka-jvālā*, a logical treatise, which exists in Tibetan translation, of Bhāva-viveka.[5] According to the testimony of Hiuen Tsang the *Śāstra*-master P'o-p'i-fei-ka or Bhāva-viveka, a resident of Dhanakaṭaka, was but a junior contemporary of Dharmapāla of Nālandā,[6] whose approximate date is, as is commonly known, 600–635 A.D. Bhāva-viveka, therefore, was not certainly much earlier than Hiuen Tsang, as is sometimes supposed[7]; but what we should say is that he was not anterior to the second quarter of the seventh century A.D., and this renders the lower limit of Gauḍapāda's date corresponding to the date of Dharmapāla. A commentary resembling that of Gauḍapāda, on the *Sāṁkhya-kārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa, was translated into Chinese as early as in the reign of the Ch'en dynasty (557–580 A.D.), but the commentary, however, does not bear the name of Gauḍapāda.[8] On the other hand, Śaṅkarācārya at the end of his commentary on the *Gauḍapāda-kārikā* pays obeisance many times to the feet of his *parama-guru*,[9] who was Gauḍapāda. The term *parama*, by itself, may also mean *great*, but when it forms a compound with *guru*, it means *grand*, and I know of no instance where a Sanskritist employs the expression *parama-guru* in the sense of *great teacher* instead of *grand teacher*. Of the host of theories that have ever been propounded for the date of Śaṅkara, it suffices here to say that importance attaches to two only, viz. those that make him born in 788 A.D. and 686 A.D.[1] respectively. The former, which has the reading of an old MS. to support it and has gained far more credence, cannot, however, answer, amongst many other things, to the relation in which Śaṅkara stood with his spiritual grandfather (*parama-guru*), Gauḍapāda. But the relation must be accepted as historical truth, or we shall have to pretend that we know of Śaṅkara much more than he himself knew of him. The latter date, in its specification of a particular year, viz. 686 A.D., is on artificial calculation, partly satisfying the requirements of some historical facts and partly astronomical, but without having the sanction of any manuscriptal evidence. We may not accept this date, but a date near about this one seems to suit very well the chronology of Śaṅkara, and this reduces us to the necessity of supposing that the lower limit of Gauḍapāda's date is also his actual date.

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[1] *Contributions towards an Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical Systems*, Fitzedward Hall, 1859, p. 123; and Mitra's *Notices*, I, p. 101.

[2] *Descriptive Cat. of Sans. MSS.*, H. P. Śāstrī, II, No. 1806, pp. 1415-16.

[3] R. G. Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1883-84, p. 8.

[4] This is a work on the *Tripura Āgama*, the *Sūtras* being 101 in number. Ed. Nārāyaṇa Śāstrī Khiste, with the *Com. of Śaṅkarāṇya*. The Prince of Wales Sarasvatī Bhavana Texts, No. II, Benares, 1924. Another *Tāntric* work assigned to Gauḍapāda is the *Subhagodaya*, a hymn in praise of Subhagā, a manifestation of Śakti—*Catalogues of Sans. MSS. in the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras*, Vol. XIX, 1915, No. 10849, pp. 7390-91.

[5] Walleser, *op. cit.*, pp. 14ff.

[6] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 222; Beal, *Records*, II, p. 223.

[7] *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Charles Eliot, II, p. 74, fn. 1; also *Indian Philosophy*, S. Radhakrishnan, II, p. 452, fn. 2. When Candrakīrti quotes Bhāva-viveka in his *Madhyamaka-vṛtti*, he quotes almost his contemporary.

[8] *India: What can it teach us?* Max Müller, London, 1883, p. 360, fn. 5; also *J. Bom. Br. R.A.S.*, XVIII, 1890–94, p. 236.

[9] *Yas taṁ pūjyābhipūjyaṁ parama-guruṁ amuṁ pāda-pātair nato'smi*, Ānandāśram ed , p. 214.

The next known champion of Bengal of the Vedānta system is Abhinanda, the Gauḍa, son of Jayanta. He wrote in this direction,

(1) the *Yogavāśiṣṭha-sāra*,[2] an abridgement, embracing 6,000 Anuṣṭuv couplets, of the *Yogavāśiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa*, which is reckoned amongst Vedānta treatises;
(2) the *Laghuvāśiṣṭha-sāra*[3];
(3) the *Mokṣopāya-sāra*,[4] a philosophical poem extracted from Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*;
(4) the *Vālmīki-vairāgya-prakaraṇaṁ*[5]; and
(5) the *Vāśiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa*[6] (if it be a separate work from the first one).

Of these, the first has a commentary by Ātmasukha, pupil of Hariharācārya.[7]

Śrīharṣa, the poet of the *Naiṣadhīya* and doubtless a Bengal-born, made his mark in the domain of philosophy by his *Khaṇḍanākhaṇḍa-khādya*, the most reputed work on Vedāntic dialectics, in which he vigorously criticizes, in four chapters, the principal philo-

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[1] *Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā*, 1315, pp. 159–165; *Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja*, Rajendra Nath Ghosh. I intend to discuss the date in details subsequently.

[2] Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

[3] *Cat. of Sans. and Prākṛta MSS. in C.P. and Berar*, Hiralal, Nagpur, No. 4925, p. 438.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, X, 1881, p. 46.

[5] *Lists of MSS. collected for Govt. MSS. Library*, by the Professors of Sanskrit at the Deccan and Elphinstone Colleges, Poona, 1925, p. 66.

[6] *Cat. Deccan College MSS.*, S. R. Bhandarkar, 1888, p. 202.

[7] Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 122; S. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

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sophical systems of India, and the Nyāya in particular, postulating that nothing in the world is definable, since there is no knowing whether a thing is or is not, and that the essential principles and primary definitions set forth by the various systems are all unjustifiable, as also all views on philosophical questions are indefensible. This masterly dissertation called into existence several commentaries, of which that of Vardhamānopādhyāya, early in the thirteenth century, is the earliest.

Pūrṇānanda Kavicakravarti of Gauḍa, a disciple of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, wrote his *Tattvamuktāvalī* or *Māyāvādasandūṣaṇī*, comprising 119 verses, not in support of, but to refute the a-dualistic Vedāntic theory, imputing 100 blemishes to the *Māyāvāda* of Śaṅkara.[1] The work, however, is no better than an epitome of Mādhavācārya's *Śatadūṣaṇī*. As he is quoted in the *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha*[2] of Mādhavācārya (1350 A.D.), he may be taken to belong to the period under review.

MĪMĀṀSĀ.

The Mīmāṁsā, or rather the Karma-Mīmāṁsā, is mainly concerned with the Vedic sacrifices, and formulates principles and determines injunctions on the basis of which the Vedic *mantras* are to be interpreted for sacrificial purposes.

As early as 443 A.D., the date of the first of the five Dāmodarpur copper-plate grants,[3] we find a Brāhmaṇa, Karpaṭika, applying to the local government of Koṭivarṣa-viṣaya (in north Bengal) for purchase of a parcel of land for convenient performances of *Agnihotra* sacrifices, which fall categorically within the Karma-kāṇḍa of the Vedas. The history of the cultivation of Karma-Mīmāṁsā in Bengal, therefore, goes back to the fifth century A.D., if not earlier still. Not earlier than the seventh century the school received a fresh and very strong impetus under the auspices of its two mighty exponents, Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and his traditional disciple, Prabhākara, and with the sharp divergence, although not so much in the leading principles, of the teachings of these two teachers, there arose two divisions in the school, one following Kumārila and the other adhering to Prabhākara. It has been proposed, as if to take vengeance upon tradition, that Prabhākara preceded Kumārila by at least half a century, on no better grounds than that the former's style is simpler and that he does not refer to Kumārila.[4] Why Prabhākara was reluctant to refer to the name of his teacher, who was his opponent, too, in his writings is difficult to answer; but the fact that he was so reluctant does not constitute any reason that his relation, which is maintained by a fairly old tradition, with Kumārila as his disciple should be discredited, and the question of style in the seventh or eighth century A.D. is far less any proof. In any case, however, the views of both Kumārila and Prabhākara, often referred to as *Bhaṭṭa-mata* and *Guru-mata* respectively, found hearty and firm support in Bengal throughout the whole of the early period, and the statement that the school of Prabhākara 'could not win many followers in later times'[1] seems to be ineffective in so far as it concerns Bengal and Southern India. We know of a grant of land that was made in the tenth century A.D. to one who expounded the Prabhākaraṁ in the Nāgeśvara temple at Kumbakonam.[2] Again the Gadag inscription of the 23rd year of the reign of the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI (1098 A.D.) records, amongst other things, that his *dharmādhikārin*, Someśvara Bhaṭṭa, founded at Lokkiguṇḍi a school for the study of the Prabhākara doctrines of Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā.[3] As to Bengal the instances are many more.

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[1] Tr. E. B. Cowell, *J.R.A.S.*, 1883, Part II for April.

[2] Tr. E. B. Cowell and A. E. Gough, 1882, p. 73.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, XV, Part III.

[4] *Karma Mīmāṁsā*, A. B. Keith, 1921, pp. 9-10.

Prabhākara's *Bṛhatī*, which is itself a commentary on Sabarasvāmī's *Bhāṣya* on the *Mīmāṁsā Sūtras*, was subcommented, doubtless for the first time, by Śālikanātha Miśra in his famous *Ṛjuvimālā*. Śālikanātha was also the author of a Mīmāṁsā compendium, entitled *Prakaraṇa-pañcikā*, in which he 'deals with the more important epistemological and metaphysical views of his teacher'[4] (Prabhākara). Udayanācārya (tenth century) in his logical treatise, *Nyāya-Kusumāñjali*, refers, as pointed out, to a Mīmāṁsaka of Gauḍa, which his subcommentator, Varadarāja, explains as referring to the author of the *Pañcikā* (*Pañcikā-kāra*).[5] The identification of this *Pañcikā-kāra* with the *Prakaraṇa-pañcikā-kāra* admits of no doubt, and Śālikanātha thus appears to have been a Bengali. It is also likely that the *Gauḍa-Mīmāṁsaka*, whom the logician Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya refers to in his *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, is the same as Śālikanātha.[6] Although of uncertain date, Śālikanātha cannot be placed on this side of the eighth century. In the ninth century, Nārāyaṇa, an inhabitant of North Rāḍha in West Bengal and author of the *Chandoga-pariśiṣṭa-prakāśa*, tells us that he attained fame by strengthening the tenets of Prabhākara (*Prabhākara-mata-sthiti-labdha-kīrttiḥ*), and also that his grandfather, Umâpati, was a follower of that school (Prabhākara-*grāmaṇīḥ*).[7] Again in the *Laṭaka-melakaṁ*, a comical sketch by Śaṅkhadhara of Kanauj, we have a passage to the effect—*Rāḍhīyair-ati-harṣa-gadagada-galaiḥ Prābhākaraḥ śrūyate* (II. 16).[1] This demonstrates, notwithstanding the line is sarcastical, that Prabhākara's doctrines were in operation in Bengal as late as the twelfth century A.D., when Śaṅkhadhara lived. This may further be illustrated by a concrete example, that of Nīlāmbara, father of Govardhanācārya. In v. 38 of his *Āryā-saptaśatī* he alludes to his father's *guru*, and his commentator, Ananta Paṇḍita, explains it as referring to Prabhākara in whose *tantra* (doctrine) Nīlāmbara had gained proficiency (*Prabhākara-tantra-nipuṇatvaṁ*).[2]

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[1] *History of Indian Philosophy*, S. N. Das Gupta, Vol. I, p. 372.

[2] *South Indian Epigraphy*, *Ann. Rep.* for 1912, p. 65.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 355, v. 75.

[4] Keith's *Karma Mīmāṁsā*, p. 9.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, 1929, p. 202.

[6] *Ibid.*, and *J.A.S.B.*, 1918, XIV, N.S., p. 281.

[7] Eggeling's *Cat. of Sans. MSS.*, *India Office Library*, London, Part I, pp. 92-93.

As regards the school of Kumārila, Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, the celebrated scholar and minister to King Harivarmā of East Bengal, wrote a learned commentary, under the title of *Tautātika-mata-tilakaṁ*, on Kumārila's *Tantravārtika*. Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa dates either from the last quarter of the eleventh or from the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D. Inscriptions of Bengal furnish some further instances of the cultivation of Mīmāṁsā in the eleventh century. Kṛṣṇāditya Śarmaṇa, the recipient of the Bāṇgaḍ copper-plate grant of Mahīpāla I, was a student of Mīmāṁsā amongst other subjects.[3] So, too, was Khoduladeva Śarmaṇa, the recipient of the Āmgāchi copper-plate grant of Vigrahapāla III.[4] Of Kārtikeya, the father of Prahāsa of Sīyamba, we are told that he was 'the foremost of śrotriya, by whom the ocean of the Mīmāṁsā (philosophy) was narrowed into the impression of a cow's hoof'. Kārtikeya's father, Taponidhi, was also one 'who attained perception in the doctrines of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa (*niṣṭhān-gato-Bhaṭṭa-mate(ḥ)*).[5] In the twelfth century, King Vallālasena, in the introduction of his *Adbhuta-sāgara*, speaks of his preceptor, Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa, as one well versed in Mīmāṁsā. After that Halāyudha, the Judge under Lakṣmaṇasena, wrote a work entitled *Mīmāṁsā-sarvasva*, as is stated in an introductory verse of his *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, but no MS. of it is yet known to have been discovered.[6]

NYĀYA.

It has been observed that 'we have no trace of any activity in the field of Nyāya in Bengal before the thirteenth century, when the foundation was laid by Gaṅgeśa of Mithilā of what is called *Navya-Nyāya* (modern logic) in contradistinction to *Prācīna Nyāya*

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[1] N.S.P. ed., Act II, v. 16, p. 22.

[2] N.S.P. ed., p. 13, v. 38.

[3] Cf. *Gauḍalekhamālā*, A. K. Maitra (V.R.S.).

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 293, vv. 16 and 14.

[6] But it should be noted that under the same title was written a Mīmāṁsā treatise by Nārāyaṇa Śāstrī, son of Accamāmbā and Kollūrī Somayājin of the Deccan: see *Catalogues of Sanskrit MSS. in the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras*, IV, Part I, Sanskrit B, pp. 5084-85.

(old school of logic)'.[1] The statement lacks caution. We definitely know that Kṛṣṇāditya Śarmaṇa, the donee of the Bāngaḍ grant of Mahīpāla I, was a student of logic (*tarka-vid*); so also was that of the Āmgāchi copper-plate grant of Vigrahapāla III. Prahāsa of Sīyamba, too, is stated to have 'unsurpassed knowledge in logic'.[2] More important is the fact that Trilocana of Bengal, who was the teacher of Vācaspati, and who is refuted in the *Apohasiddhi* of Ratnakīrti, probably of the tenth century, was the author of a logical treatise, *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa*.[3] A MS. of the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* exists, but the author's name does not appear therein.[4] In the *Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha* of Mādhavācārya the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* is cited,[5] and it may really be that it is Trilocana's.

VAIŚEṢIKA.

The only known Vaiśeṣika work that early Bengal is yet known to have produced is the *Nyāya-Kandalī* of Śrīdhara who wrote it either in 988[6] or more probably in 991 A.D. It is a commentary, as is well known, on Praśastapāda's exegesis (*bhāṣya*) on the *Vaiśeṣika Sūtras* of Kanāda. Son of Baladeva and Abbokā or Acchokā, he was an inhabitant of Bhuriśreṣṭhī (modern Bhursut) in South Rāḍha, and enjoyed the patronage of a local chief, Pāṇḍudāsa. The *Nyāya-kandalī* found at a later time a commentator in Rājaśekhara who refers to three other commentaries on Praśastapāda's *Bhāṣya*, viz. the *Vyomavatī* (by Vyomaśekhara), the *Kiraṇāvalī* (by Udayana) and the *Līlāvatī* (by Śrīvatsācārya),[7] but Śrīdhara's commentary excels even that of Udayana in the elaborate but simple nature of exposition. The time represented by Śrīdhara probably witnessed in Bengal a lively cultivation of Vaiśeṣika philosophy, for we further know that Atīśa Dīpaṁkara also was proficient in Vaiśeṣika.[8]

SĀṀKHYA.

The *Sāṁkhya-kārikā-bhāṣya*, that bears the name of Gauḍapāda as its author, is an exposition of the 72 *kārikās* or memorial verses of Īśvarakṛṣṇa. But the identity of Gauḍapāda of the *Māṇḍukya-kārikā* with Gauḍapāda of the *Sāṁkhya-kārikā-bhāṣya* has been suspected in view of the diverseness of thought between the two works.[1] There are, however, numerous instances of individuals taking themselves to different branches of philosophy, and the simple explanation is that every one of them is more a culturist than a propagandist or doctrinaire.

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, 1929, p. 206.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 294, v. 20.

[3] *Six Buddhist Nyāya Tracts*, ed. H. P. Śāstrī, Bib. Ind., 1910.

[4] *Report on the Search for Sans. MSS.* for 1883-84, R. G. Bhandarkar, p. 6.

[5] Tr. Cowell and Gough, p. 195.

[6] Mitra's *Notices*, VIII, No. 2589, p. 46; *Report* for 1883-84, R. G. Bhandarkar, pp. 313-14.

[7] Peterson's *Third Report on the Search for Sans. MSS.*, 1884-88, pp. 27 and 273.

[8] *J.A.S.B.*, 1891, p. 50.

The hylotheistic scheme of the Sāṁkhya philosophy, however, did not suit the Bengali temperament, and it was almost a neglected subject with them not only in early but also mediæval periods of history.

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[1] *Indian Philosophy*, S. Radhakrishnan, Vol. II, p. 255, and p. 452, fn. 1.

SOUTH INDIA AND CEYLON

(300 B.C. TO 300 A.D.)

By V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

Sources of Information.

The principal sources of information for this period are literary records of which the most important are the *Dīpavamśa* and the *Mahāvamśa.* The *Dīpavamśa*[1] is the earlier of the two and is generally accepted as a composition of the fourth century A.D. The *Mahāvamśa* is perhaps a work of the succeeding century. Whether there was an old historical work from which these two books drew their material or they were independent ones it is not possible to say. It is reasonable to assume that there was some older work. But it is expressly clear that the *Mahāvamśa* is indebted to the *Dīpavamśa* for several of its details.[2]

The *Dīpavamśa* furnishes the history of the island from its legendary beginnings. It can be considered as a reduction into Pali verses of the old floating traditions preserved by the monks especially of the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura. Portions of the *Aṭṭhakathā,* which is the ancient commentary on the canonical writings of the Ceylon Buddhists, have been bodily adopted by the *Dīpavamśa.* Just like the *Aṭṭhakathā,* there was in existence the *Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvamśa* preserved in various monasteries and of which there were various recensions. The *Dīpavamśa,* like the *Mahāvamśa,* takes the history of Ceylon down to the reign of *Mahāsena,* i.e. the commencement of the fourth century A.D. We are not able to know who the author of the *Dīpavamśa* was. But it is certain that like the author of the *Mahāvamśa,* Buddhaghoṣa drew largely from it for the introduction to the *Samantapāsādikā.*[3]

Students of the *Mahāvamśa* like Fleet and Geiger believe rightly that this chronicle is 'a conscious and intentional re-arrangement of the *Dīpavamśa*'. The author of the *Mahāvamśa* was one *Mahānāma.*[4] Unlike the *Dīpavamśa,* this chronicle presents the history of the island systematically. There is a method and a well-conceived plan. The author has taken sufficient pains to present his material in an acceptable form. What the *Cūḷavaṁśa* later records, viz. that King Dhātusēna ordered the writings of a *dīpikā* on the *Dīpavaṁśa* and in lieu thereof gave a thousand pieces of gold (38. 59), is fittingly applicable to the production of the *Mahāvaṁśa*.[1] We know Dhātusēna reigned about the commencement of the sixth century A.D.

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[1] Edited by H. Oldenberg, London, 1879.

[2] See *Dīpavamśa* and *Mahāvamśa* und Die geschichtliche Uberlieferung in Ceylon by Geiger, Leipzig, 1905: tr. into English by E. M. Coomaraswamy, Colombo, 1908.

[3] Edited by H. Oldenberg, the *Vinaya Pitakam* (iii).

[4] R. Davids, *JRAS,* 1905, p. 391.

We may add to these two important works, the *Mahāvaṁśaṭīkā*. It is certainly a late work, as late, perhaps, as the eleventh century A.D. or even after. This *Ṭīkā* is important in the sense that it supplements the material contained in both the *Dīpavaṁśa* and the *Mahāvaṁśa*. The author of this *Ṭīkā* has gone to the original old work which was still available to him. Probably it was the same source to which the authors of the *Dīpavaṁśa* and the *Mahāvaṁśa* were indebted. Though the *Ṭīkā* itself is a very late composition, its value consists in recording ancient events from a reliable source of information. So whatever importance we give to these chronicles, may be bestowed on the *Ṭīkā* also.

Taking these chronicles as a whole, it was a bone of contention among scholars whether the material contained in them could be treated as authentic history. Geiger has critically examined the various theories and has come to the definite conclusion that the traditions transmitted in them have an historical basis, and the simple facts presented in them could be used as trustworthy material for the early history of Ceylon. It is pointed out that the list of the Indian kings before Aśoka furnished by the chronicles agrees fully with that seen in the *Purāṇas*. That Mahinda was the apostle of Ceylon is referred to by Hiuen Tsang.[2] Further, the *Mahāvaṁśa* mentions Majjhima as the teacher who converted the Himalayan region, while the *Dīpavaṁśa* mentions Kassapagotto as his companion there. This fact is confirmed by inscriptional evidence. These names are written in the inner and outer lids of the relic-urn discovered in Tope No. 2 of the Sāñci group.[3] In the same place in an inscription on a relic-casket is seen the expression *Sapurisasa Mogaliputasa*, most probably a reference to the Moggaliputta Tissa of the chronicles. Further, Grunwedel discovered in the sculptures of the lower and middle architraves of the east gate of the Sāñci Tope the representation of the transplanting of a branch of the Bodhi tree from Uruvela to Ceylon.[4] Lastly, the tradition is generally supported by Ceylonese epigraphy, as we shall see.

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[1] Fleet, *JRAS*, 1909, p. 5, n. 1.

[2] Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, pp. 246-7.

[3] Cunningham: *The Bhilsa Topes*, p. 287. See also Marshall: *Monuments of Sāñci*.

[4] See R. Davids: *Buddhist India*, p. 302; also *Introduction to Mahāvaṁśa* by Geiger, pp. xii–xx, London, 1912.

The other works which are pressed into service in writing the history of this period are the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Thūpavamśa*, the *Rājāvalī* and the *Rājaratnākara*. Some of them are legends of a far later period and are to be treated with caution, and their material should be used with discrimination. The *Rājaratnākara* consists of extracts from ancient books. Though it ranks secondary in importance, it is held in high esteem, as Edward Upham points out, by the Ceylonese. It takes the history of Ceylon to the settlement of the Portuguese in the island. It is treated as one of the sacred books, and it is often referred to as a historical document of value.

The *Rājāvalī*, on the other hand, is a work by different authors. It is chiefly compiled from local histories. The story is continued to the struggle between the Portuguese and the Dutch, and the success of the latter. Its value consists in its still preserving the ancient names and traditions of Ceylon. These books are also used inasmuch as they transmit the tradition almost faithfully. They are used either to confirm certain details or reject other points given in the older chronicles like the *Dīpavamśa* and the *Mahāvamśa*.

The *Thūpavamśa* (the Legend of the Topes) was written in Pali by one Vācissara Thera in the reign of King Parākramabāhu I (1153–86 A.D.). Though a late work, it records faithfully the old tradition of the propagation and spread of Buddhism in Ceylon. It shows how the Thera Moggaliputta Tissa was responsible for sending out missionaries throughout India and Ceylon. We are treated elaborately of the arrival of Mahinda and Sanghamittā to Ceylon and their successful efforts in converting the island into a land of Buddhism. It must be remembered that there is no mention of Aśoka having taken any part in this activity. Dr. B. C. Law is of opinion that it was done intentionally to enhance the position of the Buddhist *Sangha* and the prestige of its elders. The services of Devānampiyatissa and Duṭṭhagāmaṇi are furnished with a wealth of detail and do not militate against the older versions contained in the *Dīpavamśa* and *Mahāvamśa*. Thus this work is valuable to a student of Buddhism in ancient Ceylon.[1]

The Pāli *Aṭṭhakathās* or commentaries are another source of light not only on the Buddhist life in Ceylon but also on social and economic conditions. The chief author of the commentaries on the canonical texts like Vinaya, Sutta and Abhidhamma was Buddhaghoṣa. The other chief writer was Dharmapāla. The former gathered the materials scattered in the Sinhalese commentaries and presented them in Pāli.

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[1] *Thūpavdmśa*, ed. by Dr. B. C. Law for the Pali Text Society, 1935; trn. by the same author in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1945. See also *Mahāvamśa*.

Though his compositions were written early in the fifth century A.D., yet the material is old. For instance, the list of teachers furnished in the *Samantapāsādikā*, a commentary on the Vinaya, does not contain the name of any thera after the first century A.D. In the *Viśuddhimagga* Buddhaghoṣa analyses the Buddhist teachings with precision. He also wrote commentaries on the four principal *Nikāyas* of which the *Sumangalavilāsinī* on the *Dīgha Nikāya* may be specially mentioned. The latest writer on Ceylonese Buddhism gives as many as 28 sources of the Pāli commentaries. There were many more.[1] Among them was the *Andhakaṭṭhakathā* which belonged to earlier than the first century A.D. This was handed down at Kāñcī. Buddhaghoṣa could not see eye to eye with its expositions. There were again Porāṇas expounding the Buddhist culture. From the nature of the contents they resemble the Hindu Purāṇa literature. And the Porāṇakatheras were those teachers who expounded the teaching of the Buddha. The composers of this kind of literature were known Porāṇācāryas. The *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā* was the commentary on the Porāṇas.[2] Hereditary reciters of tradition were named *Bhāṇakas* and this practice continued at least to the days of Buddhaghoṣa. These sources throw light on the course which Buddhism took in the island. Surely one traces in them differences from the canonical texts.

The Evidence of Epigraphy.

The Vessagiri Inscriptions have been discovered in the forest-bound cluster of rocks in Anurādhapura, the site of Vessagiri Vihāra erected by Devanāmpiya Tissa. The inscriptions consist of those on caves and also rocks and are in the Brāhmī-lipi. They furnish no historical date but palaeographically they are the most ancient Ceylonese inscriptions. The inscriptions are brief but they point to the custom of dedicating caves to monks for shelter. Only names of persons are mentioned. Perhaps most of them were donors, and some of them were female devotees.[3]

The Mahā-Ratmale Rock Inscription, Anurādhapura, is again in the Brāhmī characters of the second century A.D. We have here the names of three kings Devanāmpiya Tissa-mahārāja, Devanāmpiya Putikana Gāmini Abhara-mahārāja, and Devanāmpiya Naka-mahārāja identified respectively with Vankanasika Tissa, Gajabāhu and Mahāllaka Nāga. Grants given to the Buddhist monasteries are recorded here. The Perumaiyan-kulam Rock Inscription is dated *circa* 66–110 A.D. and was discovered north of the Bodhi tree of Anurādhapura. The inscription notifies a gift of revenue derived from water supply to a thera in the reign of King Vasabha of the Lambakarṇa dynasty.[1]

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[1] See E. W. Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1946, pp. 10ff.

[2] For a different view, see Adikaram, *op. cit.*, pp. 16–22.

[3] *Ep. Zey.*, I, No. 2.

The Riṭigala Inscription,[2] also in Brāhmī characters, must be dated anterior to 200 B.C., for it mentions the names of Devanāmpiya Mahārāja Gāmani Tissa and his son Abhaya, and gifts of caves to the Buddhist clergy. The first of these kings has been identified with Saddhā Tissa, the father of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. Saddhā Tissa's elder brother Duṭṭhagāmaṇi had the appellation Gāmaṇi because of his sovereignty over Mahāgāma.[3] Abhaya may be Lañja Tissa. Ariṭṭhavihāra was built by Saddhā Tissa. Other persons mentioned in the inscription are Her Eminence Anuḍi (Anulā) and two sons—Parumaka Utiya and Parurmaka Tissa. The latter is identified as Mahācūla Mēha Tissa who was donor of the cave temple Gallena Vihāra.

The Pālu Mākiccāva Inscription relates to Gajabāhu I. It is said that he spent 5,000 karṣāpaṇas for the excavation of Vadamānaka tank in the Upala district and granted it for the use of the priesthood at Thūpārāma.[4]

The Jetavanarana Inscription relates to Mālu Tissa, *circa* 229–47 A.D. Its language is ancient Sinhalese. The king Mālu Tissa is said to be the son of King Nāga. It refers to a grant to a monastery attached to Abhayagiri fraternity.[5]

From these inscriptions we can check easily not only the veracity of the accounts in respect of kings mentioned by the Ceylonese chronicles, but also know the great interest taken by these ancient kings in the promotion of the Buddhist church in general.

Political History.

The history of Ceylon is as ancient as that of S. India, if not more. Its antiquity goes far back to the geological times when it formed part of the Gondwana land. The mountains of this ancient island consist of old, hard, crystalline rocks, resembling the Deccan trap. Archaeological finds of the palaeolithic period consisting of a few tools of shells, cherts and quartz near the caves of the Veddhas and of the neolithic dolmens and cists near Rambukhana and in the Batticalva district and other places take the prehistory of Ceylon to remote times. Then there is the traditional history of the island being occupied by the ferocious tribe of the Rākṣasas who were overcome by the mighty arms of the epic hero Rāma. In the *Mahābhārata* we are told that the Sinhalas were present at the

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[1] *Ep. Zey.*, I, No. 6.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 10.
[3] *Mahā.*, XXIII, 7.
[4] *Ibid.*, No. 18.
[5] *Ibid.*, No. 22.

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Rājasūya sacrifice performed by the Pāṇḍavas at Indraprastha (Delhi) (II. 34. 12).

According to the traditions narrated in the Ceylonese chronicles it transpires that besides the remnants of the old tribe of the Rākṣasas, the island was occupied by two primitive peoples, the Yakkhas and the Nāgas. When a prince Vijaya by name landed in the island, he wrested it from the possession of the Yakkhas.

Though the island was popularly known as Lankādīpa, Lankā was originally one of the four or five divisions of the whole of Ceylon. The other divisions went by the names of Nāgadīpa, Tambapaṇṇidīpa, Giridīpa and Ojadīpa. While the Lankādīpa embraced the eastern and south-eastern portion of the island, the north coast was known as the Nāgadīpa and the western and south-western parts by the name of Tambapaṇṇidīpa. The central hilly tracts were designated Giridīpa. The territory through which the river Kadamba flows was known as the Ojadīpa. The Nāgadīpa consists of three main settlements of the Nāga tribe, one on the banks of the river Kalyāṇī, the second on the sea border, and the third on the Kannāvaddhamana hill of the Giridīpa. The ancient Nāgas had their residence both on the hilly tracts and on the coastal plains. Very near the Nāgadīpa was the isle of Kara named Ahidīpa, the island of snakes.[1]

The Yakkhas occupied the two divisions of Tambapaṇṇidīpa and Lankādīpa especially in the plains of the west coast and east coast respectively. In the plains, again, lay the Sumanakūṭa, identified as Adam's Peak, and Mount Lankā. The hilly regions covered by the division of Tambapaṇṇidīpa were also known as the Malaya region. In this tract of land came and settled the Pulindas in much later times. Sirisavatthu was the principal city of the Yakkha establishment. Lankāpura was another capital. The rules of marriage were strictly observed and a Yakkha woman wooing a member outside the pale of her community met with severe punishment.[2]

The *Valāhassa-Jātaka* refers to the Tambapaṇṇi division which extended along the coast on the west bounded by river Kalyāṇī (modern Kaelani-Ganga) in the south and Nāgadipa in the north. Sirisavatthu, literally the abode of Hari, was located here. The same *Jātaka* further informs us that the island was peopled by she-goblins who enticed shipwrecked foreign merchants and finally devoured them. These were women of the Yakkha tribe.[3] Later Hiuen Tsang cites a tradition of a division of the island which was designated Ratnadīpa (perhaps the Ratnapura near Adam's Bridge), being the Iron City which was under the rule of female rulers of the Rākṣasa tribe.[1] There is still a village near Ratnapura named Habaragāma, probably Sabaragame, which reminds one of a Śabara settlement. The Śabaras and Pulindas were forest tribes of S. India according to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. While this may point out to a migration of these tribes from S. India, the *Mahāvaṁśa* explains the origin of the Pulindas as rising out of the two children of Vijaya by the Yakkhinī Kuvenī. It stands to reason to take that the Veddhas of modern Ceylon are akin to these ancient tribes of Śabaras and Pulindas of S. India.[2]

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[1] *The Jātakas*, Book XVIII, No. 480.

[2] *Mahā.*, XII, 67-68; VI. 32, 34; 43-45; 62-64; also B. M. Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, Lecture II, Calcutta, 1945.

[3] *The Jātakas*, Book II, No. 196.

The Veddhas are today in a low state of culture. They worship a goddess known as Kiri Amma identified with Mohinī. Her son was Aiyappan, the popular forest god of all Ceylon affording protection to travellers in woods and forests. This Aiyappan cult is still popular in Malabar. Perhaps Aiyai or the goddess celebrated in the Tamil epic *Śilappadikāram* bears some relation to Aiyappan. The Sinhalese tradition narrates that this god was introduced into the island from Madura. Not only he but his half-brother Murugan is also another favoured deity of the Veddhas. It may be remembered that Tamil tradition associates him with the hill god of the Maṟavar, another name for the Vēṭṭuvar tribe.[3] The backward sections of the Ceylonese Veddhas call Murugan by the name Gale yaka, or the demon of the rock. But the Kandyan Sinhalese speak of him as Gale Deviya and Demala yaka (Tamil Demon). The Veddhas themselves call him Malai Pey or Malaiyasvāmi.[4]

During the rule of Pāṇḍukabbaya of the fourth century B.C. this Malaiyan god is referred to as Vyadhadeva, Vyadha in Sanskrit meaning hunters. But the same god got the appellation of Puradeva in the time of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. It is just possible that the cult of Murugan, peculiarly S. Indian, was introduced into Ceylon by the Veddha immigrants. Local traditions affirm that the place where this god landed was Kandavanamturai where he was installed in a shrine. One tradition has it that the cult originally came from Tiruccendur in the present Tinnevelly district. The god was followed by his minister Kurumbada deva.[5]

Another legend says that it was at Kataragāma (originally Kajaragāma) that Kandan killed his foe Śūrapadman and later adopted Vaḷḷiyamma, the child discovered in a forest and adopted by the Veddhas, as his consort. What is of much interest is that in modern Katirgrāma we do not see any idol of Muruga but a symbol in the form of a small casket in front of the screen with the god on it. It is the casket that is taken out in procession and the convention is that seven Veddha women dressed in the old style retain the privilege to take it out in procession. Venison is the principal offering to this god. If we turn to the pages of the *Tirumurugāṟṟupaḍai* in honour of Murugan, we see that this god is propitiated by the sacrifice of fowls, goats and toddy drink. The worship is done by the mystic finger signs.[1] It may be presumed that the dominant Murugan cult became blended with the serpent cult of the Nāgas, so much so that we associate the serpent with Murugan cult nowadays. Need it be said that the Murugan cult was a distinct contribution of S. India to Ceylon.

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[1] Beal, *Buddhist Records*, II, pp. 239ff.; *Mahāvaṁśa*, VII. 67-68.

[2] Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

[3] For the culture of the Tamil Veṭṭuvar tribe, see *Śilap.*, Canto XII.

[4] Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 147 (Luzac & Co., 1909).

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 177-78.

The chronicles of Ceylon narrate the story of the landing of one Vijaya from northern India who was consecrated later king. The *Divyāvadāna* furnishes a different version. According to this, a merchant prince Simpala, son of Simha in India, entered this island with his followers. All of them married the Rākṣasa women of the country and settled there. The old customs were abolished, and Aryan modes of life and culture were introduced in the land. Much credence need not be placed on this account. But Vijaya's coming to Ceylon may be admitted as a fact. He made Tambapaṇṇi his capital while his minister founded Anurādhapura.[2]

Vijaya felt that unless a suitable maiden was got from the Indian continent he could not ascend the throne. Even his ministers wanted wives from India. These sent messengers laden with precious gems and gifts to the city of Madura, the Pāṇḍyan capital to meet the ruler and ask his daughter to be given in wedding to Vijaya. The Pāṇḍyan king was further requested to send a number of accomplished maidens fit to be wives of the ministers. The messengers met the king and the Pāṇḍyan consulted his council. It was agreed to send a hundred girls under the leadership of the Pāṇḍyan's daughter. A public proclamation calling for maidens willing to go to Lankā and get married was issued and the response was quite good. This party set out by way of the sea to Lankā accompanied by craftsmen and a thousand families of the eighteen guilds. They landed at Mahātittha (the great landing place). (This is now Mantota, opposite the island of Mannar). The envoys from Madura met the conqueror Vijaya, presented gifts on behalf of their king and also the maidens. Vijaya in return treated them warmly. At this the full assembly consecrated Vijaya king and the Pāṇḍyan daughter as queen. He then made it a point to send his father-in-law at Madura every year a shell-pearl worth thousands of money.[3]

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[1] Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 144 *et seq.*

[2] *Dīpa.*, IX. 31 and 35.

[3] See also Edward Upham, *Mahāvamśa*, p. 70.

After 38 years of good rule Vijaya died childless and it was his wish that his brother Sumitta should succeed him. But he had already become king of Sīhapura[1] (Kalinga) and therefore Sumitta sent his son Pāṇḍu Vāsudeva to Ceylon. Accordingly Pāṇḍu Vāsudeva arrived in Lankā and was received with all honours. It so happened that a princess of the Śākyas—who were persecuted by the Kośala king Viḍūḍabha before the decease of the Buddha—fair of form and named Bhaddakaccānā arrived at Upatissagāma and was finally adopted as queen. Their son Abhaya was next consecrated king.[2] Though the chronicles speak of the princess Bhaddakaccānā of the Śākya clan from a country beyond the Ganges, Professor Barua offers a plausible suggestion that the Śākya clan referred to is the family of the Ikṣvākus (Okkāka), who had settled on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā in South India. He is of opinion that the legend of Princess Bhaddakaccānā and the appearance of Ikṣvāku princess as gāmaṇis presuppose the immigration and settlement of the S.I. Ikṣvākus in Ceylon during or after the reign of Vijaya. We would not be led far astray if we accept this. It is highly improbable that a party came from beyond the Ganges all the way to Ceylon. Though these Ikṣvākus came into power later their migration to the Andhradeśa must have been very much earlier. If we are to believe Nayasena's *Dharmāmṛtam*,[3] a Kannaḍa work, it was in the time of the Tīrthankara Vasupriya that Ikṣvāku Yaśodhara of Aṅga settled in the Veṅgi region of the Āndhra country. This may or may not be correct. It is just possible that the movement of the Ikṣvākus into the south was even earlier. If this were accepted, then the Ikṣvākus referred to in Ceylonese history of this time can be identified with the Ikṣvākus of the Āndhradeśa.

Whatever may be the truth of these accounts, the fact seems to be that there was a flourishing dynasty of rulers over Tambapaṇṇi during the reign of Aśoka, the great Mauryan emperor of India. We have the unimpeachable testimony of his inscriptions referring to this portion of Ceylon. In the Rock Edicts II and XIII of Aśoka, Tambapaṇṇi is mentioned along with the southern Indian kingdoms. This reference is significant as it shows that the Mauryan empire was in relation with Ceylon and S. India. That Taprobane, which is only Tambapaṇṇi, was a flourishing mart is corroborated by Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador to Candragupta Maurya's court. The *Indika* of Megasthenes tells us that this region Taprobane was rich in precious gems, pearls and elephants.[4] From this we have to infer that the Mauryan capital Pāṭaliputra, which alone was visited by Megasthenes, was aware of the wealthy island of Ceylon and that the early Mauryan emperors had commercial and trade relations with that island. But it cannot be disputed that Aśoka's empire had cultural relations with Ceylon.

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[1] See *Silap.*, Preface, I. 47; XXIII. 11. 138–140; *Maṇi.*, XXVI. II. 15–17.

[2] *Mahā.*, Chs. VII–IX.

[3] Part II, pp. 76-77. Ed. by R. Shama Sastry, Mysore Oriental Library Publication, 1926.

[4] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, 1877; Megasthenes and Arrian, p. 62.

According to the Ceylonese chronicles, the contemporary ruler of Aśoka, the Mauryan emperor, was one Devānampiya Tissa, the second son and successor of King Muṭaśiva. It is further stated that this line of kings was different from the Vijaya line of kings ruling from Simhapura. We are also told that there was no Buddhism prevalent in the island when King Muṭaśiva was ruling and that its first introduction was only in the time of his son Devānampiya Tissa (247–207 B.C.) who was succeeded in order by his younger brothers Uttiya and Mahāśiva and Sūratissa. Sūratissa reigned for ten years (187–177 B.C.) devoting all his time to meritorious works. It was in his time that two men by name Sena and Guttaka from the Tamil country invaded Ceylon. They were the sons of a horse merchant. The two brothers collected a vast army and attacked King Sūratissa. The latter was defeated and the brothers seized the throne. They reigned together for twenty-two years (177–155 B.C.). This rule was just and on righteous lines. After this interlude, the kingship again passed to the old royal line. It appears a son of Muṭaśiva named Asela collected a huge force and repulsed the usurpers. Anurādhapura became once more the capital and Asela continued to hold sway for ten years.

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The trouble of invasion from the Tamil land was not over. The chronicles say that a prince of the Chōḷa dominion set his covetous eyes on Ceylon. His name was Ēlāra. He attacked and vanquished Asela by his superior arms. Ēlāra proceeded to settle in the land and got himself crowned. His rule lasted for a long period of 44 years, from 145 to 101 B.C. It was memorable for even-handed justice. The story goes that he was so keen on doing justice personally that he caused a bell of justice to be hung up with a long rope near his bedroom. The aggrieved party was to go and ring it. The king would come out and enquire into the case and pronounce judgement. In this connection a number of stories are narrated according to which justice was done to both beast and man. Among them one or two are as follows:

The only son of the king once drove in his car to the Tissa-tank. On the way it ran over a young calf lying on the road. The calf instantaneously died, the wheel having run over its neck. The mother cow came to the palace and pulled at the bell of justice for redress of her grievance. Without reflecting even for a moment the king ordered—though he was his only son and though it was done unintentionally—that that son's head be crushed with the same wheel. Another instance pertained to the king himself. Once when he was driving his car, it struck a sacred *stūpa* and injured it. Seeing the building of a sacred edifice damaged, the king threw himself on the road and commanded the wheel to be run over him. The ministers pleaded with reason that no life was injured and only there was a damage of property. For this the punishment amounted to building anew the *stūpa*. This he agreed to and spent a large sum of money in renewing the damaged portion. It is further said that he was such a righteous monarch that he preferred an appeal to the Lord of the Rains to ask the heavens not to rain any more in the daytime but only during nights when everybody had gone to rest. His request was granted. So long as he ruled, rains did not visit the island during daytime.[1]

We are reminded in this connection of a Manunītikaṇḍa Chōḷan who is said to have done the same thing as Ēlāra. A stanza in the *Paḻamoḻi*[2] says that this Chōḷa monarch had his son crushed under the wheels of the chariot for having unwittingly got his vehicle run over a calf, for which its mother, the cow pleaded for justice by approaching the palace and ringing the bell with its horns. From this it is to be inferred that Ēlāra himself was the Manunītikaṇḍa Chōḷan of Tamil literary tradition, who spread his righteous sway in the island of Lankā. The other probability is that he may be the Chōḷa who is known in Tamil classics as

Tūṅgeyilearinda Toṭittoṭ Śembiyan.

There is still an Ēlāra tomb in S. Ceylon which attracts a number of Sinhalese as a place of worship.

Vararāmadeva is said to be the only son of this Manunītikaṇḍa Chōḷan. His son was Kulakottan (Sen Tamil II). There is an inscription on a stone door of the Konesar temple at Trincomallee (Tirukkonamalai), which has a reference to the shrine having been erected by one Kulakottan. This inscription has been read in different ways. It may be reasonable to identify this Kulakottan with the grandson of Manunītikaṇḍa Chōḷan. The inscription says, Tiruppaṇiśeydān, which may mean that he renovated. This shows that the temple in question had an air of antiquity about it and was one of the objects of patronage by the Chōḷa monarchs of S. India settled in Ceylon. According to Parker, before Duṭṭhagāmaṇi conquered North Ceylon, it was under the Tamils. His father and grandfather paid tribute to them. The Mahāwalle Ganga formed the boundary between the Tamil kingdom in the north and the Ceylonese territory in the south.

There is a popular tradition in the Tamil land which connects Ēlāra with Elālaśingan, who was a close associate and disciple of the celebrated author of the *Tirukkural*, namely Tiruvaḷḷuvar. Being possessed of siddhic powers Vaḷḷuvar is said to have saved Ēlālaśingan when his ship was about to find a watery grave. This incident gave rise to the popular belief that the expression Ēlayya gives relief when lifting heavy weights. Still the labourers in South India indulge in the chorus of a song when they are put to hard labour :

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[1] *Mahā.*, Ch. XXI.

[2] *St.*, 93.

yēlelō yēlelō yēlāvali yēlelō.

This may be a legend, but the fact that tradition persists to this day indicates that there might be a spark of truth even in that legend. If the story of Vaḷḷuvar's association with Ēlāra is given credence, the controversy about the date of Tiruvaḷḷuvar will be set at rest. It is an indication that the saint flourished in the second century B.C. Ēlāra's liberality and justice are testified to by another literary reference which points to the blind poet Andhakakavi Vīrarāghavan proficient in the yāḻ, who left his native country Toṇḍaināḍu to Ceylon, who was the recipient of liberal gifts of land at the king's hands, who was addressed by Ēlāla Śinga Śiromaṇi.[1] He is said to have finally settled in a part of the island, which came to be known after as Yāḻpāṇam [2] (the modern Jaffna).

Now let us turn to Ceylon's ruling dynasty. Even when Prince Gāmaṇi was a boy the feelings against the Tamils became more and more strained. Ceylonese warriors were against the Tamils and there were a few engagements in which the Tamils were attacked and put to the sword. The numerical strength of the Tamils was consequently being diminished. Efforts were made to hold the Tamils in check by stationing guards at all the fords of the Mahāgangā. Prince Gāmaṇi made elaborate arrangements to collect a vast army and enlisted the best warriors of the time in his service. Honours were conferred on them. Soon the army consisted of nearly 12,000 warriors.[3]

In the meantime the reigning king, the father of Gāmaṇi, died and there was a civil war between the two brothers Gāmaṇi and Tissa.[4] Finally Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was crowned as king. His war-thirst against the Tamils increased ten-fold. He set out to attack them. At a place called Mahiyamgaṇa the Tamil chief Chatta was vanquished. A good number of Tamils were slain. Then Duṭṭhagāmaṇi continued his march and turned towards Ambatitthaka which was another stronghold of the Tamils. Here the chief was Tittamba. He was humbled after four months of fighting by having recourse to crafty methods. Thus Gāmaṇi went on conquering one after another seven mighty princes and collected a large booty which he distributed among his troops. Hence the place where this took place came to be known as Khemarama. The king expressed that his conquest was not due to earth hunger but for establishing the doctrine of the *Sambuddha*. Those Tamils who had fled and escaped threw themselves for protection into the city of Vijitanagara. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi came to know this and ordered a march to this city. A terrible battle ensued and thousands of Tamils were slain near the east gate. It was a huge fort with strong walls and trenches. The best war elephants were set to attack the gates. The gates were shattered and the warriors broke the walls. They entered the fort and the Tamils were slaughtered. Vijitanagar capitulated after four months' siege. Thence his army reached Girilaka and its Tamil chief Giriya was put to the sword. Then Mahelanagara was attacked. It was a difficult fortress to be taken. It took another four months to reduce this, and that was possible only by using a carefully planned stratagem.

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[1] Sen Tamil XII—Article on Īḻamaṇḍala Pulavar.

[2] Note.—Some scholars believe Yakkapattanam became Yappa Hinam, later on anglicized as Jaffna.

[3] *Ibid.*, Ch. XXIII.

[4] *Ibid.*, Ch. XXIV.

The Ceylonese army had advanced near Anurādhapura. King Ēlāra who had heard of the atrocities committed by Gāmaṇi on the Tamil soldiers in various places summoned his ministers and resolved to attack the conquering prince. According to the *Rājāvalī*, he was later on assisted by his younger brother who landed in the island with a large number of soldiers. Dīghajantu, the commander of Ēlāra, displayed heroic feats in the great battle that ensued. He shattered and scattered the enemy's troops and came face to face with Gāmaṇi. In the encounter Dīghajantu fell dead. This created confusion in the Tamil ranks and Ēlāra began to retreat. But he was pursued by Gāmaṇi to the south gate of Anurādhapura. The two doughty heroes fought fiercely. Ēlāra fell with his elephant. Victory drum was sounded. Then he entered the capital and ordered the funeral ceremonies for Ēlāra. After thus vanquishing successfully thirty-two Tamil chieftains, he proclaimed himself the sole monarch of all Ceylon, having brought it under one parasol.

In the meantime Bhallūka, the nephew of Ēlāra, had heard of the war between the Ceylonese and Tamils and landed in Ceylon with sixty-thousand men. This was only after a week of Ēlāra's death. Being a mighty hero himself he resolved to carry war into the enemy's territory. He attacked the king who seemed to retreat. But after a great encounter, Bhallūka fell. The victory was complete. He distributed places of honour among his warriors according to their rank. The Bhikkhus waited on him and comforted him. He caused the erection of Maricavaṭṭi Vihāra and provided endowments to make it over-flourishing. Thus was established the Buddhist faith after waging 28 battles with the Tamils by completely vanquishing them.[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, Chs. XXV and XXVI.

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The period of the three successors of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was one of peace. On the death of Lañjakatissa, his brother Khallatanāga reigned for six years (50–44 B.C.). He extended the buildings of the Lohapasāda and beautified them. A commander of his troops overpowered this ruler and was in turn killed by Khallatanāga's younger brother, Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, who made himself king. The latter adopted the boy Mahaculika, son of his brother, as his son, and made the child's mother Anulādevī, his queen. A few months after the anointing ceremony, a Brahman named Tissa raised a rebellion. At the same time seven Damiḷas landed with troops in Mahatiṭṭha. They joined the rebel Tissa and demanded from the king the handing over of the parasol, being the symbol of kingly rank. The ruler, a shrewd statesman that he was, wrote to Tissa that the kingdom was his (Brahman's) and requested him to conquer the Tamils. Tissa was overpleased and began to wage war on the Tamil invaders. The Tamils not only conquered Tissa but proceeded to attack the ruler who was defeated in battle at Kolambalaka and fled in fear with his queen and two young sons. He found shelter with an attendant of a thera for fourteen years.

Of the seven Tamil chiefs, one fell in love with the queen Somadevī and returned with her to India, while another took the miraculous alms-bowl in Anurādhapura and made his way back to India. Another chief Pulahattha established his rule in the island. Hardly three years passed when his commander Bāhiya, a Tamilian, slew the master and set up his rule for two years. He in his turn was slain by his commander Panayamaraka who reigned for seven years. His commander-in-chief Pilayamara continued the tradition and killed his ruler and ascended the throne. Before seven months elapsed his commander Dāthika put him to the sword and continued his rule for two years with Anurādhapura as his capital. Thus the total period of the rule of these five Tamil kings extended over fourteen years and seven months.[1] It is said that after the engagement at Kolambalaka the Tamils levied a tax called *Kolambu Paṇa* which was remitted later by Śrī Nāga.

The followers of the old ruler Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya resented the rule of the Tamils and collected a huge force and killed Dāthika, the Tamil chief, and re-established their rule (29 B.C.). Several kings reigned after him. In 92 A.D., Sīvalī, the younger sister of Culābhaya, was on the throne only for four months. She was removed by Īḷanāga, a nephew of Āmaṇḍa, a previous king. But even at the commencement he had trouble with the Lambakarṇas, a powerful tribe of the island. The king was made captive and imprisoned. The queen, however, managed to send her little son to Malaya for safety. This was the period of interregnum for three years.

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[1] *Ibid.*, Ch. XXXIII.

Gathering an army in Malaya, the royal army returned to give battle to the Lambakarṇas. Perhaps the Tamils also offered assistance to Iḷanāga. The enemy met with a reverse and Iḷanāga continued to reign for full six years (95–101 A.D.). Candamukha Śiva, his son, succeeded him and reigned for more than eight years. His consort was known by the name Damiladevī, apparently a Tamil princess. Both the king and queen took to works of merit and allotted some revenues to a *vihāra*. But he was murdered by his younger brother. The gate watchman who resembled him announced and he was accepted. But a member of the Lambakarṇa tribe by name Vasabha won him in battle and became king. He ruled for 44 years from 124–168 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Vankanasika Tissa who had a short rule of three years. After his death in 171 A.D. his son Gajabāhukagāmaṇi, mentioned in the *Śilappadikāram*, occupied the throne for 22 years.[1]

According to another version[2] a number of Ceylonese labourers were in the employ of the contemporary Chōḷa king in S. India and Gajabāhu was urged by his people to bring them back to their country. This Chōḷa was possibly Karikālacchōḷan who wanted to put up a dam across the Kāvārī and utilize her waters for irrigation purposes. With this in view he seems to have brought thousands of Ceylonese to S. India. Gajabāhu was moved to wrath. With his favourite iron weapon Yakanda he landed in the Chōḷa capital and displayed great power in overcoming the enemy and brought his men back to the island. He was also able to recover the alms-bowl which had been carried away from the island sometime before.

From the Tamil classic we are able to gather that this Gajabāhu was invited to be present at the installation of the Pattini temple at Vañci Karuvūr, the Cera capital by King Śenguṭṭuvan. This was in honour of Kaṇṇakī, the lady of chastity and wife of the merchant Kovalan of Puhār. From the large number of shrines dedicated to the Pattini cult in the island of Ceylon we are to infer that Gajabāhu was so much impressed by this, and introduced it in the island of Ceylon.

The *Rājāvalī* (p. 231) informs us that Gajabāhu took the foot ornaments of the Pattini Devī to the island. As if to confirm this, the anklet and not an image is still the emblem of worship in the several temples dedicated to Pattini in Ceylon. Though the anklet seems to be the dominating symbol of the Pattini cult, still there are images of Kannaki represented with one breast cut off. A statue of this type, discovered in Ceylon, is now housed in the British Museum, and has been reproduced as a frontispiece to my edition of the *Śilappadikāram* (O.U.P., 1939). In the Jaffna Museum today are found the head and feet of a colossal statue, which was standing in the Kannaki temple at Anganamaikadevai near Kantarodai, believed to be the statue of Gajabāhu. This leaves no room for doubt that the Kannaki story was no myth but a historical fact. It also proves amply that Gajabāhu was present at the installation of the temple by the Cera king Śenguṭṭuvan and that he enthusiastically spread the cult in the island of Ceylon.[1]

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[1] Ch. XXXV.

[2] E. Upham's *Mahāvamśa*, p. 228.

During the interval after Gajabāhu to the reign of Mahāsēna (325–52 A.D.) there is no mention of any political relations between the Ceylonese kings and the Tamil monarchs. Perhaps it was one of peaceful communications, both being in the nature of allies. In the time of Mahāsēna, however, it is stated that he became a good friend of the king of Kalinga, Guha Sīha. He sent valuable presents, including pearls and precious stones, to this Kalinga king. In return he was able to get back the Tooth of the Buddha which had been taken to the Peninsula of India in former days. It is said that the Kalinga king was so much pleased with Mahāsēna that he sent back the relic under the charge of his son-in-law, Prince Danta.

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[1] For a slightly different version of the story of Pattini, see *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Vol. I, 1915-16, pp. 29–37, 127-28.

THE ŚRĀMAṆYAPHALA-SŪTRA AND ITS DIFFERENT VERSIONS IN BUDDHIST LITERATURE

By P. V. BAPAT

1. King Bimbisāra and his son Ajātaśatru played such an important part in the early history of Buddhism that Buddhist literature would lose no opportunity of recording any important incident affecting the personal relations between the Buddha on the one hand and King Bimbisāra and his son Ajātaśatru on the other. The friendly attitude of the famous Magadha king Bimbisāra towards Gautama Buddha is well known to students of Buddhist literature. The unfortunately unhappy relations between King Bimbisāra and his son Ajātaśatru culminating in the imprisonment and murder of King Bimbisāra by his son Ajātaśatru, were not likely to favour a very friendly attitude of Ajātaśatru towards the Buddha, at any rate in the early years of the reign of King Ajātaśatru. But we have a record that these relations had later on improved to such an extent that King Ajātaśatru had thought it fit to approach the Buddha on one full-moon night to clear up certain doubts in his mind. The Pali literature has in the Dīghanikāya, vol. I, a sūtra (No. 2) which records such a visit on the part of Ajātaśatru. He asks the Buddha whether the holy life of a recluse has its reward or fruit in this very life, just as any professional man in this life expects to get a reward for his labour. The Buddha points out to him, by giving an ascending series of stages in the growth and development of a Buddhist saint, that such fruits are available. This visit of King Ajātaśatru to the Buddha's place of residence is recorded not only in the Pali sūtra mentioned above, but also in other versions of the same sūtra in Buddhist literature. While the main facts in these different versions are the same, there is a great amount of divergence in the different versions in several matters of details. It is proposed in this paper to take, only in an outline, a survey of this material and present to the scholars the data available.

2. There are three different versions of this sūtra in Chinese Buddhist literature (Nanjio's Catalogue Nos. 593, 543 and 545), one in Tibetan as can be seen from Rockhill's Life of the Buddha, pp. 95–106, and one in Sanskrit, only a fragment of which has been recently discovered and identified (see my paper on this subject, only a summary of which has so far been printed in the Summaries of Papers presented to the XIVth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Darbhanga, part I, pp. 66-67). One of these Chinese

translations consisting of only one fasciculus was made by Than-wu-lan whose name is translated as Fa-tsên, Law-correct. He translated several works in Chinese from A.D. 381–395. This translation comes very close to the Pali text, several expressions from which can be traced in this translation. Although this translation reveals a close similarity, it is to be noted that it is not identical with the Pali text as there are differences in several important details, especially with regard to the views held by the six famous heretical teachers often referred to in Buddhist texts as early contemporaries of Gautama Buddha. This is numbered 593 in Nanjio's Catalogue. The next, numbered 543 in the same catalogue, is translated by Dharmanandin in his translation of the Ekottarāgama (A.D. 384-85). This is an abridged version of the same sūtra, omitting the detailed enumeration of the various fruits of holy life. The last, numbered 545 in Nanjio's Catalogue, is translated by Dharmayaśas, with the help of Chu-fo-nien (A.D. 412-13) and is included in the Chinese translation of Dīrghāgama. The Tibetan version is included in the Vinayavastu (Dulva, iv. 405ff.) and a summary of the same is given in the 'Life of the Buddha' by Rockhill, pp. 95–106. There seems to be available a Sanskrit version also of the same sūtra in the Collection of Manuscripts in the possession of a military officer formerly stationed at Rawalpindi before the cessation of Pakistan from India. A fragment only came for identification to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. I have read and identified the same with a part of this very sūtra. It may probably be a part of the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda Vinaya. Let us look more closely into the details of these versions.

3. The scene is described in the first of the Chinese versions mentioned above (Nanjio 593) to be opening on the full-moon day of the seventh month, when King Ajātaśatru is seen discussing with his ministers as to how they may beguile that night. Without specifying the names of the ministers, we are told that some suggested that they might while away that lovely night in merriment enjoying the pleasures of the senses, while others recommended the names of the six famous heretic teachers whom he might visit. The king noticed that Jīvaka, the physician of children, was silent. He asked him what he had to say in the matter. He recommended the name of Gautama Buddha. The king decided to go and with his large retinue started on his way to the place of the Buddha. On the way he suspected that perhaps Jīvaka was handing him over to his enemies, as he did not hear any noise or voice of the congregation of the Buddha which was 1,250 strong. He was, however, satisfied on the explanation of Jīvaka that the Buddha's teaching laid more emphasis on calmness and quietness in life. On seeing the Buddha and his disciples, he was more convinced about the same. There was a prince Pai-hsien by name

who expressed his desire to follow that kind of life. The king further asked the Buddha the question whether there was a reward or fruit, to be realized in this very life, for the holy life lived by an ascetic. Before answering the question, the Buddha asked the king whether he had put the same question to any other teacher, and if so, what was the answer that he got.

4. The king said that he had put the question to Pūrṇa Kāśyapa, who, instead of giving a straight answer to his question, expatiated on the doctrine of annihilation, saying that there was no father, no mother, no fruit of good or bad actions. The theories ascribed here to Pūrṇa are ascribed in the Pali text to Ajita Keśakambali. Next he gives his experience with Maskarin Gośāla (Mo-ko-li Go-ye-lou) who very briefly explains that there is neither this world, nor the other, no effort on the part of oneself or others; people get happiness or sorrow without effort of any kind. This corresponds to Pali 'natthi attakāre natthi parakāre, natthi balaṃ natthi viriyaṃ, natthi purisathāmo natthi purisaparakkamo', which is only a part of the doctrines of Makkhali Gosāla. This is described by the king to be as irrelevant as 'putting a question about six and getting an answer about seven', or putting a question about a melon and getting an answer about a plum. The latter simile is found used in all the three versions and seems to correspond to Pali 'ambaṃ puṭṭho labujaṃ byākreyya, labujaṃ puṭṭho ambaṃ byākareyya'. Here only a part of the views of Makkhali Gosāla, according to the Pali version, is found, the other part being ascribed, according to this version, to Pakudha Kaccāyana. Next he proceeds to Ajita Keśakambali, who does not give any definite answer. His words show no orderliness. This corresponds to Pali 'vikkhepa' ascribed in the Pali text to Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta. Next comes the turn of Pakudha Kaccāyana who says that people are soiled or purified without any cause or reasons; there is no merit, no evil; there is no reward of good or bad actions. This view corresponds to the view of 'saṃsāra-suddhi' (purity through transmigration) ascribed by the Pali text to Makkhali Gosāla, and there is a Chinese expression which comes closer to this view of purity. Next is mentioned Sañjaya who is credited with the view that one may go on committing, either oneself or through others, sins like murder or wholesale massacres or thefts, still no evil consequences will come. So also one may go on giving charities, or doing meritorious actions, still there will be no merit coming from the same. This view is ascribed in the Pali text to Pūrṇa Kāśyapa. Lastly is mentioned Nirgrantha Jñātṛputra who says that people in this world commit good or bad actions according to the views held by them. On account of love or craving in a previous life, they are born, grow old, or get diseased. If they are well-disposed towards the Path of Training, they may take to it after the birth of sons and grand-sons.

It is interesting to note that this totally differs from the four-fold restraint (cātuyāma saṃvara) of the Pali text, of which there is not the slightest trace.

5. The Buddha then goes on giving his own answer to the question of the king. The answer closely corresponds to the details given in the Pali text, the paragraphs about conduct, meditation and insight culminating into the knowledge of the destruction of the depravities (āsavā). Several expressions correspond to those in Pali such as, saddhādeyyāni bhojanāni bhuñjitvā, the similes used with reference to the obstacles (nīvaraṇāni) as well as the trances, the similes about taking the snake out of a basket or of the withdrawal of a sword from its sheath, and the expression sanditthi-kaṃ sāmaññaphalaṃ. Towards the end, however, the Chinese text differs. In it, the Buddha is represented as going with the Sangha to the palace of Ajātaśatru for food. The sūtra is concluded with stanzas corresponding to

Agnihotra-mukhā yajñā Sāvitrī Chandaso mukham
Rājā mukhaṃ manuṣyāṇāṃ nadīnāṃ sāgaro mukham
Nakṣatrāṇāṃ mukhaṃ Candra ādityas tapasāṃ mukham
(Cf. Sn. 568-69)
Ūrdhvaṃ tiryag adhaś cāpi yāvatī jagato gatiḥ
Sadevakeṣu lokeṣu Sambuddho hījyatāṃ varaḥ.

These stanzas are, as I understand from the copy of Dr. N. Dutt's manuscript of the Vinayavastu (now in press), also found among Gilgit MSS.

6. The other version from the Ekottarāgama (Nanjio 543) is an abridged version. The Buddha was living in Rājagṛha with 1,250 mendicants, all Arhats with the exception of Ānanda. King Ajātaśatru was sitting with the ladies of his harem and ministers discussing how they should spend the lovely full-moon night of the seventh month. The ladies replied that they spend the night in the five pleasures of the senses enjoying themselves in the company of dancing girls. This idea did not appeal to the king. He then asked his son Udāyī what he had to say in that connection. He replied: 'It would be better to gather together the four-fold army and to make an assault on the hostile countries.' This also did not appeal to the king. Next Prince Abhaya was asked the same question, and he replied, 'There is, my Lord, Pūrṇa Kāśyapa, who is recognized as knowing heavenly things as well as earthly laws. People go to him and ask their difficulties. He may be shown honour and hospitality.' This also did not appeal to him. Next came the turn of the Minister (Mahāmātra) Su-ni-mo (is this Sunīdha referred to elsewhere in Pali literature?) who suggested the names of Ajita Keśakambali. The king did not approve of the same. Next he asked the Brahman P'o-sa (is this Vassakāra also referred to elsewhere

in Pali?) who pleaded for Kiu-ye-lo (Gosāla), which name also the king did not like. Next comes the Brahman Mo-t'ê who referred to Pakudha Kātyāyana, who met the same fate. Next So-mo (Soma), the Army-Chief, suggests Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta who fared no better. Further, he asks the most distinguished of his ministers (whose name is not mentioned) who recommends the name of Nirgrantha Jñātṛputra. That also the king did not like. Finally, Prince Jīvaka suggested the name of Gautama Buddha. Then follow some stanzas giving the discussion between Jīvaka and the king regarding the advisability of his visit, especially when he had killed his father Bimbisāra, a true follower of the Buddha. The king at last yields. He starts to go to the Buddha but on the way he entertains the same suspicion, as mentioned in the last Chinese text, about Jīvaka. Jīvaka mentions the importance attached by the Buddha and his followers to the samādhi. The king asks Jīvaka; 'Why is it that the Buddha has such an effulgence of light?' 'Because of the power of samādhi' 'Let my son Udāyī have similar calm and peace', observes the king. Then he meets the Buddha with whom the same discussion takes place as mentioned in the previous text. The views ascribed in this text to the various heretic teachers do not agree with those in Pali or in the other two Chinese versions. To Pūrṇa Kāśyapa are ascribed the views that there is no merit, no charity, no fruit or reward of good or bad actions, no Arhats; there is neither this world nor the other. These are the views ascribed to Ajita Keśakambali in Pali, while the views ascribed to Pūrṇa in Pali are partly ascribed to Ajita Keśakambali and partly to Gosāla. To Pakudha Kaccāyana is ascribed the view that a man goes out of the world, dies, is reborn and suffers from his sorrow or enjoys his happiness. This does not seem to be agreeing with any of the views mentioned in the Pali text. So also the view ascribed in this text to Sañjaya that the past means that which has disappeared and is not coming to birth again; the future is that which has not come and so does not exist; the present is that which does not stay but easily changes. Lastly, the views of Makkhali Gosāla are ascribed here to Nirgrantha. No mention of Cātuyāma-saṃvara here also. After discussing the views of these heretic teachers, the Buddha mentions that a person begins to observe the rules of good conduct in their perfect form with no transgression. This text omits all the intermediate stages of meditation (samādhi) and insight (prajñā) and says that when he reaches the final stage of anupādiśeṣa-nirvāṇa-dhātu, he becomes divine and is no longer human. The king agrees that he becomes worthy to have a shrine built over his head. The sūtra ends with the king's confession of his sin in killing his father and on his expressing his regret gets absolved of his sin. We meet with an expression that if the king had not murdered his father, he would have attained on the same day the *first* fruit of holy life. There is no mention, in this version, of the Buddha's going to the palace of the king for food.

7. The last Chinese version (Nanjio No. 545) is sūtra No. 27 of the Dīrghāgama. This version also mentions the names of the king's ministers or officers who suggest to the king the names of the heretic teachers. First, the Brahman Yu-se (perhaps the same as P'u-sa, Vāssakāra, of Nanjio 543) recommends Pūrṇa; Su-nī-t'o, the younger brother of Yu-se, evidently the same as Sunīdha, suggests Makkhali Gosāla; the Mahāmātra Tien-tso (?) that of Ajita Keśakambali; General Kāḷa-Sumana (Kia-lo-su-men) that of Pakudha Kaccāyana; Prince Udāyī that of Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta; and Prince Abhaya that of Nirgrantha. Jīvaka, of course, recommends the name of Gautama Buddha. The names of these teachers, as given in this version, are all fully transcribed as against those in versions mentioned above, especially the first. The views of Pūrṇa are the same as in Pali, but those of Makkhali Gosāla correspond to a part of those of Ajita Keśakambali as per Pali text, while with another part of Ajita's views in Pali agree the views of Ajita in this version. The view, that people get soiled or purified without any cause or reason, that there is no effort on the part of oneself or others, ascribed in Pali to Makkhali, are ascribed here to Pakudha Kātyāyana. The views of Sañjaya are the same as in Pali, but those of Nirgrantha are again quite different. He is described here as claiming to be omniscient, knowing all things without exception and seeing all things; he knows them as perfectly as one would know things in one's presence. Again, here also, there is no trace of cātuyāma-saṃvara. Corresponding to the paragraphs showing the fruits of holy life, we have those mentioning the first two fruits. Then this version jumps to the end mentioning the three Vidyās, Nirvāṇa and the insight of the destruction of the depravities (āsavā). The king then requests the Buddha to forgive him his crime of the murder of his father. He becomes an upāsaka and invites the Buddha for the next day's meal. The Buddha was silent but the king knew from his silence that he agreed. The king departed. The Buddha remarked that the king would have attained religious insight (dhamma-cakkhu) on that very seat, if he had not murdered his father. The Buddha, on the next day, goes to the king's palace for meal. Again the king repeatedly asks his crime to be condoned. On being forgiven, he took his seat in front of the Buddha and again declared that he had become an upāsaka by taking the three refuges of the Buddha, his Law and his Order of mendicants.

8. A brief summary of the Tibetan version is given in the 'Life of the Buddha' by Rockhill, pp. 95–106, from which it is seen that the views ascribed there to the six heretic teachers do not entirely agree with those expressed in any of these versions. A

comparative table of the views ascribed to various teachers in all these versions is appended at the end. Rockhill does not give us any idea of the latter part of the sūtra, which perhaps we may get from the original Tibetan version.

9. The fragment of the Sanskrit text is too small to give us any idea of the full text. But the fragment makes it quite clear that it belongs to the Sanskrit version of the same sūtra. We read twice the expression sāndṛṣṭikaṃ śrāmaṇya-phalaṃ in the mutilated passage describing the condition of a person who is free from hindrances and of one who has attained the trances. This fragment is being given in full in a photographic plate along with a paper on the same in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, vol. XXIX, 1948. When the whole Sanskrit text becomes available, it will be of great help.

10. Thus it will be seen that all the principal versions agree in the main with one another with regard to the historical fact of the visit of King Ajātaśatru to the Buddha and of the former's becoming an upāsaka of the latter after having expressed his repentance for the serious offence of the murder of his father, Bimbisāra. Pali and Chinese texts agree on the teaching of the Buddha, though some give only an abbreviated version. On non-essential matters about suggesting the names or the views of the six heretical teachers, all differ from each other, showing that the tradition about the same was soon forgotten. Only the theories were known and as time passed on, they came to be indiscriminately ascribed to various teachers.

APPENDIX.

A Table showing the various philosophical views ascribed to different teachers by the various versions of the Sāmaññaphala-sutta.

The philosophical views.	Pali.	Chin. 1. (Nanjio 593).	Chin. 2. (Nanjio 543).	Chin. 3. (Nanjio 545).	Tib.	Sans.
Karoto kārayato...natthi pāpam... natthi puññaṃ, natthi puññassāgamo. (= akriyāvāda, non-action.)	1 Pūraṇa Kassapa.	5 Sañjaya.	2 Ajita (partly). 3 Makkhali (partly).	1 Pūrṇa.	3 Sañjaya.	Details not yet available.
Ahetu appaccayā sattā sankilissanti, visujjhanti, sandhāvitvā dukkhassa antaṃ karissanti (saṃsāra-śuddhi).	2 Makkhali.	4 Pakudha-Kātyāyana.	6 Nirgranth.	4 Pakudha.	4 Ajita (in part).	
Natthi attakāre, purisakāre, natthi balaṃ natthi viriyaṃ. (= Fatality.)	,,	2 Makkhali.	....	,,	2 Makkhali.	
Natthi dinnaṃ, natthi......hutaṃ, natthi samaṇabrāhmaṇā,	3 Ajita.	1 Pūrṇa.	1 Pūrṇa.	2 Makkhali.	1 Pūrṇa.	
Cātum mahābhūtiko ayaṃ kāyo ......kāyassa bhedā ucchijjanti. (= ucchedavāda, annihilation.)	,,	,,	,,	3 Ajita.	,,	
Satta kāyā akaṭā......kūṭaṭṭhā, na iñjanti, na koci kiñci jīvitā voropeti. (= eternity of seven substances.)	4 Pakudha.	....	4 Pakudha 4 'One dies, is reborn, and meets happiness or sorrow (as per actions).'	....	4 Ajita (in part).	
Sabbavāri-vārito .. .. ,, yutto ,, dhuto ,, phuṭṭho (= Cātuyāma-saṃvara, four-fold restraint.)	5 Nigaṇṭha (Nirgrantha).	6 Present ills due to past actions (Nirgrantha).	....	6 'I am all-knowing, all-seeing....' (Nirgrantha).	5 All deeds—results of previous karma to be wiped out by penance (Nirgrantha).	
Evam pi me no, tathā ti pi me no, no ti pi me no, no no ti pi me no. (= vikkhepa, delusion.)	6 Sañjaya.	3 Ajita.	5 Theories about past, future, present. (Sañjaya.)	5 Sañjaya.	6 Pakudha (most stupid and hypocritical).	

(*N.B.*—The numbers preceding the names or views in each column show the order of their mention in the version concerned.)

ANCIENT INDIAN FLORA

By B. C. Law

Introduction

India is a land of abundant crops, fruits and flowers, roots and shrubs. The Greek ambassador Megasthenes says that the inhabitants of India almost always gather in two harvests annually. The fruits of spontaneous growth and esculent roots, which grow in marshes and are of varied sweetness, afford abundant sustenance for man. He further says that almost all the plains in the country have a genial moisture whether it is derived from the rivers or the rains of the summer season, which fall annually and regularly at a stated period. The prevailing great heat of the country ripens the roots growing in the marshes, and especially those of the tall reeds.[1] Arbori-horticulture was in an advanced state in ancient India as far as can be gathered from Indian literature. The main food grains used and cultivated from Vedic times comprised varieties of paddy (*dhānya, vrīhi*), barley (*yava*) and wheat (*godhūma*). The pulses mainly consisted of beans (*kulmāṣa*), *māṣkalāya* (*khalakula*), *mug* (*khalva, mudga*), lentil (*masūra*) and wild beans (*garmut*). The oil in common use was that prepared from sesamum seeds (*tila-taila*). It was generally stored in earthen jars and cultivated along with beans in winter season. Onion, garlic, cardamom, *sarṣapa*, red pepper, turmeric and ginger were in use as spices and condiments. The ingredients of sours and acids were such fruits as *mātuluṅga*, *kola* or *vadara* (plum), citron, lemon, tamarind, mango and hogplum, and such leaves as those of Oxalis and Rumex.[1] The list of typical fruits might be made of the varieties of mango, jack-fruit, pineapple, banana, orange, grape, date, palmyra, cocoanut and plum.

Vṛkṣa is the term for tree in the *Ṛgveda*[2] and the *Atharvaveda*.[3] It denotes the coffin made from a tree.[4] There is a reference to the portent of a tree secreting blood.[5] That *druma* is used in the sense of tree is not found until a later period in the *Ṣaḍviṃsa Brāhmaṇa* (V. 11) and the *Nirukti* (iv. 19; v. 26).[6]

Buddhaghosa in his *Visuddhimagga* (p. 183) mentions some of the trees and classifies them under high (*ucca*), low (*nīca*), small (*khuddaka*), big (*mahata*), black (*kāla*), and white (*seta*). Such trees as *nāgarukkha* and *dīparukkha* are mentioned in the Pali texts and commentaries.[1] An ornamental plant called *mālāvaccha* finds mention in them.[2] Poison trees (*visarukkhā*) are referred to in the Buddhist *Jātakas*.[3] If their fruits are eaten, people meet with their death. But the poison can be removed by taking some medicine causing vomiting (*vamāpetvā*) and eating four sweet foods.[4]

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[1] McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 31.

[2] *Ṛg.*, I. 164, 20, 22; II. 14. 2; IV. 20. 5; V. 78. 6, etc.

[3] *Atharva*, I. 14. 1; II. 12. 3; VI. 45. 1; XII. 1. 27, 51, etc.

[4] *Ibid.*, XVIII. 2. 25.

[5] *Vedic Index*, II. 319.

[6] *Ibid.*, I. 384.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* tells us that Rāma saw in the forest, where he killed the female demon Tāḍakā, the following trees: *dhava, aśvakarṇa, arjuna, pāṭalī, badarī, tinduka*, and *vilva*.[5] After leaving the hermitage of Bharadvāja he crossed the Jumna and saw a banyan tree. Then he saw a forest full of *sallakī* and *badarī* trees.[6] He told Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa, who accompanied him, 'Look at the *kiṃśuka* trees in spring with their flowers. The *bhallātaka* and *vilva* trees stand there uncared for. They are bent down on account of their fruits and flowers.'[7] While staying on the Citrakūṭa mountain Rāma noticed the following trees: *āmra, jambū, lodhra, pītaśāla, piyāla, panasa, dhava, karmaraṅga, tiniśa, tinduka, vilva, veṇu, nimba, śāla, madhuka, tilaka, badarī, āmalakī, kadamba, dāḍimba, betra, indrayava*, and *gāmbhārī*.[8] He dwelt in a leaf-hut in a forest with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa, which was covered with *śāla, tāla* and *aśvakarṇa* as found out by Bharata.[9] In the Pañcavaṭī forest the following plants and creepers were noticed by Rāmachandra: *śāla, tāla, tamāla, kharjura, panasa, tiniśa, nivāra, punnāga, āmra, aśoka, tilaka, ketaka, campaka, candana, nīpa, lakuca, aśvakarṇa, khadira, śamī, pāṭala, kiṃśuka, dhava*, and *syandana*.[10] The wood of the *khadira* tree was used in making the sacrificial post in the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice performed by King Daśaratha.[11] The country to the west of Pampā had the following plants as seen by him: *jambū, piyāla, panasa, baṭa, plakṣa, tinduka, aśvattha, karṇikāra, dhava, āmra, nāgakeśara, tilaka, nīla, aśoka, kadamba, karavīra, karañja, pārijāta*, red *aśoka*, red *candana*, white and blue lotuses.[12]

It is interesting to note that Sītā, the beloved wife of Rāmachandra, lived under a *śimsapā* tree [a timber tree; vide also *Mahābhārata*, 3. 158. 44–52 where it is mentioned along with *kiṃśuka, śālmalī, pāṭala, kūṭaja, aśoka*, etc.] while in Laṅkā. This tree may be identified with *śiśu*, so well known to Bengal. *Śiśu* is of three kinds—white, black, and yellow—and they can be differentiated by their leaves. It is bitter in taste and it helps us to cure cough and wind. It removes fever, vomiting, etc.[1] Rāma saw the beautiful forests attached to the Sahya and Malaya mountains, while on his way to Laṅkā to recover Sītā from the clutches of its tyrant king Rāvana. The monkeys who accompanied him destroyed the following plants existing there: *campaka, tilaka, cūta, aśoka, sindhuvāra, tiniśa, karavīra, aṅkola, plakṣa, baṭa, tinduka, jambū, karañja*, and *punnāga*. Of them the undernoted plants were full of flowers: *ketakī, sindhuvāra, navamallikā, kunda, madhuka, mādhavī, rañjaka, vilva, tilaka, sthalapadma, vakula, pāṭalī, nāgeśvara, cūta, mucūlinda, siṃśapa, arjuna, girimallikā, hintāla, cūrṇaka, aṅkola, nīpaka*, red *kāñcana*, and *padma*.[2]

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[1] *Jātaka*, I. 35; *Buddhavaṃsa*, Ch. II, v. 216; *Dhammapada Commentary*, IV. 120.

[2] *Vinaya*, II. 12; *Visuddhimagga*, 172, 174.

[3] *Jātaka*, I. 271.

[4] *Phala Jātaka*, *Jātaka* No. 54.

[5] Baṅgavāsi Ed., 24th Sarga, Ādikāṇḍa.

[6] *Ibid.*, 55th Sarga, Ayodhyākāṇḍa.

[7] *Ibid.*, 56th Sarga, Ayodhyākāṇḍa.

[8] *Rāmāyaṇa*, Baṅgavāsī Ed., 94th chap., Ayodhyākāṇḍa.

[9] *Ibid.*, Baṅgavāsī Ed., 99th chap., Ayodhyākāṇḍa.

[10] *Ibid.*, 15th chap., Āraṇyakāṇḍa.

[11] *Ibid.*, Ādikāṇḍa, 14th chap.

[12] *Ibid.*, 37th chap., Āraṇyakāṇḍa.

At Rāma's behest many important monkeys entered the great forest of Laṅkā and destroyed the following plants which were thrown into the sea: *śāla, aśvakarṇa, dhava, kūṭaja, tāla, tilaka, tiniśa, vilva, cūta, saptaparṇa, karṇikāra*, and *aśoka*.[3] The mighty monkeys who were the leaders saw a beautiful forest in Laṅkā having the following trees: *campaka, aśoka, vakula, śāla, tāla, tamāla, panasa, nāgakeśara, hintāla, arjuna, kaḍamba, tilaka, karṇikāra*, and *palāśa*.[4] The *Rāmāyaṇa* [5] refers to *ślesmātaka* tree, the wood of which was used in making a sacrificial post. Among the trees listed above many are generally found in forests. The *Rāmāyaṇa* makes mention of them only without any description. The details of some of the important plants and creepers mentioned by the Epic are given later.

The *Mahābhārata* contains a long list of trees, flowers, and fruits, many of which are common to those mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But the following plants are new and worth mentioning: *muñjātaka, āmlavetasa, vijapūraka, pārāvata, kṣīrikā, iṅguda, pārijāta, pilu*, and *raupītaka*.[6] But unfortunately no details of these trees can be had from the Epic.

In the Raivataka forest Balarāma, brother of Kriṣṇa, saw the following trees: *āmra* (mango), *āmrātaka*, cocoanut, *tinduka* (*gāva*), *vilva, jīvaka*, pomegranate (*ḍārimba*), *vījapuraka* (a kind of citron), *kadamba, pārāvata* (guava), *kaṅkola, nalina, āmlavetasa, bhallātaka, āmalaka, harītaka, vibhītaka, iṅguda, karamarda, aśoka, punnāga, ketakī, vakula, campaka, saptaparṇa, karṇikāra, pārijāta, kovidāra, mandāra, vadara, pāṭala, devadāru, śāla, tāla, tamāla*, and *kiṃśuka*.[7]

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[1] *Rājanighaṇṭu*, 9th chap.

[2] *Rāmāyaṇa*, Baṅgavāsī Ed., 4th chap., Laṅkākāṇḍa.

[3] *Ibid.*, 22nd chap., Laṅkākāṇḍa.

[4] *Ibid.*, 39th chap., Laṅkākāṇḍa.

[5] Canto XIII, Griffith's tr., p. 25.

[6] 3. 158. 44–53; 3. 40. 2–5; 3. 177. 23.

[7] *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, 6th chap., 11–19.

In the lakes in the Raivataka forest there were lotuses in blossoms, blue lotuses, etc.[1]

Godhuma, anu, tila, priyaṅgu, udāra, koradūṣa, cīnaka, māṣa, mudga, masūra, kulattha, āḍaka, and *caṇaka* are considered as medicines in villages.[2]

The branches of banyan, fig, *aśvattha, campaka, aśoka, palāsa, arjuna, plakṣa, kadamba, vakula,* and *āmra* are used in religious ceremonies.[3] The barks of these plants along with those of *śamī* and *śirīsa* should be put on a pot in a religious ceremony.[4]

The following are recognized as medicinal plants which help to cure diseases: *harītaki, vaca, nimbaka, śātamūli, vilva, punarṇavā,* etc.[5]

The *Agñipurāṇa*[6] narrates the remedies for the various diseases. *Vilva* is good for rheumatism; *āmalakī, abhayā, krisṇā* for fever; *vilva, agñimantha, kaṇṭakārikā* for fever at its earliest stage; *devadāru, triphalā, padma, daśamūlī, pippalī, vilva, āmalakī* for cough, bowel complaint, and the disease relating to lungs, etc.; *baṭa, lodhra, madhuka,* if taken with sweet rice water, for cold; *vākasa* for cold and cough.[7] *Paṭola, triphalā, nimba,* and *karañca,* if used with cooked ghee or clarified butter, are good for leprosy.[8] *Pippalī,* the *pippalī* root and *vaca* help to cure eruptions on the body due to indigestion; *punarṇavā* and *eraṇḍa* are good for rheumatism; *biḍaṅga, dāru,* etc. cure dropsy; *triphalā, trikūṭa,* and *saṃdhava,* if taken with cooked ghee (clarified butter), are good for eye-trouble. *Yava* acts as urgative.[9]

The *Garuḍa Purāṇa*[10] mentions the utility of some plants in curing diseases. *Yava* improves biliary system; *godhūma* gives strength; *kulattha* removes wind and gives relief to those suffering from cough, indigestion, etc.; *citraka, iṅgudī,* lotus, *pippala, nīsindā,* and *vilva* cure worms, bile, and cough; and *mātuluṅga* (*goḍālebu* in Bengali) improves appetite. In chapter 173 of the same Purāṇa we find a list of plants and flowers, etc., and their usefulness in curing disease.

The Great Maurya Emperor Aśoka caused the medicinal herbs beneficial to men and beasts to be imported and planted in all places where they did not exist. He also caused the roots and fruits to be imported and planted. On the roads trees were caused to be planted for the enjoyment of men and beasts.[11] In order to render medicinal treatment to men and beasts it may be presumed that the Great Emperor had to cultivate medicinal plants for the supply of

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[1] *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa,* 6th chap., 20-21.

[2] *Ibid.,* 49th chap., 61–69.

[3] *Agñipurāṇa,* 57th chap., 9–14.

[4] *Ibid.,* 69th chap., 5–23.

[5] *Ibid.,* 141st chap., 11–16.

[6] 285th chap.

[7] 1–18.

[8] 19–30.

[9] 63–77.

[10] (Ed. Rasikmohan Chatterjee), 169th chap., 4–22.

[11] R.E. II.

medicines (*manusa-cikīcchā ca pasucikīcchā ca osudhāni ca yāni manusopagāni ca pasopagāni ca yata yata nāsti sarvatrā hārāpitāni ca ropāpitāni ca mūlāni ca phalāni ca yata yata nāsti sarvata hārāpitāni ca ropāpitāni ca paṃthesū . . . . . vrachā ca ropāpitā paribhogāya pasumanusānaṃ*).

One of the Theravāda canonical texts says that mighty trees are grown from tiny seeds. They are of mighty bulk which overspread other trees, by which being overspread these trees break up, break down, fall to the ground, and so lie. The mighty trees according to it are the following: bo (*assattha*), banyan (*nigrodha*), wave-leafed fig (*pilakkha*), bunched fig (*udumbara*), wood-apple (*kapitthaka*) and another kind of fig tree (*kacchaka*) (*Seyyathīdaṃ assattho nigrodho pilakkho udumbaro kacchako kapitthako. Ime kho te bhikkhave maharukkhā anubījā mahākāyā rukkhānaṃ ajjhāruḷhā ye hi rukkhā ajjhāruḷhā obhaggavibhaggā vipatitā senti*).[1] Of these trees, *assattha* is the Bo tree.[2] The *Jātaka Nidānakathā* represents the entire site of the Bo tree as a sombre woodland.[3] Siddhārtha went round the Bo terrace and drank the rice gruel at the foot of this tree. In the *Lalitavistara*[4] we read that this tree stood in the centre lording over the sylvan kingdom. According to the *Jātaka Nidānakathā* Siddhārtha spent the first week under the shade of the Bo tree. He spent the second week looking at his seat under the tree. The third week was spent at the space between the tree and the *animisa* (watchful) walking. He spent the fourth week on a ground north-west of the Bo tree. He obtained supreme enlightenment at the foot of this tree.[5] The two tracts of Gayā and Uruvelā became distinct as two separate places representing the dominion of *Akṣaya-vaṭa* or the undying Banyan tree and that of the Bo tree of the Buddhist fame. The Bo terrace was a small silver white sandy ridge around the Bo tree with a radius of eight *karīṣas*[6] and without a single blade of grass growing on it. It was encircled by the creepers and surrounded by grassy woodland with the trees leaning all towards the Bo tree standing in the centre.[7] Siddhārtha sat down under the Bo tree cross-legged, with his face towards the east, determining to do or die till he attained his goal. Even on his death-bed at Kuśinārā, he referred to the spot of the Bo tree as one of the four memorable places worth seeing by a man of faith for inspiration.

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[1] *Saṃyutta*, V. 96; *Book of the Kindred Sayings*, V. 80.

[2] *Jātaka*, I. 16; *Vin.*, IV. 35; *Dīgha*, II. 4; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, II. 416.

[3] *Jātaka*, I. 16, 70.

[4] Mitra's edition, p. 341.

[5] *Dīgha*, II. 4; *Divyāvadāna*, p. 202; cf. *Buddhavaṃsa*, Ch. XXVI.

[6] A square measure of land being that space on which a *Karīsa* of seed can be sown. Pali *Karīsa* = *Karṣa* in Sanskrit. One *Karīsa* is equivalent to four *ammaṇas*. One *ammaṇa* is equal to four *Karīsas*. One *Karīsa* is equal to eighty *Kṛṣṇalas*, i.e. 140 grams (vide for further details, B. C. Law, *Buddhistic Studies*, p. 426).

[7] *Kāliṅgabodhi Jātaka* No. 479: *Tadā kira tattha rājakarīsamattaṭṭhāne* (better reading *aṭṭhakarīsa matte ṭhāne*) *sasakamassumattaṃ pi tiṇam nāma n'atthi, rajatapaṭṭavaṇṇavālukā vippakiṇṇā va hoti, samantā tiṇalatāvanaspatiyo Bodhimaṇḍaṃ padakkhinaṃ katvā āvattitvā bodhimaṇḍābhimukhā va aṭṭhamsu* (*Jātaka*, IV. 233).

It is difficult to believe that the Bo tree at Bodh-Gayā managed to live for twelve centuries that passed between the enlightenment of the Buddha and the reign of Śaśāṅka of Bengal.

The Banyan and Bo trees are the two well-known species of the Indian *Ficus*. The Bo tree is figured in ancient Indian literature as a sacred symbol of life and its growth. The Bo tree of the Bodh-Gayā excels all other trees in sanctity. It is regarded by the Buddhists as the pre-eminent object of worship. In the Mahāpadāna Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya the Bo trees of seven Buddhas including the Bo tree of the last Buddha are mentioned. The *Jātaka Nidānakathā* gives an exaggerated description of the Bo tree that it had the miraculous power to touch the farthest reach of the horizon when it moved to the east or to the west or to the north or to the south. A branch of the Bo tree was sent by King Aśoka for planting on the soil of Ceylon.

The bark of this tree is useful to those suffering from rheumatism. It is also used for curing boils, cuts, etc.

Near the Bo tree stood the Banyan (*Nigrodha*), the *Rājāyatana* tree and the *Mucalinda* tree growing on the bank of the Mucalinda lake, all associated with the memories of movements and joyous ponderings of the Buddha.[1] We learn from the Minor Pillar Edict I of Aśoka (Sarnath Edict) that the Bo tree sanctuary was not a fit place for the Buddhist church (*saṅgha*).

Nigrodha (*nyagrodha*) is the banyan tree.[2] There was a banyan tree in the Nāga island where the Garuḍa king lived. A king of Benares lost his beautiful queen Sussondī, who was afterwards found out by the king's minstrel named Sagga, who came to the island, being shipwrecked, lying on a plank. Sussondī then recognized him.[3] A banyan tree is proportionately symmetrical. The belief was that a banyan always measured like the diameter of a circle in height and in width. In other words, the length of its body is equal to the compass of its branches, and the compass of its branches is equal to the height of the tree.[4] A banyan tree grows on the slopes of the Himalayas (*Himavantapasse*).[5] Snakes lie in the fork of this tree.[6] In the north-west corner of the lake Chaddanta in a spot grew a big banyan tree. Its trunk was five leagues in circumference and seven leagues in height. Four branches spread six leagues to the four points of the compass, and the branch which rose straight upwards was six leagues. So from the root upwards it was thirteen leagues in height, and from the extremity of the branches in one direction to the extremity of the branches in the opposite direction, it was twelve leagues. The tree was furnished with eight thousand shoots and stood forth in all its beauty.[1] This tree sends down from its branches fibres which take root and form new stems. There stood a big banyan (*nyagrodha*) tree in Benares on the banks of the river Varaṇā, which used to fulfil others' wish. A childless banker, who was not blessed with child even after performing many sacrifices, came with his wife to this tree praying for a son. His prayer was granted and later he had a son named Yasoda.[2] On the banks of the river Nairañjanā, at Senāpatigrāma in Uruvilva, there existed a banyan tree of Ajapāla, which was visited by the Buddha.[3] While the Buddha was staying there, the chief Brahmin priest of King Bimbisāra used to repeat to him in details every morning the thirty-two signs of a great man.[4]

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[1] Barua, *Gayā and Buddha Gayā*, p. 165.

[2] *Vinaya*, IV. 35; *Dīgha*, II. 4; *Suttanipāta*, 272.

[3] *Jātaka*, III. 187-88.

[4] *Dīgha*, III. 18; *Dialogues of the Buddha*, S.B.B., III, Pt. II, 15; cf. *Lakkhaṇa Suttanta*, *Dīgha*, III. 144.

[5] *Jātaka*, I. 218.

[6] *Ibid.*, III. 202-3.

The banyan tree is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*,[5] *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*,[6] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,[7] *Chāndogya-upaniṣad*[8] and other later works. Its wood was used in making bowls for religious purposes.[9]

According to Śuśruta, *nyagrodha* (banyan), *udumbara* (*yagñaḍumur* in Bengali), *aśvattha*, *śirīsa*, and *plakṣa* (*pākuḍa* in Bengali) are known as *khīra* trees ('*nyagrodho ḍumburohaśvatthaśirīsa plakṣa pādapāḥ, pañcaite khīriṇo vrikṣāsteṣāṃ tvak-pakṣalakkhaṇaṃ*').

The Jain texts refer to many kinds of grains, e.g., *vīhi* (rice), *yava* (barley), *godhūma* (wheat), *piyaṅgu* (panic seed), *āḍhaki* (pulse), *atasi* (linseed), *kaṅgu* (millet), *sarīsava* (mustard), and *palimanthaka*.[10] *Siṅgavera* (fresh ginger), *lavaṅga*, *haridrā* (turmeric), *pippala* (pepper), and *sarivatthaga* (mustard) find mention in Jain literature. Sugarcane cultivation was extensively carried on according to the Jain texts which refer to *ucchughara* (sugarcane storehouse), and *jantapīlana* (sugarcane-crushing machine).[11] *Kappāsa* (silk cotton) and *sālmalī* trees were very much known.[12] Betel, arecanut, cucumber, onion, garlic, and gourd are referred to in the Jain texts.[13] Among the creepers, flowers, trees, and fruits known to the ancient Jains the following may be mentioned: *asoga, vāsantī, cūya, aimuttaya, sāma, navamālikā, koraṇṭaka, bandhujīvaka, yuthikā, mallikā, campaka, kunda, migadantikā, mahu, nimba, amba, jambu, sāla, vakula, palāsa, puttanjīva, vibhītaka, tinduka, kapittha, mātulinga, vilva, āmalaga, assattha, udumbara, tilaka, sirīsa, loddha, candana, ajjuna,* and *siṃsapā.*[1]

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[1] *Jātaka*, V. 38.

[2] *Mahāvastu*, II. 402.

[3] *Ibid.*, III. 425.

[4] *Ibid.*, 436–437.

[5] IV. 37. 4; V. 5. 5.

[6] VII. 30. 31.

[7] V. 3. 5. 13; XIII. 2. 7. 3.

[8] VI. 12. 1.

[9] *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, vii. 4, 12, 1; *Vājasaneyī-Saṃhitā*, XXIII. 13; *Vedic Index*, I. 462.

[10] *Paṇṇavaṇā*, I. 23–40; *Bhagavatī*, 21. 2; 21. 3.

[11] *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra Commentary*, 2, p. 23.

[12] *Paṇṇavaṇā*, I. 23, 36; *Uttarādhyayana*, 19, 52.

[13] *Uvāsagadasāo*, I. 9; *Paṇṇavaṇā*, I. 23, 36, 18, 26ff., 43ff.; *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 16. 163.

Indian literature mentions various kinds of trees, plants, shrubs, fruits, flowers, etc., arranged in an alphabetical order in the following pages. An attempt has been made to elicit information regarding them as far as available from the literature concerned. It mentions many medicinal plants, water plants, royal trees (*rājarukkhā*),[2] and fragrant grass (*bīraṇaṃ*).[3] It refers to trees the flowers of which have the colour of collyrium (*añjana*).[4] Five kinds of leaves (*paṇṇā*) recommended for medicinal purposes, namely, *nimba, kuṭaja, paṭola,*[5] *sulasi* or *tulasi*, and *kappāsika* are mentioned in the Vinayapiṭaka.[6] There are trees which cannot be identified such as *somarukkha.*[7] In the sixth century B.C. India saw several groves of *añjana* (name of a tree, 'black tree', *Jāt.*, I. 331), *amba* (mango) and *śāla* at Upavattana and Kusinārā.[8]

Agalu (*Aggalu*, Sk. *Aguru*) (*Aquilaria Agallocha*, Roxb.)—Fragrant aloe wood (*VVA.* 237; cf. *agalucandana, VVA.* 158).

Agñimantha.—See Introduction.

Ajjuka (Sk. *Arjaka*).—Name of a plant (*Ocimum Basilicum*, Linn.): *Vinaya*, IV. 35; *DhA.*, 181.

Ajjukaṇṇa (Sk. *Arjakarṇa*).—Name of a tree (*Pentaptera tomentosa*) which existed in the hermitage of Vessantara (*Jātaka*, VI. 535).

Ajjuna (*Apadāna*, II. 346; *Jātaka*, VI. 535; *DhA.*, I. 105) (*Terminalia Arjuna*).—Its bark improves the action of the heart and cures wound, boil, etc. (*Bhāvaprakāśa*).

Akka (Sk. *Arka*).—Name of a plant (*Calotropis gigantea*); *Majjhima*, I. 429. It is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* (VI. 72. 1).

Alaka.—Name of a plant (*Morinda citrifolia*). It is mentioned in the *Apadāna*.

Alābu (*Jātaka*, VI. 578).—It is a long white gourd (*Cucurbeta lagenaria*; *Lagenaria vulgaris* according to some). It is an indigenous plant. It is bottle gourd. The vessels made of it are referred to in the *Atharvaveda* (VIII. 10. 29; XX. 132. 1. 2).

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[1] *Rāyapasenaiya*, 3, p. 18; *Paṇṇavaṇā*, I. 23, 23–5; *Āvassayacuṇṇi*, II. 319; *Paṇṇavaṇā*, I. 23, 12 ff., 35 ff.; *Rāyapaseniya*, 3, p. 12; J. C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jaina Canons*, pp. 91, 93 and 95.

[2] *Cathartocarpus fistula, VvA.*, 43.

[3] *Andropogon Muricatum.*

[4] *Sāratthappakāsinī*, III. 247.

[5] *Trichosanthes dioica.*

[6] *Vinaya Texts* (SBE), II. 46.

[7] *Jātaka*, VI. 530.

[8] *Saṃ.*, I. 54; V. 73; *Dīgha*, I. 47, 49; *Saṃ.*, I. 157; IV. 121; *Dīgha*, II. 134, 137; *Divyāvadāna* (Cowell and Neil), 201, 208.

Amba (*Mangifera indica*, Linn.) is the mango tree.[1] It is shady having many leaves. It looks like a hill crevice. Its fruits are sweet and are of divine fragrance. They are large in size. They are available out of season.[2] There are certain mango trees which always bear fruits.[3]

A gardener at the city gate at Sāvatthī (Śrāvastī) gave a big sized ripe mango to the Blessed One who ate it and asked Ānanda to hand over the seed to the gardener to plant it there. The gardener dug a hole in the earth and planted it. There grew up a mango tree which came to be called *Gaṇḍamba*.[4]

A seed of a mango fruit was planted in a park and was watered with milk-water. The tree sprouted up and gave fruits on the third year. The fruit was sweet and was of gold colour.[5] The mango tree, on account of its branches being entangled with a *Nimba* tree planted near about it, gave bitter fruits.[6]

A female lay disciple obtained the Buddha's permission to build a hermitage and to offer it to him. She built a beautiful hermitage with groves of mango trees all round. It was a very beautiful place to live in.[7] There existed a mango-grove known as the *Jīvaka-ambavana*. Jīvaka, the great physician of King Bimbisāra of Magadha, converted it into a *vihāra* and gave it to the Buddha and his Order. This grove stood somewhere between the Gijjhakūṭa mountain[8] and the wall of the city of Rājagriha.[9]

Ambāṭaka (*Spondias mangifera*, Willd.) is Āmḍā (hogplum) found in Bengal. Ambāṭakas are eaten after removing the skin.[10]

Aṇu.—See Introduction. *Panicum miliaceum*, Eigen.

Añjana.—Black tree.[11]

Aṅkola (*Alangium Lamarckii*, Linn.).—A thorny plant; flowers during hot season. Round the Mucalinda lake stood this tree.[12]

Apphoṭa.—A kind of Jasmin (*Jātaka*, VI. 536).

Arjuna.—Same as *Ajjuna*. See Introduction. *Terminalia Arjuna*, Bead.

Asana.—(*Pentaptera tomentosa*, Roxb.[13]).

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[1] *Dīgha*, I. 46, 53; *Puggalapaññatti*, 45; *Milinda*, 46; *Petavatthu Commentary*, 153, 187; *Dhammapada Commentary*, III. 207; *Vimānavatthu Commentary*, 198.

[2] *Jātaka*, III. 27ff.; IV. 202.

[3] *Ibid.*, III. 28.

[4] *Ibid.*, IV. 264-265.

[5] *Ibid.*, II. 104.

[6] *Ibid.*, II. 104-105.

[7] *Vimānavatthu Commentary*, p. 198.

[8] One of the five hills encircling Rājagriha (modern Rajgir in Behar). It is so called because its peak is like a vulture (*Papañcasūdanī*, II. 63). According to Cunningham it is a part of Śailagiri, the vulture peak of Fa Hien and Indasālaguhā of Yuan Chwang. It lies two miles and a half to the south-east of new Rajgir. It is also called Giriyek hill (B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 41).

[9] *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I. 150; cf. *ibid.*, p. 133.

[10] *Apadāna*, II. 346; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I. 271.

[11] *Jātaka*, I. 331.

[12] *Ibid.*, VI. 535; *Apadāna*, 346; *JBBRAS.*, Vol. 13, 1937, p. 28.

[13] *Ibid.*, I. 40; II. 91; V. 420; VI. 530; *Apadāna*, p. 346.

Aśoka[1] (*Saraca indica*, Linn.).—A handsome tree; flowers at the beginning of the hot season; flowers pretty large in clusters; when first opens, the flower is of a beautiful orange colour, gradually changing to red, forming a variety of shades, fragrant during the night. Aśvaghoṣa has described it as the increaser of lover's sorrows.[2] It is a medicinal plant. It gives relief to those females suffering from menstrual disorder. Its bark is very useful as well as its seed, which greatly helps the function of the kidney. This tree was much liked by Nanda's mistress, Sundarī, as related by Aśvaghoṣa in his *Saundarananda-Kāvya* (Canto VII. 5). A lay disciple of Śrāvastī invited the Buddha to his house. He erected a beautiful pandal where the Buddha took his seat. A woman then was returning home with a large bundle of Aśoka twigs with young leaves and beautiful flowers. She saw the Buddha there and worshipped him with those flowers.[3] Aśoka flowers are beautiful and are found through all seasons (*sabbakālikaṃ*).[4]

Assakaṇṇa (*Aśvakarṇa*) (*Shorea robusta*, Gertn. or *Vatica robusta*).—It is so called from the shape of its leaves.[5] It is the same as *śāla*,[6] a timber tree; flowering time—hot season. It is bitter in taste (*Rājanighaṇṭu*, 9th chap.). It cures boils, eczema and cough. It kills worms and cures ear-disease (Bhāvaprakāśa). Its wood is not so strong as that of Phandana tree (Plassey).[7] Many *assakaṇṇas* are found in the forest. A bird killer saw them while roaming about there.[8] On the Gandhamādana hill where Vessantara dwelt with his wife and children, they were found along with many shrubs and creepers.[9]

Atimutta (*Atimukta, Hiptage Madhabilatā* Gertn.).—It is a beautiful flower.[10] One looks bright being adorned with this flower.[11] It is identified with: (1) *Tinisa* (*Ougenia dalbergioides*); (2) *Tinduka* (*Diospyros Embryopteris*, Pers.); (3) *Mādhavī* (*Hiptage Madhablata*, Gertn.). By it we mean *Tiniśa* (*Jārul*-Amarkoṣa), *Madhavilatā and Eraṇḍa* (Bhāvaprakāśa). The Madhavilatā flowers during the rainy and cold seasons; flowers uncommonly beautiful and exceedingly fragrant.[12] It has also been used as a synonym of *Tiniśa* (*Ougenia dalbergioides*, Benth.) on account of its pearl-white flowers. In the *Saundaranandakāvya* of Aśvaghoṣa Nanda saw this creeper growing up a mango tree and clinging to it. (Canto VII. V. 8).

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[1] *Jātaka*, V. 188; *Vv.* 35; *Vism.*, 625; *VvA.*, 173; *Apadāna*, p. 345.

[2] *Buddhacarita*, IV. 45.

[3] *Vimānavatthu Commentary*, p. 173; B. C. Law, *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, p. 61.

[4] *Jātaka*, V. 188.

[5] *Jātaka* (Cowell), IV. 130, f.n.1.

[6] *Suśruta-saṃhitā*, 38th Chap.; *Charaka-saṃhitā*, Chap. 8th.

[7] *Jātaka*, IV. 209.

[8] *Ibid.*, II. 161.

[9] *Ibid.*, VI. 528-529.

[10] *Apadāna*, P.T.S., 346.

[11] *Milinda*, 338.

[12] *Vinaya*, II. 256; *Majjhima*, I. 32.

Ativiśā—(Sk. *Ativiṣā*).—Name of a plant.[1] *Aconitum heterophyllum*, Wall.

Āḷaka (*Alaka*) (probably *Morinda citrifolia*, Linn.).—a plant mentioned in the *Apadāna* (I. 16; II. 346).

Ālula.—If it is *Āluka*, it is either *Dioscorea alata*, Linn. or *Dioscorea alata, var globosa*, Roxb.[2]

Āmalaka (*Phyllanthus Emblica*, Linn.).—Tree, elegant; flowering time beginning of hot season.[3] It is found in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (vii. 3. 1) denoting the myrobalan fruit. It is used as the fruit for the sick monks.[4] In the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinayapiṭaka* the physician Jīvaka asked the servant Kāka to eat *āmalaka*.[5]

Āmlavetasa.—See Introduction.

Āsītikā.[6]—A certain plant unidentified.[7]

Badarī.—This tree is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (3. 178. 8) without any description. *Zizyphus Jujuba*, Lamk.

Badālatā.—A beautiful creeper of sweet taste.[8]

Bandhujīva or *Bandhujīvaka* (*Pentapetes phoenicea*, Linn.).—It is a kind of plant having red flowers.[9] Its flowers blossom in the afternoon and fade away in the evening. According to the commentator *bandhujīvaka* flowers are like those of *tilaka* plant. *Bandhujīvaka* and *gaṇḍika* or *bhaṇḍika* fall under the same group.[10] It is called bāndhuli or bandhuka flower in Sanskrit. In the Mahāsakuladāyi sutta of the *Majjhima Nikāya* this flower is described as red in colour and red in lustre.[11] The plant named Gaṇḍikā mentioned in the *Vimānavatthu* (15) may be identified with *bandhujīvaka*. According to the Bhāvaprakāśa *bandhujīvaka* plant cures wind trouble, fever and improves biliary system.

Barihisa (Vedic *barhis*).—Sacrificial grass.[12]

Bel (*Aegle Marmelos*).—Name of a fruit-tree, mentioned in the *Apadāna*.

Bhaginīmāla.—It is a tree bending with its boughs, which lends beauty to the palace of the Nāga king.[13]

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[1] *Ibid.*, I. 201; IV. 35.

[2] *Apadāna*, I. 17.

[3] *Vinaya*, I. 201, 278; II. 149; *Sam.*, I. 150; *Aṅg.*, V. 170; *Jātaka*, IV. 363; V. 380; *Milinda*, 11.

[4] *Vinayapiṭaka*, I. 201.

[5] *Ibid.*, I. 278.

[6] *Majjhima*, I. 80.

[7] Cf. *Asītakī-Lalitavistara*, 319.

[8] *Dīgha*, III. 87; *Visuddhimagga*, 418.

[9] *Majjhima*, II. 14; *Dīgha*, II. 111; *Vism.*, 174; *Vimānavatthu Commentary*, 43, 161—*Yodhikā* (*Yuthikā*) *bandhujīvakā anojakā rukkhā ca santi*; *Papañcasūdanī*, I. 167.

[10] *Vimānavatthu*, p. 33; *Vimānavatthu Commentary*, 161.

[11] *M.N.*, II. 14.

[12] *Dīgha*, I. 141; *Majjhima*, I. 344; *Ang.*, II. 207.

[13] *Jātaka*, VI. 269, 270; *Apadāna*, I. 15.

Bhallātaka (*Semecarpus Anacardium*, Linn.).—Bhelā, marking nut.[1] The fruit is sweet and sour. It cures cough, cold, indigestion, stomach trouble and the disease due to worms.

Bhūja (*Bhūrja*) tree (*Betula Bhojpatra*, Heilm. L. Gurt.).—A kind of willow.[2]

The hermitage of Īsisiṅga (Ṛṣyasriṅga) contains Bhūja tree. It is also found in Kosiya's home.[3] Bhūjaka is a celestial tree found on the Gandhamādana, sweet-scented.[4]

Bilaṅga (Sk. *Viḍanga* and *Vilaṅga*) *Embelia ribes*, Burm. (*Erycibe paniculata*).[5]

Bilva (*Bella*) (*Aegle* or *Ægle Marmelos*, Corr.) Sriphal.[6]—It is called Bellā in the Apadāna (II. 346). It is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* (XX. 136, 13), *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (II. 1), *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII. 4, 4, 8) and *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* (III. 9, 3). He who desires food and wishes to grow fat ought to make his *yupa* (sacrificial post) of Bilva wood.[7] According to the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (II. 1, 8, 1. 2) bilva wood is used for sacrificial post and bilva leaves are used for Śiva worship. In the *Mahābhārata* (3. 177. 23) this tree is mentioned along with *plakṣa*, *rauhītaka*, *badarī*, *vetasa*, *śirīṣa*, *iṅguda*, *karīra*, without any detail of any of them. The juice of its leaves is beneficial to those suffering from eye disease and dyspepsia.

Bimbajāla[8] or *Bimbijāla*.—*Bimbajāla* flowers in winter and scatters its odour abroad.[9] It is the *bimba* tree (*Momordica monadelpha*).[10] *Bimbijāla*, *bimbī* or *bimbikā* is *Telākucā* (*Coccinia indica*, W. & A.). It is called *kandurī* in Hindi. Its flowers are white and large and its fruit when ripe is very red. Its roots and leaves are used for preparing medicine. The juice from its leaves is useful to those suffering from headache due to heat, and eczema. It gives relief to those suffering from blood dysentery. This plant is found in large numbers in Singbhum and Southern India.

Campaka (*Campā*)[11] (*Michelia Champaca*, Heilm.).—It is found in Bengal; a pretty large tree; flowering time—rainy season; delightfully fragrant, white and yellow flowers, According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Canto XVII)[12] Lomapāda's fair town was adorned with these sweet-scented yellow flowers. The celebrated Buddhist commentator, Buddhaghosa says that *campaka* trees were in abundance in the city of Campā (Bhagalpur district). On the banks of the lake Gaggarā near this city there was a large grove of campaka trees famous for their sweet scented flowers.[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, VI. 578; *Mahābhārata*, 3. 111-112—It is mentioned along with *āmalaka*, *karuṣaka*, *pippala*, *dhanva*, etc.

[2] *Ibid.*, V. 195, 405.

[3] *Ibid.*, V. 405.

[4] *VvA.*, p. 162.

[5] *Jātaka*, VI. 365; *Vin.*, II. 77-78; *Saṃ.*, I. 90; *Ang.*, I. 145, etc.

[6] *Jātaka*, VI. 578; *Saṃ.*, I. 150; *Aṅg.*, IV. 170.

[7] Haug's *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, Vol. II, p. 73.

[8] The red *amaranth* tree, the *Bodhi* tree of the former Buddha Dhammadassin—*Jātaka*, I. 39 (*Bimbijāla*); V. 155; at *Jātaka*, VI. 497-98, the form is *Bimbajāla*.

[9] *Jātaka*, I. 39; VI. 497.

[10] *Ibid.*, (Cowell), VI. 258 f.n.

[11] *Jātaka*, V. 420; VI. 269; *Miln.*, 338; *D.A.*, I. 280; *Visuddhim*, 515; *DhA.*, I. 384; *VvA.*, 194; *Buddhavaṃsa*, II. 51.

[12] Griffith's Tr., p. 33.

Caṇaka.—See Introduction. *Cicerarietinum,* Heilm.

Candana—(*Santalum albam* Linn.).—Sandal tree. Its wood is perfumed.[2] Red and yellow sandal are known as *ratta* or *lohita candana* and *hari candana.*[3] There is a mention of *Kāsikacandana* (Benares sandal).[4] White sandal is good for thirst, burning sensation, headache, eczema, and small-pox.

Candarī is a kind of fruit mentioned in the *Apadāna* (II. 346). It is grouped with *kadali* and *labuja.*

Cīnaka.—See Introduction. *Panicum miliaceum,* Eigen.

Ciñcā (*Tamarindus indica,* Linn.).—Tamarind. In the Himalayas is found a grove of tamarinds with luscious fruits (*madhuraphalaṃ ciñcāvanaṃ.*)[5]

Cress flower (*Lepidium sativium,* Linn.).—It is found in the hermitage of Vessantara and it grows round the Mucalinda lake.[6]

Cūrṇaka.—See Introduction.

Darbha.—*Imperata arundinacea,* Cyrill. It is a grass. The *Rāmayaṇa* (Canto LV) [7] refers to it. It is used at sacrificial ceremonies. Darbha is also identified with *Imperata cylindrica.*

Devadāru.—Deodar pine, *Cedrus Deodara,* Roxb. The wood of this tree was used in making the sacrificial post for the *Aśvamedha yajña* of king Daśaratha.[8] The Himalaya mountain is supremely fragrant with deodars.[9]

Dhava[10] (*Anogeissus latifolia,* Wall.).—A timber tree; flowering time: cold season. It is called *Dhāyibāblā.* Dhava (*Woodfordia fruticosa Kurz; Grislea tomentosa*) [11] is the shrub found on the Gandhamādana hill where Vessantara lived with his wife and children.

Eraṇḍā (*Ricinus communis,* Linn.).—Castor oil plant mentioned in the *Śāṅkhāyaṇa Āraṇyaka* (XII. 8). It is the lowest of trees.[12] In a Jātaka (II. 440) the Bodhisatta was born as the presiding deity of the *Eraṇḍa* tree (castor oil tree) which stood in the approach to a certain village. A dead old ox was thrown in the grove of these castor oil trees to be devoured by jackals. It is called *Bhereṇḍā* in Bengal. Eraṇḍa plant is useful to those suffering from rheumatism, boils, worms, etc.

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[1] *Papancasūdanī,* III. 1.

[2] *Vin.,* I. 203; *Aṅg.,* I. 9, 145, 226; III. 237; *Dh.* 54; *Jātaka,* V. 420; *Miln.,* 382; *DhA.,* I. 422; *VvA.,* 158; *PvA.,* 76.

[3] *Jātaka,* IV. 442; *Aṅg.,* V. 22; *Jātaka,* I. 37; *Ibid.,* I. 146.

[4] *Aṅg.,* III. 391; IV. 281; *Miln.,* 243, 348.

[5] *Jātaka,* No. 514; *SnA.,* 78.

[6] *Ibid.,* VI. 547.

[7] Griffith's Tr., p. 463.

[8] *Rāmayaṇa,* Ādikānda, 14th chap.; *Mahābhārata,* 3. 178. 10.—mentioned along with *haricandana, tunga* and *Kālīyaka.*

[9] *Saundarananda Kāvya,* Canto X, V. 5.

[10] *Aṅg.,* I. 202, 204; *Jātaka,* IV. 209; VI. 528.

[11] *Jātaka* (Cowell), IV. 130, f.n. 2.

[12] *Jātaka,* II. 440; *Papañcasūdanī,* II. 98; Cf. *Elaṇḍa* (*Majjhima,* I. 124).

Gaḷocī.—Shrub (*Cocculus cordifolius*). It is a creeper.[1]

Gaṇḍa-tiṇḍu.—Name of a plant.[2]

Gaṇḍamba.—A kind of tree at the foot of which the Master performed the double miracle.[3]

Gandhaparṇa.—This tree is full of sweet-scented flowers.[4]

Gāmbhārī.—See Introduction. *Gmelina arborea*, Linn.

Girimallikā.—*Wrightia Antidysenterica*, Grah.[5]

Giripuṇṇāga (probably *Mallotus Philippensis*).—Name of a flower tree, mentioned in the Apadāna.

Godhūma.—See Introduction. *Triticum vulgare*, Linn.

Haliddā or *Haliddī* (*Haridrā—Curcuma longa*, Roxb.).[6]—It is Turmeric. It grows round the Mucalinda lake.[7]

Hareṇuka.—It cannot be identified.[8] *Piper Aurantiacum*, Wall.

Haritaka[9] (*Terminalia Chebula*, Retz.).—A large tree; flowering time—hot season; flowers small; its fruits form the commercial chebulic myrobalans. It is used as a purgative. Myrobalan plants grow in the Himalayas. They are known as *Terminalia Chebula*, Retz.; *Phyllanthus Emblica, Gaertn* and *Emblica officinalis*. Its fruits and seeds are used for medicinal purposes. They give relief to those suffering from piles, rheumatism, eye-disease, stone in the gall bladder and smallpox. Its fruit acts as a good purgative. It should be first taken and then a drink of tepid water according to the *Śuśruta Saṃhitā* (Chap. L.).

Hiṅgu.—The plant *Asafoetida.*[10] *Ferula Asafoetida*, Linn.

Hintāla.—A kind of palm, *Phoenix paludosa.*[11]

Hirivera (Sk. *Hrīvera Pavonia odorata*, Willd.).—A kind of *Andropogon* (sort of perfume).[12]

Ikṣu (*Saccharum officinarum*, Linn.).—Sugarcane. In the Himalayas is found a grove of sugarcane of the size of the arecanut tree.[13] Toddy was made from the juice of the sugarcane.[14]

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[1] *DhA.*, III. 110.
[2] *Jātaka*, V. 99.
[3] *Manorathapūraṇī*, I. 125.
[4] *Saundarananda Kāvya*, Canto VII. v. 10.
[5] *Rāmāyaṇa*, Laṅkākāṇḍa, 4th Chap.
[6] *Vin.*, I. 201; *Jātaka*, V. 89; *Majj.*, I. 127; *Aṅg.*, III. 230, 233; *Saṃ.*, II. 101; *KhA.*, 64.
[7] *Jātaka* (Cowell), VI. 278.
[8] *Ibid.*, VI. 537.
[9] *Vin.*, I. 201, 206; *Jātaka*, I. 80; IV. 363; *Miln.*, 11; *VvA.*, 5; *Apadāna*, II. 346.
[10] *Vin.*, I. 201; *VvA.*, 186.
[11] *Vin.*, I. 190; *DhA.*, III. 451.
[12] *Jātaka*, VI. 537; *DhA.*, I. 81.
[13] *Jātaka* (Cowell), V. 21.
[14] *Ibid.* (Cowell), IV. 100-101.

Indasāla.—This tree existed near the door of the Indasāla cave.[1]

Indīvara.[2]—Blue water lily (*Nymphœa stellata,* Linn.). It is well-scented. It is very bitter in taste.

Iṅguda.—See Introduction. *Balanites Roxburghii;* Manch.

Isimugga.[3]—There are two plants in Bengal called '*Śvet Moorga*' and its red variety the '*Lāl Moorga*'. They are *Celosia Argentea* Linn. and *Celosia cristata,* Linn. respectively. Both of them are erect annuals. They thrive best in the rainy and cold seasons.

Jambū[4] (*Eugenia Jambolana,* Linn.).—It is the rose-apple tree.[5] It is both a fruit and a timber tree; flowering time—hot season. It is *kālajām* (blackberry). It is found in Benares.[6] It stands with its outspreading branches, 50 yojanas in length.[7]

Jīvaka. (*Pentaptera tomentosa,* Roxb. or *Terminalia tomentosa,* Bedd.).—It is used as a synonym of *Piyāla* (*Buchanania latifolia,* Roxb.) by Amara (*Apadāna,* I. 17).

Jīvanti (*Jīvati*)—A medicinal plant. It is identified with: (1) *Caclogyne ovalis* Linol; (2) *Dendrobium Macraei* Lindl.; (3) *Asparagus racemosus.*

Jhāmaka.—It is a plant mentioned in *Jātaka,* VI. 537 but it is difficult to identify it. Some hold that it is a kind of grass.

Kacchaka (*Cedrelateona* Roxb.)—is a kind of fig tree (*Vinaya,* IV. 35; *Saṃ.,* V. 96; *Visuddhimagga,* 183). Buddhaghosa the Buddhist commentator calls it by the name of *Pilakkhu.* Some say that it is black fig. (*Path of Purity,* PTS. Tr. series, no. 17, p. 120). It is occasionally planted and also self-sown. It is indigenous in most of the lower hills of India. It is called *Tun.*

Kadali (*Musa supientum,* Linn.).—Banana[8], the plantain or banana plant always dies down after producing fruit.[9] In the Himalayas is found a grove of plantain trees with fruits as big as elephants' tusks.[10] According to Medinī, Kadali, and Kandali are one and the same plant. In the *Apadāna* (I. 16) the different reading of *Kandali* is *Kadali.*

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[1] *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī,* III. 697.

[2] *Mahābhārata,* 3. 158. 44–52; it occurs in the group of other trees such as *pārijāta, kovidāra, mandāra, hinduka, vakula, ketaka, punnāga,* etc.; *Jāt.,* V. 92, VI. 536; *VV.,* 45.

[3] *Apadāna,* II. 346.

[4] *Jātaka,* II. 160; V. 6; *Vv.,* 6, 44, 164; *DhA.,* III. 211; *Apadāna,* II, 346.

[5] *Visuddhimagga,* P.T.S. 206—Its trunk is fifteen yojanas in girth and its height is very great.

[6] *Jātaka,* VI. 269.

[7] *Samantapāsādikā,* I. 119.

[8] *Barhut,* figs. 121 and 127; *Apadāna,* II. 346.

[9] *Saṃ.,* I. 154; *Vinaya,* II. 188; *Saṃ.,* II. 241; III. 141-42; IV. 167; *Aṅg.,* II. 73; *DhA.,* III. 156; Cf. *Milinda,* 166.

[10] *Jātaka* (Cowell), V. 21.

Kadamba[1] (*Anthocephalus Cadamba*, Benth & Hook).—Orange-coloured, fragrant blossoms.[2] On the slope of the Himalayan mountain there were waving kadamba trees. (*Saundarananda Kāvya*, Canto X, v. 11.) *Vāruṇī* the goddess of wine established herself in the hollow of a Kadamba tree in the woods of Vrindāban. Baladeva smelling the pleasant fragrance of liquor resumed his passion for strong drink. (*Viṣṇupurāṇa*, V, Chap. XXV). There is no vinous exudation from the Kadamba tree (*Nauclea cadamba* Roxb.). Its flowers are said to yield a spirit by distillation (*Ibid.*, Wilson's Tr., p. 66, f.n.).

Kakkāru flowers (Sk. *Karkāru*, a pumpkin-gourd, the *Cucumis utilissimus*, Roxb.).[3]—These divine flowers are fit for those possessed of great powers. There existed three kinds of Kakkāru (*Jātaka*, VI. 536) in the Mucalinda lake. He, who refrains from thievish acts, restrains his tongue from lying words, and reaching dizzy heights of fame still keeps his head, may claim this flower. He who pursues honest wealth, and shuns gross excess in pleasure, has duly won this flower. He that never swerves from fixed purpose and preserves his unchanging faith may justly claim this heavenly flower. He who will never attack good men, when present, nor behind their back and fulfils in deed all he says, may claim this flower.[4]

Kakudha.—Terminalia Arjuna, Bedd. (*Jātaka*, VI. 530).

Kalamba (Sk. *Kalamba*, *Menispermum calumba*, Kalambī, *Convolvulus repens*).—Name of a certain herb or plant[5] also called *Kalambaka*, the Cadamba tree. If it is *Kalambī*, it is *Ipomoea aquatica* Forsk.; flowers large, beautiful rose colour. It is used as a synonym of *Sara* by Amara. Amara again uses the word *Kalamba* as a stalk.[6]

Kaṇavera (*Kaṇavīra*)[7] (Sk. *Karvīra; Nerium odorum*, Oleander)—A wreath of red *kaṇavera* flowers was tied round the neck of a robber who was being led to the place of execution.[8]

Kandali.—Flowering time—rainy season; underground creeper, flowers blue. According to Medinī, Kadali and Kandali are one and the same plant. (*Apadāna*, p. 16, f.n. 1.)

Kaṇikāra and *Kaṇṇikāra*[9] (*Pterospermum acerifolium*, Willd.), Lily.[10] In the Himalayas grow thickets of pure white lilies, white lilies, white esculent lilies, a mixed tangle of white and other lilies.[11]

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[1] *Jātaka*, VI. 535, 539; *DhA.*, I. 309; *Mahāvaṃsa*, 25, 48—*Kadambapupphavallīhi.*

[2] *Vis.*, 206; *Jāt.* (Cowell), IV. 184.

[3] *Jātaka*, VI. 536.

[4] *Jātaka* (Fausboll), III. 87, 88; vide also *Jātaka* (Cowell), III. 59.

[5] *Jātaka*, VI. 535.

[6] *Vaiśyavarga*, *śloka* 101.

[7] *Jātaka*, III. 61; IV, 191; V. 420; VI. 406.

[8] *Jātaka* (Cowell), III. 40.

[9] *Jātaka*, IV. 440; V. 420; I. 40; V. 295; VI. 269, 537.

[10] *Ibid.* (Cowell), IV. 210, 274.

[11] *Ibid.* (Cowell), V. 20-21.

Stalks of lilies are eaten by men to save themselves from starvation for want of food.[1] *Kaṇṇikāra* is yellow.[2]

Kappāsa.[3]—Cotton tree (*Gossypium herbaceum,* Linn.) grows round the lake Mucalinda.[4] When the birds let their droppings fall on the cotton tree, a growth of banyan or of fig arises and goes spreading all over the cotton tree. This parasitic growth covers up the main tree.[5]

Kapitthaka (*Feronia elephantum,* Correa).—It seems to be a Vedic medicinal plant. It occurs in the *Atharvaveda* (IV. 4. 8). It is used for virility. It is different from *Kapitthaka* or *Kapitthana* or *Kapiṭhāna* (*Thespesia Populnea, Soland* ex *Correa*) occurring in the *Jātaka* and *Apadāna* (II. 445; VI. 529, 550, 553; *Apadāna,* II. 346), which is the wood-apple tree.[6] It is helpful in curing cough, cold and vomiting, (*Bhāvaprakāśa*). The monkeys eat ripe figs and wood-apples.[7] In the hermitage on the Gandhamādana hill where lived Vessantara, his wife and children, there was among many trees *Kapitthaka* or rose-apple tree.[8] The clusters of rose-apple trees dropped around the lake Mucalinda.[9] The fruit of *kapittha* is good to eat.[10] The Milinda-Pañho refers to *kapittha* and says that those who want fruits will knock a wood-apple down with the same fruit (*Keci phalakāmā kapitthena kapitthaṃ pothenti*—Milinda, Trenckner Ed., p. 189). In some parts of Bengal it is known as *Kayeth Bel.* We hear of volatile oil secreted by this plant. With the resin of this plant dissolved in the sweet water of a small red cocoanut, a sheet of copper was laid over the stones in order to build the great Thūpa.[11]

Kappura.[12]—Camphor tree.

Kara[13] (*Punica Granatum,* Linn.).—There is only one plant of the name 'Karaka' used as a synonym of *Ḍālim* (pomegranate). The leaves of the *Kara* (*Canthium parvifolia,* Roxb.), besprinkled with water, were eaten without salt or spice by ascetics living in the woodland.[14] The fruits of this tree were also eaten by them.[15] The word *Kara* refers to *Ḍāliṃ, Palāśa, Bakula, Red Kāñcana* and *Karavī.* The Jātaka refers to *Rattakuravaka-rukkha* (Red Karavī tree).[16]

Karaduṣa.—See Introduction.

Karanda or *Koranda*[17] (*Carissa Carandas,* Linn.).—Large shrub; flowering time—February, March, April; fruit eaten pickled and made into tarts. In Orissa *Carissa Spinarum*, Linn., is called *Kurunda* (*Karañcā*). It is the same as *Karaṇḍa* which is known in Bengal as *Tepārī* used to prepare jelly. In the *Apadāna* (p. 448) there is a mention of *Kurañjiyaphala*.

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[1] *Jātaka* (Cowell), VI. 205.

[2] *Majjhima Nikaya,* II. 14.

[3] *Dīgha,* II. 141; *Aṅg.,* III. 295; *Saṃ.,* V. 284, *Jātaka,* I. 350; VI. 41; VI. 537; *PVA.,* 146.

[4] *Jātaka* (Cowell), VI. 278.

[5] *Ibid.* (Cowell), III. 240.

[6] *Milinda,* 189; *Jātaka,* VI. 534; *Apadāna,* II. 346; cf. *Mahāvaṃsa,* 29, 11 and *Visuddhimagga,* 183.

[7] *Jātaka,* IV. 445.

[8] *Ibid.,* VI. 529.

[9] *Ibid.,* VI. 550 and 553.

[10] *Ibid.,* VI. 534.

[11] *Mahāvaṃsa,* Chap. XXIX, v. 11.

[12] *Jātaka,* VI. 537.

[13] *Ibid.* (Cowell), VI. 13.

[14] *Ibid.,* IV. 149.

[15] *Ibid.,* IV. 150.

[16] *Jātaka,* I. 39.

[17] *Ibid.,* VI. 536.

Karañja.—The tree *Pongamia glabra*, Vent, is used medicinally.[1] It is of six kinds: (1) *Dahaḍa Karañja*, (2) *Nāṭā Karañja*, (3) *Kāṃtā Karañja*, (4) *Mākaḍa Karañja*, (5) *Biṣa Karañja*, and (6) *Amla Karañja*. Of these six kinds *Dahaḍa* and *Nāṭa Karañja* are used medicinally. *Dahaḍa Karañja* is used as a medicine for leprosy, skin disease, etc.

Karaṇṭaka.—See Introduction.

Karavīra (*Nerium odorum*, Solard).—See Introduction.

Karaviya—It is a flower, red and white.[2]

Kareri—Tree otherwise known as *Varuṇa* (*Cratacva religiosa*, Forst.) stood with its shady bower at the door of the Karerikūṭi.[3]

Karṇikā (Kaṇikā, *Premna integrifolia*, Linn.).—*Agnimantha* (*Premna Spinosa*, Roxb.) medicinal plant.[4] It is bitter and sweet at the same time and it is helpful in curing cough, cold, constipation, etc.

Karṇikāra (*Cassia Fistula*, Linn.).—Small tree, flowers large, bright yellow, fragrant.[5] It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (3. 24. 18) along with *Nīpa*, *Kadamba*, *Arjuna*, *Madhûka*, etc.

Kaṭeruha.—A flowering plant.[6]

Kaviṭṭha.—The elephant-apple tree. (*Feronia elephantum*).[7]—In the Himalayas is found a grove of elephant-apple trees.[8]

Kāsumārī[9]—It is sweet. It is named *Diospyros embryopteris* and *Buchanania latifolia*.

Ketaka (*Pandanus Tectorius Soland ex Parkinson* or *Pandanus odoratissimus*).—Flowers chiefly during the rainy season; male and female plants, male flowers are sweet-scented.[10]

Kevuka (*Costus speciosus*, Sm.).[11]—A herb with stout leafy stem, one of the most elegant looking plants of the family; flowers during wet season.

Khadira (*Acacia Catechu*, Linn. or *Mimosa Catechu*).[12]—According to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* he who desires heaven ought to make his sacrificial post of Khadira wood. In the *Aśvamedha yajña* of *Daśaratha* the khadira wood was used in making a sacrificial post.[13]

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[1] *Jātaka*, VI. 518-519.

[2] *Ibid.* (Cowell), VI. 537.

[3] *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, II. 407.

[4] *Apadāna*, I. 16. Another form is Kaṇṇikā.

[5] *Jātaka*, VI. 537.

[6] *Ibid.*, VI. 537.

[7] *Ibid.*, V. 38.

[8] *Kaviṭṭhavanaṃ*, *Jātaka*, No. 514 (*Jātaka*, V. 38).

[9] *Jātaka* (Cowell), IV. 270; *Apadāna*, p. 346.

[10] *Jātaka*, IV. 482; *Buddhavaṃsa*, II. 51.

[11] *Apadāna*, I. 16.

[12] *Jātaka* (Cowell), VI. 275.

[13] *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ādikāṇḍa, 14th Sarga.

Kiṃphalarukkha.—This tree stood in a forest near a village. Its trunk, branches, leaves, fruits and flowers resemble those of a mango tree. Not only in outward semblance but also in taste and smell it resembles the mango tree. Its fruits are poisonous. Many caravan merchants halted under this tree and died after taking its fruits.[1]

Kiṃśuka (*Butea frondosa*, Roxb.).—The *Rāmāyaṇa* refers to this tree having red flowers.[2]

Kola (*Ziziphus Jujuba*, Lam.).[3]—Flowering time—rainy season. There are at least three varieties of *Kola*. Cowell translates it as What-fruit tree but it is not at all a happy rendering. Fruits of *Ziziphus Jujuba* Lam. are particularly known as *Kola*. It is a worthless tree.[4] The ripe jujube fruits are pretty and of red colour. They are egg-shaped.[5] The jujube fruit is often contrasted with the cocoanut as being only externally pleasing.[6] The fruit of the jujube tree is called *Badara* not unlike a crab-apple in apperance and taste, very astringent, used for medicine.[7] The Kola tree is also called *Badari*.[8]

Kosamba.—This tree stood before the *Kosambakūṭi* which was one of the main buildings of Śrāvastī.[9]

Kosumbha.[10]—This plant is grouped with *Salala* and *Nīpa*.

Kovilāra (Sk. *Kovidāra*) (*Bauhinia variegata*, Linn.).—Flowering time—February to March; flowers large; a sort of ebony.[11] It is sour in taste. It heals up wound and cures leprosy and burning sensation in the body (*Vaidyakanighaṇṭu*).

Kṛṣṇā.—See Introduction.

Kṣīrikā.—See Introduction. It may be either *Calotropis Gigantea* or *Ficus Bengalensis*.

Kumbhaṇḍa (Gourd)—*Cucurbita Pepo*, Roxb.; *Cucurbita maxima*, Duchesne.—Three kinds of gourd, all distinct, grow in the lake Mucalinda.[12]

Kuravaka.—Cowell calls it rose.[13]

Kuruvaka (*Baleria cristata*, Linn.).—Aśvaghoṣa in his *Buddhacarita* refers to it in full blossom, shining like lac just squeezed out (IV. 47).

Kuruvinda.—A kind of grass.[14]

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[1] *Jātaka* (Cowell), I. 271.

[2] Canto LVI; Griffith's Tr. p. 191.

[3] *SNA*., 356; *DA*., I. 262; *Apadāna*, I. 17.

[4] *Jātaka* (Cowell), II. 180; *Jātaka*, VI. 578.

[5] *Jātaka* (Cowell), III. 14.

[6] *Ibid*., II. 181, f.n. 2; cf. *Hitopadeśa*, I. 95.

[7] *Aṅg*., I. 130; *Pug*., 32; *Vin*., IV. 76; *Jātaka*, III. 21; *VvA*., 186.

[8] *Jātaka*, II. 260.

[9] *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, II. 407.

[10] *Apadāna*, I. 17; II. 449.

[11] *Ibid*., I. 16.

[12] *Jātaka*, I. 411; *Ibid*. (Cowell), VI. 278; V. 21.

[13] *Jātaka*, IV. 440.

[14] *Ibid*., IV. 92.

Kusa (*Eragrostis cynosuroides*, Beauv.).[1]—Grass.

Kuṣṭha (*Kuṭṭha*) *Costus speciosus* Sm., *Costus Arrabidæ Steud*, *Suassarea auriculata*, S. Lappa, *B. C. Law Volume*, I. 654).[2]—A kind of fragrant plant or spice.[3] It cures rheumatism, cough and wind. It is bitter in taste. In the *Apadāna* (II. 346) there is a mention of *Tāla-Kuṭṭha* which may be the same as *Kuṭṭha*.

Kūṭaja (*Holarrhena antidysenterica*, Wall.).—A deciduous shrub, flowers white in clusters, fragrant. It is a medicinal plant.[4] *Kūṭaja* and *Sallakī* are known as *Indasāla* trees.[5] It is called *Kuḍacī* in Bengali. Its seed is a great medicine for killing worms. Its bark is used for curing blood dysentery.

Kuṭumbaka[6] (*Leucas linifolia*, Spreng) is the name of a flower.

Kuyyaka.[7]—Flower which cannot be identified.

Labuja (*Artocarpus Lakucha*, Roxb.).—Fruit tree. Its fruits are sweet.[8] It is bread-fruit tree.[9]

Lakuca.—See Introduction. (*Artocarpus Lakucha*, Roxb.)

Lasuna.[10]—Garlic. (*Allium satirum*, Linn.). The Jātaka refers to green garlic which grows round the lake Mucalinda.[11]

Loddo (Sk. *Lodhra*) (*Rāmāyaṇa*, 94 sarga. *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*). (*Symplocos racemosa*, Roxb.).—The woods of Lodhra are referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Canto XLIII, Griffith's Tr., p. 454). The monkeys were sent to search for Sītā even in Lodhra woods. Lodhra is sour in taste; it is good for eye-sight; it cures cough and helps to improve biliary system. It is good for fever also. (*Bhāvaprakāśa.*)

Madhūka.[12] (*Bassia latifolia*, Roxb.).—A middle-sized tree, flowers in March and April; flowers sweet, fragrant, eaten raw. Its juice is sweet (*madhurasa*). It is mentioned in the *Apadāna* (II. 346) and *Visuddhimagga* (p. 260). Honey is extracted from the flowers of this tree for liquor.[13]

Majjhāru (Sk. *Mārjāra*).—A kind of plant unidentified. According to some it is *Plumbago rosea*.[14]

Mallikā (Jasmin) (*Jasminum Sambæ*, Ait.).—Flowers during rainy season, flowers white and fragrant. Jasmine grows round the lake Mucalinda.[15]

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[1] *Jātaka* (Cowell), IV. 89; grass (Cowell), III. 36; *Dham. Commy.*, III. 484; *Jātaka*, I. 190.

[2] *Jātaka* (Cowell), VI. 275 f.n. 4; *Jātaka*, VI. 530.

[3] *Ibid.*, VI. 537.

[4] *Ibid.* (Cowell), IV. 59; *Jātaka*, VI. 530; *Vinaya*, I. 201; cf. *Vinaya Texts*, II. 45; *Apadāna*, II. 346.

[5] *Jātaka*, IV. 92.

[6] *Ibid.*, I. 60.

[7] *Ibid.*, I. 60.

[8] *Jātaka*, (Cowell), II. 111; *Apadana*, II. 346.

[9] *Dīgha*, I. 53; *Jātaka*, IV. 363; V. 6, 417; *PvA.*, 153.

[10] *Vin.*, II. 140; IV. 258; *Jātaka*, I. 474; *Vv.*, 43; *VvA.*, 186.

[11] *Jātaka* (Cowell), VI. 278.

[12] *Vinaya*, I. 246; *Jātaka*, V. 324, 405; VI. 529, 530; *Miln.*, 165; *Apadāna*, II. 346.

[13] *Vinaya*, I. 246.

[14] *Ibid.*, I. 196.

[15] *Jātaka* (Cowell), VI. 278; *Jātaka*, I. 62; III. 291; V. 420; *Miln.*, 333, 338; *KhA.*, 44.

Mandālaka.—A plant mentioned in the *Apadāna* (II, p. 347).

Mañjeṭṭhi (*Mañjiṣṭhī*, *Rubia Cordifolia*, Linn.).—Bengal madder.[1] It is mentioned in the *Aitareya* (III. 2. 4) and *Sāṅkhāyana* (VIII. 7) *Āraṇyakas.*

Maricagaccho (Pepper shrub; *Piper nigram*, Körneu).—It grows in the Himalayas.[2] There are three kinds: black pepper,[3] powdered pepper and fine pepper [4] (*sukhumaṃ maricacuṇṇaṃ*).

Mādhavī.—See Introduction (*Hiptage Madhabilata*, Gaertn.).

Mālāvaccha.—See Introduction.

Māluvā—A long creeper mentioned in the *Papañcasūdanī.*[5]

Māsamugga [6] (Kidney beans).—In the Himalayas grows a thicket of various kinds of kidney beans (*māsamuggavanaṃ*).[7]

Mātuluṅga (*Citrus medica*, Linn.).—Citron. The rough-skinned citron is bitter to eat. The pulp is sweet.[8]

Moragu (Sk. *Mayūraka*) *Achyaranthes aspera*, Linn.—A tender grass (*Vin.*, I. 196).

Mucalinda tree (*Barringtonia acutangula*).[9]

Mudurukkha.—A soft tree which grows in an island in the mid-Ganges.[10]

Muñja (*Saccharum arundinaceum*, Retz.).—It is a kind of grass. It is used for making girdle.[11]

Muñjātaka.—See Introduction.

Nalina.—See Introduction.

Navamallikā.—See Introduction.

Nāga (*Nāgakeśara*, *nāgarukkha*) (*Mesua ferrea*, Linn.).—Elegant tree; flowering time—beginning of hot season; flowers large, delightfully fragrant. It is also known as *Nāgeśvara Campā.* It is noted for its hard wood and great masses of red flowers.[12] It is also known as *Nāgalatā-rukkha.*[13] The *Saundarananda-kāvya* of Aśvaghoṣa refers to nāga trees (*nāgavṛkkhā*) studded with flowers with yellow interiors (Canto VII, v. 9). The bark of this tree is sour in taste. It cures cough, leprosy and wind trouble (*Rājanighaṇṭu*, 60th chap.; *Bhāvaprakāśa*).

Nāgamālikā.[14]—It may be the same as *nāgavallikā* which is nothing but betel creeper.

Nāgeśvara.—See Introduction.

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[1] *DhA.*, I. 85.

[2] *Jātaka*, V. 12.

[3] *Vinaya*, I. 201.

[4] *Jātaka*, I. 455; cf. *Vinaya*, I. 201; *Milinda-P.*, 63.

[5] II. 371-2; cf. *Majjhima*, I. 306; *Saṃ.*, I. 207; *Aṅg.*, I. 202; *Sn.*, 272; *Jātaka*, III. 389; V. 205, 215, 389.

[6] *Miln.*, 267, 341; *SnA.*, 283.

[7] *Jātaka* (Cowell), V. 21.

[8] *Jātaka*, III. 319; *Apadāna*, I. 16.

[9] *Vinaya*, I. 3; *Jātaka*, V. 405; VI. 269.

[10] *Sāratthappakāsinī*, III. 37.

[11] *Jātaka* (Cowell), II. 90 f.n. 3; V. 104; *Sn.*, 440 (*Esa muñjaṃ parihare*).

[12] *Jātaka*, I. 35; *Apadāna*, I. 15; *Buddhavaṃsa*, Chap. II., V. 51.

[13] *Jātaka*, I. 80.

[14] *Jātaka* (Cowell), VI. 133.

Niggundi (Jāt., VI. 535). (*Vitex Nigundo*, Linn.).—This plant was found in the hermitage of Vessantara, grouped with Siriniggundi having black flowers.

Nigrodha.—Banyan tree.[1] Same as *Nyagrodha*.

Nīla (*Indigofera tinctoria*, Linn.).—Indigo; it grows round the lake Mucalinda.[2]

Nīla (*Kuraṇḍaka*).—A kind of flower mentioned in the *Papañcasūdanī*.[3]

Nimba (*Melia Azadirechta*, Linn.).[4]—A beautiful and very useful tree, its flowers are sweet scented. Its leaves are bitter.[5] In ancient times in Benares robbers who were caught were put to torture by being impaled on a stake of the Nimba tree.[6] It is called *Pucimanda* in the *Papañcasūdanī*.[7] Its fruits, leaves, barks and seeds are used for medicinal purposes. This tree helps to cure leprosy, skin-disease, worms, etc. According to the *Śuśruta-saṃhitā*, a child will be benefited if he or she is fanned by the branches of *Nimba*, *Pilu* or *Badari* tree. (Chap. X—Tr. Kunjalal Bhishagratna, II. 225).

Nīpa (*Kadamba*).[8]—A large tree; flowering time—hot season. *Anthocephalus Cadamba mig.* or *Nuclea Cadamba*, a species of Aśoka tree.

Nipaka.—See Introduction.

Nivāra.—See Introduction.

Nyagrodha—This tree (*Ficus Bengalensis*, Linn.) grows on the seventh dvīpa called *Puṣkara*, which is Brahmā's abode (*Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, II, Chap. IV, Wilson's Tr., pp. 201-202). For further details vide Introduction.

Padma (*Paduma*) (*Nelumbium speciosum*, Willd.).—The Lotus. There are five kinds of lotus[9] (*Pañcavaṇṇapadumasanchanno*). The lotus flowers in tanks, pools and lakes.[10] The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang saw four varieties of lotus flowers in one tank: *padma* (red lotus), *utpala* (blue), *puṇḍarika* (yellow) and *kumuda* (white) (Watters *On Yuan Chwang*, II, 177). Lotus fibres were used as food by ascetics in the forest.[11] The roots of the lotus are white.[12] White and red lotuses are usually found. Lotus helps to do good to those vomiting blood. It cures pain due to piles, burning sensation in hands and feet, and headache. It improves the function of the kidney.

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[1] *Barhut*, fig. 31.

[2] *Jātaka*, VI. 537.

[3] I. 167; cf. *Visuddhimagga*, 183.

[4] Noted for its hard wood. *Vinaya*, I. 152; *Aṅg.*, I. 32; *Jātaka*, II. 105-106.

[5] *Jātaka* (Cowell), II. 73.

[6] *Ibid.* (Cowell), III. 23.

[7] II. 372; *Jātaka*, III. 34; IV. 205, VI. 269.

[8] *Jātaka*, I. 13 (verse 61); *Apadāna*, I. 15; *Buddhavaṃsa*, II. 51.

[9] *Jātaka* (Cowell), I. 79, 96; IV. 226; V. 37; *Jātaka*, I. 222; V. 337; VI. 341; *Sam.*, I. 138, 204.

[10] *Jātaka* (Cowell), III. 161, 192; IV. 59; *Aṅg.*, I. 145; II. 86; III. 26, 329. *Sutta Nipāta*, 71, 213 (*padumaṃ va toyena alippamānaṃ*).

[11] *Jātaka* (Cowell), IV. 193.

[12] *Ibid.* (Cowell), III. 198.

Palāśa[1] (*Kiṃśuka*) (*Butea frondosa*, Roxb.).—A tree mentioned in the *Brāhmaṇas* (*Aitareya*, II. 1; *Śatapatha*, I. 3, 3, 19; II. 6, 2, 8). *Parṇa* is the early name. Its flowering time is March, April; flowers beautiful, deep red shaded with orange and silver coloured down. It bears a profusion of brilliant red flowers which appear before the leaves. It is called the Judas tree. It grows on high grounds. By sprinkling gravel and sweeping all round it, its root is kept smooth and free from grass.[2] It looks like a burnt stump when its buds sprout from the stem. It looks like a piece of meat at the time of blossoming. It looks like the *acacia* tree when it bears fruit.[3] It has pink flowers.[4] He who desires beauty and knowledge about religion ought to make his *yupa* or sacrificial post of the *Palāśa* wood (Haug, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, Vol. II, p. 73). A certain fowl, after eating the ripe fruit of a banyan, perched on the Judas tree and dropped its excrement into the fork of it. Thence there sprang up a young banyan which grew to the height of four inches, and was bright with red shoot and greenery. Every tree on which a banyan shoot springs up, is destroyed by its growth.[5] *Plassey* tree (*Butea frondosa* Roxb.) is good for making a cart or any part of it.[6] The *Phandana* (*Butea frondosa*, Roxb.),[7] is a tree of the same kind as the *Palāśa*.[8]

Palimanthaka.—See Introduction.

Pañgura (*Jātaka*, VI. 535).—It cannot be identified.

Panasa (*Artocarpus integrifolia*, Linn.).—A large ever-green fruit tree.[9] In the Himalayas is found a grove of jack-fruit of the size of a water-jar (*cāṭippamāṇaphalaṃ panasavanaṃ*).[10]

Paṭala.—See Introduction. (*Stereospermum Anaveolens*, DC.)

Pārāvata.—See Introduction.

Pārichattaka[11] (*Erythrina Indica*, Lam.).—It is the coral tree.[12] It grows in Mithilā.[13] Its flowers are pure and sweet.[14]

Pārijāta.—See Introduction.

Pāṭali[15] (Pārul) (*Stereospermum suaveolens*, DC.).—A middle-sized tree; flowering time—hot season; exquisitely fragrant. It is called the trumpet-flower tree.[1] *Citta-Pāṭali*[2] signifies that the *Pāṭali* tree is variegated and beautiful.[3] The Jātaka mentions *Dhanu-pāṭali* (V. 422). The Pāṭali tree had some connection with the origin of the name of Pāṭaliputra, which was also named as Pāṭali-grāma. The village was so called because a Pāṭali tree was its cognizance or because it contained numerous Pāṭali trees or because on the day of its foundation many Pāṭali shoots sprouted forth from the ground. It is interesting to note that thousands of villages in Bihar are named after trees, e.g. Ambasaṇḍa.[4]

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[1] *Majjhima*, I. 111; *Jātaka*, III. 23.

[2] *Jātaka* (Cowell), III. 16.

[3] *Jātaka* (Cowell), II. 185.

[4] *Ibid.*, II. 185 f.n. 1.

[5] *Ibid.* (Cowell), III. 137.

[6] *Ibid.*, IV. 127, 130.

[7] *Ibid.* (Cowell), VI. 275.

[8] *Ibid.*, IV. 129 f.n. 2; See *B. C. Law Volume*, I. 653.

[9] *Barhut*, Pl. xxiv; *Jātaka*, I. 450; II. 160; V. 465; *Vv.*, 44; *KhA.*, 50; *SnA.*, 475.

[10] *Jātaka*, V. 38.

[11] *Vinaya*, I. 30; *Aṅg.*, IV. 117; *Vv.*, 38; *Jātaka*, I, 40; *KhA.*, 122; *SnA.*, 485; *DhA.*, I. 273; III. 211; *VvA.*, 12, 110; *PvA.*, 137; *Buddhavamsa*, Ch. I, v. 17.

[12] *Visuddhimagga*, 206.

[13] *Jātaka* (Cowell), IV. 168, 226 and 290.

[14] *Ibid.* (Cowell), V. 210.

[15] *Dīgha*, II. 4; *Jātaka*, I. 41; *Barhut*, fig. 26; *Apadāna*, I. 15.

Pilakkha (*Pilakkhu*) is, according to some, wave-leaved fig tree.[5] It was found at Benares.[6] *Pilakkha* is Vedic *Plakṣa* (*Ficus infectoria*, Roxb.). It is a large and beautiful tree with small white fruit. It is also called *Prakṣa*.[7] It is known as *Pākur* in Bengal. A hidden treasure was found beneath this tree (*nidhinikhāto*).[8] The *Atharvaveda*, *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* and the *Brāhmaṇas* refer to this tree.[9]

Pilu.—See Introduction. *Salvadora persica* Linn., S. Indica, Wight.

Pipal.—*Ficus religiosa*, Bertrand. The ripe fruits of this tree are eaten by birds.[10]

Pippala (*Pipphala*, Sk. *Pippali*).[11]—Stood by the side of the *Pippali* or *Pipphali* cave in *Rājagriha*, which was visited by the Buddha.[12] Rājagriha was full of beautiful groves of Pippali trees. Pippala, in the sense of berry, is found in the *Rigveda* (I. 164, 20). In the *Atharvaveda* (61) *Pippalī* in the feminine form denotes berries used as a remedy for wounds.[13] According to the *Śuśruta-saṃhitā* clarified butter prepared with the decoction of *yaṣṭimadhu*, *vaca*, *triphalā*, *pippali* and *citraka* should be given to an infant fed both on milk and boiled rice.[14]

Pītaśāla.—See Introduction. (*Pentaptera tomentosa*, Roxb.)

Piyaka.[15]—It goes under various names, *Nauclea cadamba*, *Terminalia tomentosa*, and *Vitex trifolia*.[16] (*Jātaka*, V. 420.)

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[1] *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, II. 415; cf. *Milinda*, p. 333; *Jātaka* (Cowell), IV. 289.

[2] *Visud.*, p. 206.

[3] *Manorathapūraṇī*, II. 34-35.

[4] Barua, *Asoka and His Inscriptions*, p. 119; for a different story, Vide B. C. Law, *The Magadhas in Ancient India*, RAS Mono. XXIV, p. 37.

[5] *Vin.*, IV. 35; cf. *Dham. Commy.*, I. 81.

[6] *Aṅg.*, I. 280.

[7] *Vedic Ind.*, II. 54.

[8] *Jātaka*, III. 24.

[9] V. 5. 5; VII. 4. 12. 1; cf. *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, III. 10. 2; *Aitareya Brāh.* VII, 32; VIII, 16; *Taittirīya Brāh.*, III, 8. 19. 2; *Śatapatha Brāh.*, III, 8. 3. 10. 12, etc.

[10] *Jātaka* (Cowell), III. 188.

[11] *Vinaya*, I. 201; *Apadāna*, II. 346; *Buddhavaṃsa*, Ch. II, v. 214.

[12] *Saṃ.*, V. 79; cf. *Udānavaṇṇanā*, Siamese ed., p. 77.

[13] *Vedic Index*, I. 531.

[14] Chap. X (K. L. Bhishagratna's ed.), p. 231.

[15] *Jātaka* (Cowell), VI. 269.

[16] *Jātaka*, V. 420.

Piyāla[1] (*Buchanania Latifolia*, Roxb.).—A large tree; flowers in January and February; flowers small, of a whitish green colour; fruits eaten.[2] The bark of this tree is good for cough. Its fruit is sweet and gives strength like its seed. It cures fever and burning sensation in the body (*Bhāvaprakāśa*). In the *Mahābhārata* (3. 40. 2–5), the name of this tree occurs along with *dhava, tinduka, lodhra, khadira, padma, āmalaka, nyagrodha*, etc.

Piyaṅgu, Setaria italica, Beaule (*Agrost*).—Panic seed.[3] It grows round the lake Mucalinda.[4] The *Piyaṅgu* flower is recognized by its smell.[5] The black *Piyaṅgu* creeper is mentioned in the *Jātaka Nidānakathā*.[6] It is very delicate.[7]

Puṇarṇavā.—See Introduction. *Boerpadira repens*, Linn.

Puṇḍarikā (*Nelumbo nucifera*, Gaertn.).—White lotus (*Nymphaca Lotus* or *N. Alba*).[8] The water of the half of the Mandākinī pond which was waist deep, was full of white lotuses.[9]

Punnāga (*Calophyllum inophyllum*, Linn.).[10]—A most elegant tree, flowers pure white, fragrant, flowering most part of the year,[11] especially the beginning of the hot season. It is sour in taste and it helps to do good to the biliary system.[12]

It may be identified with *Nāgakeśara* tree (modern *Nāgeśwara*).[13] *Giri-punnāga* is probably *Mallotus philippensis Muel-Arg.* It is also called *Mahāpunnāga* which grows on hills.[14]

Puttajīva (*Putranjīva Roxburghii*, Wall.).[15]

Phaṇijjaka.—It is the *samīraṇa plant* (Childers). It is a kind of plant enumerated in the *Vinayapiṭaka* (IV. 35 = *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I. 81) as one of the plants propagated by slips or cuttings, (*aggabīja*) together with *ajjuka* and *hirivera*.

Raupītaka.—See Introduction.

Rājāyatana (*Buchanania Latifolia*).—Lakuca fruit tree belonging to the citron order, the unripe fruits of which are used as medicines. This tree is historically important as the Buddha spent seven days and nights in meditation at the foot of this tree. The two merchants Tapussa and Bhallika became his first lay devotees under this tree (*Dāṭhāvaṃsa*, Chap. I, vs. 57–59).

Rucarukkha (*Maṅgala rukkha*, also called *Mukkhako*).—There grew in Benares a beautiful Wishing Tree with straight stem and spreading branches.[16]

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[1] *Jātaka*, V. 405.

[2] *Jātaka* (Cowell), IV. 270.

[3] *B. C. Law Volume*, I. 657.

[4] *Jātaka*, VI. 537.

[5] *Ibid.* (Cowell), VI. 162.

[6] *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 169.

[7] *Saundarananda Kāvya*, VII. 6.

[8] *Dīgha*, I. 75; *Aṅg.*, III. 26; *Dīgha*, II. 4; *Majjhima*, III. 93; *Saṃ.*, I. 138, 204; *Jātaka*, III. 309; *Aṅg.*, I. 145; *DA.*, I. 219, 284; *Apadāna*, II. 346.

[9] *Sāratthappakāsinī*, I. 280ff.

[10] *Apadāna*, II. 345.

[11] *Jātaka*, I. 9; *Khuddakapāṭha-A.*, 50, 53; *Buddhavaṃsa*, II. 51.

[12] *Rājanighaṇṭu*, varga 70.

[13] *Jātaka*, VI. 530.

[14] *Jātaka*, VI. 531.

[15] *Jātaka* (Cowell), VI. 275, f.n. 4.

[16] *Jātaka*, I. 441.

Saṃdhava.—See Introduction.

Saha (*Sahaka*).—Plant.[1]

Salala (*Pinus Devadara*).—A sweet-scented flower (*Buddhavaṃsa*, Chap. II, v. 51; *Jātaka*, V. 420; I. 13; *VvA.*, 162; *Milinda*, 338; *Majjhima*, II. 184; *Sāratthappakāsinī*, III. 263).

It is probably a pine tree (*Cedrus deodora*, *Apadāna*, II. 346).

Śallaki (*Boswellia Serrata*, Roxb.).—A tree mentioned in the *Dhammapada Commentary* along with *Kūṭaja* and *Viruḷha* (IV. 13).

Saṃdhava.—See Introduction.

Sattappaṇṇa (*Alstonia scholaris*, R.Br.).—It was the tree[2] which stood by the side of the Sattapaṇṇa cave, which derived its name from Saptaparṇa or Saptaparṇi tree.[3]

Sāka (*Tectona grandis*, Linn.).[4]

Śāla[5] (*Shorea robusta*, Gaertn.).[6]—It is straight and well grown, fine in girth and height, thick and strong. Its trunk is mighty. It is worshipped by village and townfolk as a lucky tree.[7] Flowering time is the hot season. Flowers droop from their stems in the evening.[8] The branches of a big śāla tree standing in the Gosiṅgasālavana grew up like horns of a cow.[9] There is a description of Śāla trees surrounding a village which appeared like a fence.[10] The Śāla grove of the Mallas was called Upavattana.[11] According to Śuśruta, gummy exudation of śāla trees mixed with clarified butter should be used in fumigation (*Śuśruta-saṃhitā*, K. L. Bhishagratna Ed., Chap. L).

Sāleyyaka (*Parmelia pevlata*, Ach.).—It is mentioned in the Apadāna, II. 346. The flowers are plenty and beautiful.

Sālī[12] (*Oryza sativa*, Linn.).—Self-sown paddy[13] (*sayañjāto va sālī*); red paddy (*lohitaka* or *rattasālī*).[14]

Śālmali, same as *Simbalī*.—See Introduction.

Samī.—A tree with huge branches and thick foliage (*Mahābhārata*, Vaṅgavāsī Ed., 4. 5. 13; 4. 40. 3; 4. 41. 8).

It is the silk cotton tree (*Bombax Heptaphyllum*) (*Viṣṇupurāṇa*, VI. I. Wilson's Tr.).

Sāmā.—A medicinal plant.[15]

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[1] *Jātaka* (Cowell), VI. 269; *Apadāna*, I. 17.

[2] *Jātaka*, VI. 269; *Mhvs.*, 30, 47.

[3] Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa*, III. v. 19; *Mahāvastu*, I. 70.

[4] *Dīgha*, I. 42; *DA.*, I, 259; *Visuddhimagga*, 250.

[5] *Majjhima*, I. 488; *Dīgha*, II. 134; *Aṅg.*, I. 202; III. 214; *VvA.*, 176.

[6] *Barhut*, fig. 28; *Apadāna*, II. 346.

[7] *Jātaka* (Cowell), IV. 97.

[8] Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 188.

[9] *Papañcasū*, II. 235.

[10] *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, II. 395.

[11] *Sāratthappakāsinī*, I. 222.

[12] *Dīgha*, I. 105; II. 293; *Vinaya*, IV. 264; *Majjhima*, I. 57; *Aṅg.*, I. 32, 145; III. 49; IV. 108.

[13] *Jātaka*, V. 12.

[14] *Ibid.*, V. 37; *Miln.*, 252.

[15] *Jātaka*, IV. 92.

Sāmāka (Vedic *śyāmāka*) (*Panicum frumentaceum*, Roxb.).—A kind of millet.[1]

Sāsapa (mustard).—Grows round the lake Mucalinda.[2] It is found in the hermitage of Vessantara.

Śātamūli (*Asparagus racemosa*, Willd.).—See Introduction.

Sepaṇṇi (Sk. *Śrīparṇī*, lit. having lucky leaves).—Name of a tree, *Sereyyaka* (*Barleria cristata*).[3] It is also called *Gmelina arborea*.[4] Its fruits are eaten by deer.[5]

Setageru.[6]—It is grouped with Tagara.

Setavarī is a sweet scented flower mentioned in the *Apadāna*, (II. 347), which is found in the hermitage of the sage Upasiva on the Anoma hill, not far from the Himalayas.

Sevāla (Sk. *Śaivāla* or *Śaivala*) (*Blyxa Octandra*, Rich.).[7]—A water plant named Paṇṇaka is often combined with Sevāla. It is a kind of fern.

Siggu[8] (*Hyperanthera moringa*, Vahl), *Moringa pterygosperum*, Gaertn.

Śimbali (*Bombax ceiba* Linn.).—It is called the silk-cotton tree.[9] It grows upon the flat top of a hill,[10] on a high table-land in the heart of a forest,[11] and on the banks of rivers.[12] It bears abundant fruits. There was a forest having *śimbali* trees which were the abodes of young vultures.[13] It is mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* (III. 53. 22) denoting silk-cotton tree (*śimbala*). *Simula* is a Ṛgvedic plant;[14] flowering time—the end of winter; flowers very large, bright red. It is known as *Śālmalī* (*Salmalia Malabarica*) in Sanskrit. Its roots, flowers, and thorns are used in preparing medicines. Its seed is a great medicine for cows when attacked with smallpox.

Siṃsaka—Water plant (*Jātaka*, VI. 536).

Siṃśapā (*Dalbergia sissoo*, Roxb.).—See Introduction.

Sinduvāra (*Vitex Negundo*, Linn.).[15]—The *Rāmāyana* (canto XXVII, Griffith's tr., p. 431) refers to it. Its flowers are beautiful. Aśvaghoṣa mentions *sindhuvāra* bushes growing on the bank of a pond which is full of them (*Buddhacarita*, IV. 49). *Sindhuvanta*

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[1] *Dīgha*, I. 166; *Majjhima*, I. 78; *Aṅg.*, I. 295; II. 206; *Jātaka*, III. 144; *Sutta Nipāta*, 239.

[2] *Jātaka*, VI. 536.

[3] *Jātaka*, III. 253.

[4] *Ibid.*, I. 173, 174; *DhA.* (*Sepaṇṇi*), I. 145.

[5] *Ibid.* (Cowell), I. 57.

[6] *Jātaka*, VI. 535.

[7] *Aṅg.*, III. 187, 232, 235; *Jātaka*, II. 150; III. 520; IV. 71; *Ibid.*, V. 462; *Milinda*, 35.

[8] *Jātaka*, III. 161.

[9] *Ibid.*, I. 203; III. 397; *DhA.*, I. 279.

[10] *Visuddhimagga*, p. 206.

[11] *Jātaka* (Cowell), IV. 175.

[12] *Ibid.*, IV. 268.

[13] *Dham. Commy.*, I. 279.

[14] *Rigveda*, VII. 50, 3.

[15] *VvA.*, 177; *Sinduvārita*, *Jātaka*, VI. 269, 550, 553; IV. 440, 442; *Apadāna*, II. 346.

(*Vitex Negundo*, Linn.), *Nisinda*, a small elegant shrub, flowers all the year round, a medicinal plant.

Śirīsa[1] (*Albizzia Lebbek*).—It is a thorny cool-leaved tree. It is hard and full of pith. When wood-peckers peck at the tree trunks, insects come out.[2]

Śiśu.—See Introduction.

Ślesmātaka or *Ślasmātaka* (*Cordia latifolia* Wall. or *Cordia Myxa* Linn.). It is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Ādikāṇḍa, 14th Sarga; cf. *Mahābhārata*, 3, 134. 28). It is a tree or shrub found in all provinces, whole of warmer parts of India; a pretty large but low tree in most parts of Circars but chiefly in gardens and hedges and near villages in Gujarat, North Kanara, Deccan, Western Ghats, etc. There are two varieties: *Cordia obliqua* and *Cordia wallichii*. When ripe, the fruits are eaten by the local people.

Sobhañjanaka (*Moringa pterygosperma*, Gaertn.).[3]

Soma.—A kind of tree.[4]

Sumana.—Jasmin flower.[5] It is the same as *vazzika* (a kind of Jasmin).

Syandana, (*Ougenia dalbergoides*, Benth.).—See Introduction.

Tagara (*Ervatamia coronaria* Stapt.).—Flowers pure white, delightfully fragrant during night.[6] It is also mentioned as a shrub (*Tabernaemontana coronaria* Br.).[7]

Takkaḷa.[8]—Is a bulbous plant, a tuberose.

Takkola or *Kakkola*.—Plant.[9]

Tāla[10] (*Borassus flabellifer*, Linn.).—The palm tree is very big[11] (80 cubits high). Its fruits are eaten by men.[12] Crows build their nests on palm trees.[13] The *tāla* trees are grouped along with cocoanut and *kusaka* trees.[14] It is called fan palm.

Tālīssaka (*Flacourtia cataphracta* Bestand).—Shrub.[15]

Tila (*Sesamum indicum*, D.C.)[16] or *S. orientale*, Linn.

Tilaka[17] (*Tilvaka*) (*Symplocos racemosa*, Roxb.).—It is mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII. 8. 1. 16) and *Maitrāyanī Saṃhitā* (III. 1. 9). It is used for a sacrificial post as mentioned in the *Ṣadviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* (III. 8). It is the same as *Tiriṭa*.[18] Its flower is like that of the *Bandhujīvaka* tree (*VvA.*, 43). In the *Saundarananda-Kāvya* it is described as having flowers on the head (canto VII, v. 7). Aśvaghoṣa refers to it as being embraced by a mango branch.[1]

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[1] *Vv.*, 84; *VvA.*, 331, 344.

[2] *Jātaka* (Cowell), II. 114; cf. *Vis.*, p. 208.

[3] *Jātaka*, VI. 535; V. 405; III. 161.

[4] *Ibid.*, VI. 530.

[5] *Ibid.*, I. 62; IV, 455; *DhA.*, IV. 112.

[6] *Vin.*, I. 203; *Jātaka*, IV. 286; VI. 100; the shrub VI. 173; *Miln.*, 338.

[7] *Jātaka*, VI. 100.

[8] *Ibid.*, VI. 578.

[9] *Ibid.*, I. 291.

[10] *Majj.*, I. 187; *Jātaka*, I. 202, 273; *Apadāna*, II. 346.

[11] *Jātaka* (Cowell), V. 2.

[12] *Ibid.*, IV. 158.

[13] *Jātaka*, I. 202, 273.

[14] *VvA.*, 162.

[15] *Vin.*, I. 203; *Jātaka*, IV. 286; *Miln.*, 338.

[16] *Vin.*, I. 212; *Aṅg.*, IV. 108.

[17] *Jātaka* (Cowell), IV. 289; *Ibid.* (Cowell), VI. 133.

[18] *Vin.*, I. 306; *Dīgha*, I. 166; *Aṅg.*, I. 295; *Majjhima*, I. 343.

Timba.—It is of golden colour.[2]

Timbaru (*Strychnos potatorum*, or *Diospyros*).[3]—It is the same as *Timbarū saka.*[4]

Timira.—Its flower is sweet scented (*Apadāna*, II. 345).

Tiṇasulika.[5]—If it is a scented grass, then it is either *Andropogon Nardus*, Linn., or *Andropogon squarrosus*, Linn. (*Khaskhas*).

Tinduka[6] (*Diospyros Embryopteris*, Pers.).—This tree is found in a village not far from the Himalayas. It is covered with twigs and branches. Its fruits are sweet and are eaten by men and monkeys.[7] It is *Gāva* in Bengali. Its fruits, flowers and leaves are used as medicines. Its fruit is very useful in curing cuts and bruises. Its ripe fruit purifies blood.

Tipusa.—Is a species of cucumber.[8]

Tulasī (*Ocimum sanctum*, Linn.).—It grows in wilderness. It is a medicinal plant.[9]

Udāra.—See Introduction.

Uddālaka[10]—*Cālitā* (*Dillenia indica*, Linn.).—When in flowers one of the most beautiful trees; flowers very large, delightfully fragrant. It is also used as synonymous with *ślesmātaka*. The *Uddāla* tree[11] is *Cassia Fistula* (also known as *Indīvara* or *Cordya myxa*). It is also called *Paspalum frumentaceum*, Roxb. It is bitter in taste. It cures boils, leprosy, etc. It is poisonous (*Bhāvaprakāśa*). It is a big tree which obstructs wind (*rājarukkha, vātaghātaka*).[12]

Udumbara (*Ficus glomerata*, Roxb.).—It is the fig tree as in *Barhut*, fig. 30.[13] Ripe figs are luscious and sweet like powdered sugar.[14] These fruits which are sweet like honey are eaten by men and parrots.[15] *Udumbara* is not found in the *Ṛgveda*. It is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* (XIX. 31. 1).[16] Its wood was used for the sacrificial post and the sacrificial ladle.[17] The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* refers to the sweetness of its fruit (VII. 15) and to its ripening thrice annually (V. 24). The *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* mentions a forest of fig (*udumbara*) trees (XVI. 6, 4). The *Suttanipāta* refers to the flowers of the fig tree (p. 1).[1] In the *Jātaka* (VI. 529) ripe figs (*pakkā udumbarā*) are as sweet as honey and they are eaten by family members.[2] In another *Jātaka* (VI. 347-348) we read that a young man named Piṅguttara was married to his teacher's daughter named Udumbaradevī. Both unhappy they came to Mithilā. Near the town Piṅguttara they saw a fig (*udumbara*) tree full of fruits (*phalasampannaṃ udumbaraṃ disvā*). He then climbed up and ate some of the figs. The girl also being hungry climbed up and ate. As soon as he saw her on the tree, he came down and put thorns round the tree, so that she might not come down. In the hermitage of Vessantara there was plenty of figs among other fruits.[3] The fig tree is known as *Yajñaḍumur* in Bengal.

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[1] *Buddhacarita*, IV. 46.
[2] *Jātaka*, VI. 530.
[3] *Jātaka*, VI. 336.
[4] *Vin.*, III. 59; *VV.*, 33.
[5] *Apadāna*, I. 16.
[6] *Dīgha*, I. 178; *Jātaka*, V. 99; *Apadāna*, II. 346.
[7] *Jātaka* (Cowell), II. 53; IV. 270; V. 38.
[8] *Jātaka*, V. 37.
[9] *Ibid.*, VI. 536.
[10] *Ibid.* (Cowell), VI. 133.
[11] *Ibid.*, IV. 188.
[12] *VvA.*, 43.
[13] *Dīgha*, II. 4; *Vin.*, IV. 35; *Aṅg.*, IV. 283; *Suttanipāta*, 5; *Dhammapada Commentary*, I. 284; *Khuddakapāṭha Commy.*, 46. 56; *Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā*, p. 213; *Suttanipāta Commy*, 19.
[14] *Jātaka* (Cowell), III. 73.
[15] *Jātaka*, VI. 174; *Ibid.* (Cowell), III. 292-4.
[16] Cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, III. 2. 1. 33; VII. 4. 38.
[17] *Taittirīya Saṃ.*, II. 1. 1. 6; *Ibid.*, V. 4. 7. 3.

There was a big fig tree (*udumbara*) on a sea-beach where a monkey used to live. The monkey had a crocodile as its friend. The wife of the crocodile was desirous of eating the monkey's heart-flesh. This fact was divulged to the monkey by the crocodile while crossing the sea to go to the other side. The monkey was clever enough to find out a means to cheat the crocodile by saying that its heart was left on the fig tree. So it was necessary to go back to the fig tree. To this the crocodile agreed. The monkey went back to the tree and rebuked the crocodile which was thus deceived.[4]

Ummā (*Linum usitatissimum*, Linn.).—Its flower is blue in colour.[5]

Usīra.—The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (Book VI, Chap. I) refers to it (*Andropogon muricatus*, Retz.). It is a kind of grass.

Vaca (*Acorus Calamus*, Linn.).—See Introduction.

Vadara.—See Introduction.

Vakula (*Mimusops Elengi*, Linn.).—Flowering time—hot season; flowers white and fragrant.[6] Its bark does good to gum and its fruit is good for headache. It is generally planted for shade. It is bitter in taste. It kills worms and cures cough. It also improves the biliary system (*Rājanighaṇṭu*, *Varga* 6).

Vassika (*Vassikā* or *Vassikī*).—Jasmin plant, flowers very large (*Jasminum Sambac*). The flower is said to be the most fragrant of all flowers.[7]

Vāsantī.[8]—It existed in the hermitage of Vessantara but it is difficult to be identified.

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[1] Cf. *Suttanipāta Commy.*, p. 19.

[2] *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, IV. 283.

[3] *Jātaka*, VI. 529.

[4] *Mahāvastu*, II. 246.

[5] *Majjhima Nikāya*, II. 13.

[6] *Jātaka*, V. 420; *Apadāna*, I. 16.

[7] *Aṅguttara*, V. 22; *Saṃyutta*, V. 44; *DhA.*, IV. 112.

[8] *Jātaka*, VI. 537.

Vātiṅgaṇa (*Solanum Melongeus*).—Egg-plant.[1]

Veṇu (*Bambusa arundinacea*, Retz.).—The bamboo tree dies after bearing fruit.[2] In the Himalayas there was a bamboo grove (*Veṇuvana*).[3] There was a charming garden, park, or grove at Rājagriha called *Veḷuvana* or *Veṇuvana* surrounded by bamboos. (Cf. *Suttanipāta Commentary*, p. 419). The name may be translated as '*Bamboo grove*' or '*Bamboo Park*'. The fuller name of the site was *Veluvana Kalandakanivāpa*.

Vettalatā (*Calamus Rotang*, Linn.).—Cane creeper.[4]

Vibhītaka (*Terminalia Belerica*).—*Baheḍā*; flowering time—beginning of hot season; flowers of a dirty grey colour (*Apadāna*, II, 346). Its fruits are the commercial Beleric myrobalans. *Haritaka*, *Vibhītaka* and *Āmalaka* form the three commercial myrobalans. They are known as *Triphalā* in Bengal. *Vibhītaka* and *āmalaka* are used as medicines. The bark of *Baheḍā* is good for dropsy. It gives relief to those suffering from chronic cough. The sale of fruits and herbs was forbidden to the Brāhmaṇas (*Manusaṃhitā*, X. 87). This tree is also found in the hermitage of Upasiva built on the Anoma hill, not far from the Himalayas (*Apadāna*, II. 346).

Vījapūraka (*Citrus medica*, Linn.).—See Introduction.

Viruḷha.—Olibane (*Jātaka*, IV. 92).

Yaṣṭimadhu (*Madhulaṭṭhi* or *Laṭṭhimadhu*[5] (*Glycyrrhiza glabra*, Linn.).[6] It is called the liquorice plant. It grows round the Mucalinda Lake. (*Yaṭṭhimadhuka*, cane sweetness, *Mahāvaṃsa*, 32, 46). It is very useful for eye disease.

Yava (*Hordeum Vulgare*, Linn.).—Barley.[7] There is a reference to green barley (*haritaṃ yavaṃ*) in the *Jātaka* (II. 110). According to the *Śuśruta-saṃhitā* a patient will be benefited if his body is rubbed with leaves of *aśvagandhā*, *punarṇavā* and *yava*.[8]

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[1] *Jātaka*, V. 131.

[2] Another Pali form is Veḷu—*Phalaṃ Veḷuṃ va taṃ vadhi* (*Jātaka*, V. 71).

[3] *Jātaka*, V. 38.

[4] *Jātaka*, I. 342; *VvA*., 8, 338.

[5] *Jātaka*, VI. 537.

[6] *B. C. Law Volume*, I. 665.

[7] *Vin*., IV., 264; *Aṅg*., IV., 169.

[8] K. L. Bhishagratna's ed., Chapter XLI, 243.

PROBLEMS OF INDIAN LINGUISTICS *

By BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

What should the phrase 'Indian Linguistics' properly mean? As I see it, 'Indian Linguistics' should mean the Science of Linguistics as it developed in India, and not the comparative and historical study of the languages of India. But I know, I shall find but feeble support for my contention even in this august assembly. So, to remain true to myself, without affronting enlightened public opinion, I have decided to discuss in my address problems concerning the Science of Linguistics as it developed in India, as well as a few general linguistic problems specially affecting some of the important languages of India.

Science is everywhere preceded by mysticism and faith in the supernatural. The Science of Linguistics is no exception to this general rule. At the earliest stage, as Güntert has suggested in his interesting book *Sprache der Götter und Geister*, a belief in the existence of non-human speech-forms, of which human speech is only a degenerate variety, was current among many peoples. Daivic and Āsuric speech-forms have been frequently contrasted in the Vedic literature, and similar contrasting of sacred and profane speech is found also in Iran, Greece and the Germanic countries. Godly speech uttered by human instruments is a common theme in the folklores of many peoples, the instruments, according to Vedic sources, being mostly 'virgins possessed by Gandharvas' (*gandharvagṛhītā kanyā*). The main point of interest in these folklores from the view-point of Linguistics is that even before the birth of scientific thinking mankind had realized that all speech-forms are not of the same order, and that the normal human speech is a sort of *via media* between godly speech on the one hand and demoniac speech on the other, i.e., an ideal speech and the vulgar speech of every-day use. This was an important discovery, albeit made by non-scientific means. For it must not be forgotten that Pāṇini, too, in his Aṣṭādhyāyī could not define his language more accurately. The language depicted by Pāṇini is also a *via media* between *chandas*—the godly speech of pre-scientific folklore—and *bhāṣā*, the vulgar speech, that may stand comparison with the Āsuric speech of old. Not that Pāṇini wanted to banish altogether from his ideal speech-form every vestige of Daivic and Āsuric speech. What he has done is rather to strike a middle course, taking in all that was common to both *chandas* and *bhāṣā* in his days, and pointing out some of those obtrusively Vedic and Bhāṣā forms that had come to stay in spite of their restricted use. Thus we see that the old habit of contrasting godly and demoniac speech did not die even after the birth of scientific Linguistics. Only the setting had been changed. In folklore, normal speech used to be considered as intermediate between godly and demoniac speech; Pāṇini tried to set up as norm a syncretic form in which the sacred *chandas* was blended with vulgar *bhāṣā,* without however losing the consciousness in any instance that the speech-forms he was blending in his grammar were wide apart and really irreconcilable. Hence the artificiality of the Pāṇinean idiom.

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The tradition of a godly idiom side by side with human and demoniac speech-forms was doubtless one of the most potent causes of the birth of linguistic speculations in India at a very early date. Familiar speech-forms are proverbially incapable of awakening the linguistic curiosity of man. Even after the birth of modern Linguistics, European savants at first showed greater zeal in investigating obscure dialects in distant corners of the earth than in the study of the great languages with which they were perfectly familiar, either through birth, or by training. So, it need not be surprising that the common speech of the common man was not considered by the earliest Indian linguisticians to be worthy of scientific interest. In Greece, too, it was the Homeric language that was first of all subjected to scientific investigation. So in India, it was the language of the Vedas—the divine speech-form—that monopolized the attention of the earliest investigators. The presence of godly speech thus proved harmful to the study of the living dialects of the day. Even their existence none cared to frankly admit before the grammarian Patañjali. But it must not be forgotten that without the presence of a speech-form acknowledged as divine, the birth of scientific Linguistics would never have been possible so early in India. For the demoniac speech-form, the only other alternative to divine speech as a contrast to the common human speech-form, was of course taboo.

The language that was earliest subjected to scientific investigation in India was frankly regarded as a divine speech-form. But things divine are above law. Could the study of a language that was admittedly above law initiate an era of scientific Linguistics? Did not Pāṇini himself by his apparently cavalier-like treatment of the Vedic language emphasize precisely that this godly speech is not amenable to the ordinary laws of language? The question so posed may seem unnerving at first sight, but in fact does not affect our present thesis that the study of the sacred texts led directly to the birth and growth of scientific Linguistics in India. Scientific Linguistics, like every other science, consists of an inductive and a deductive part, and of these two the inductive part is by far the more important, comprehending, as it does, practically all the work of finding and arranging the material on which the deductive theory would be based. Now, the finding and arranging of scientific data would be just the same, whether the object of investigation is within or above law. Hence material drawn from Vedic texts is no less amenable to inductive treatment than material drawn from the classical language—even from the orthodox point of view, which regards the language of the Vedas as an emanation, and not as a creation. In fact, till Pāṇini appeared on the scene and gave the growing science of Linguistics a definite deductive turn, it was growing, slowly but surely, as an inductive science. I shall try to indicate here a few steps of that slow progress.

Language in its finished form recognizes only sentences, for sound and sense coincide with each other in no speech-unit shorter than the sentence. The first speech uttered by man consisted, very probably, like that of children, of sentence-words, i.e. words carrying the meaning of whole sentences. With the growth of experience and culture, man learnt to expand his pregnant sentence-words into circumlocutory sentences, in which the ideas intended to be expressed are, as it were, bounded off from the surrounding sea of vague suggestions by a wall of solid sounds. In sentence-words the speaker makes a direct assault on the idea he wants to express and inevitably fails, since idea is by no means convertible into sound. Yet, repeated assaults, though always unsuccessful, end at last in a fixed convention, and a particular sense in course of time comes to be fixed to a particular sound-complex. This much of speculation, I hope, is permissible in dealing with the origin of intelligent speech.

Scientific speculation on speech is, however, a different matter altogether. It begins with the conscious analysis of already developed speech-forms. And the evidence at our disposal clearly shows that in India scientific investigation of speech-forms proceeded not from sentence to sound, but rather from sound to sentence. The grammar of the Ṛgvedic language is rigid and complex, yet there is nothing to show that the authors of the Ṛgvedic hymns were grammatically conscious. There is no trace in the Ṛgveda of a grammatical terminology. But the Ṛgvedic authors were supremely conscious of the verse-forms inherited and cultivated by them, and a metrical terminology too had been built up already in the Ṛgvedic age. Mystical speculations on metres led to the discovery and isolation of the smallest metrical unit, i.e. the syllable (*akṣara*).

The word *akṣara* literally means 'imperishable' or 'irreducible'. We should stop to think why this word was used by the Ṛgvedic authors to signify the syllable. The irreducible speech-element is obviously the sound (*varṇa*) and not the syllable (*akṣara*). But

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that only from the view-point of prose. In verse, specially verse of the Ṛgvedic type, measured by syllables, it is on the other hand the syllable that is the irreducible element. The Ṛgvedic authors were therefore perfectly justified in regarding the syllable as irreducible and naming it as such. How they came to isolate it even before the sound (*varṇa*) and word (*pada*) is also perfectly clear. Nothing was more popular with the Vedic authors than to compare one metre with another, and it is obvious that even a most cursory comparison of a Triṣṭubh-pāda with a Jagatī-pāda would reveal the existence of something that is constant and irreducible. This constant something they aptly called *akṣara*! It was still a long way to the discovery of what is really the irreducible element in speech, namely the *varṇa* 'sound'. The Ṛgvedic authors were perfectly right in so far as the verse-units are concerned, and they had in fact nothing else in view.

The word *varṇa* in the sense of 'sound' occurs for the first time in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa (V. 5. 4). The sacred syllable *om* is described here as consisting of the three *varṇas a, u* and *m*. But why should a word signifying 'colour' be taken to mean 'sound'? No satisfactory explanation of this enigmatic term has yet been found. But I have myself suggested elsewhere a solution of the riddle of this term, and this solution, *faute de mieux*, may be accepted. In the Brāhmaṇas of the Sāmaveda we often come across symbolical expressions like *rathantaravarṇā ṛc*, meaning literally 'verse chanted in the colour of the Rathantara-sāman'. In expressions like this the sound of melody has been clearly likened to colour, and the word *varṇa* is in them clearly changing its meaning from 'colour' to 'sound'. The word signifying 'colour' could not help developing the meaning 'sound' when in constant association with a word meaning 'melody'—this is in short the semasiology of the word *varṇa*.

We have thus indicated the process by which, in all likelihood, the Vedic authors had isolated the syllable, and explained the secondary grammatical meaning of the word *varṇa*. As the syllable is composed of sounds, so is the word (*pada*) composed of syllables. We should therefore now proceed to discuss the discovery of the *pada* as a definite speech-unit, distinct from the *akṣara* on the one hand and the *vākya* on the other. We have seen that the analysis of speech in the earliest period advanced along lines determined more by metrical needs than by considerations of grammar. The correct approach to the problem of the *pada* too, therefore, would be to examine, if this word was originally a metrical term. And we shall find that it too, like *akṣara*, had a metrical connotation before the grammatical. In the earliest sources, *pada* means 'verse-foot', not 'word'. Since verses are generally four-footed, the verse-foot ultimately came to be called *pāda*; but in the older literature the word for 'verse-foot' is uniformly *pada*. The primary meaning of *pada* is of course 'step'; used in connection with verses it naturally developed the meaning 'verse-foot'—since the verse-feet are indeed the steps by which a verse is completed. Only in the third stage, when *pada* came to be used in the sense of 'unit of prose speech', it came to mean 'word', which is really the unit or 'step' in prose. It is clear therefore that also the important grammatical term *pada* had originally a purely metrical connotation. Of the three basic grammatical terms *akṣara*, *pada* and *varṇa*, the first two were thus of direct metrical origin. Only later they were appropriated by grammar.

In the Saṃhitās, linguistic enquiry was confined to the field of metres, and the grammatical discoveries were the accidental result of metrical observations. Proper grammatical enquiry began only in the Brāhmaṇas, though it would be claiming too much for the Brāhmaṇa authors to say that they had ever achieved a balanced judgment of the two elements constituting a word, namely the sound-element and the sense-element. The sense-element in words was given disproportionate importance in the Brāhmaṇas, and the result was fantastic etymologies scattered in those texts, later collected by Yāska in his Nirukta. Grammar and etymology should obviously observe the same principles of enquiry, yet, in India, it was not so. Etymological enquiry here preceded grammatical enquiry proper, and developed principles of its own, to which the etymologists adhered to the last, even after the science of grammar had been fully developed. Śāntanava's Phiṭ-sūtra, referred to already in the Kāśikā, is in principle more an etymological than a grammatical work. The etymologists regarded the meaning as permanent and the sound as merely an outer apparel of the word, while the grammarians tenaciously held the sound-element to be more essential than the sense-part in every word. To the grammarian, meaning only serves to distinguish forms, and the form in his opinion is comparatively stable; but to the etymologist, the form is infinitely mutable, and if there is anything stable in the word, it is its meaning. The two view-points are frankly irreconcilable. It is important to note, however, that in the Brāhmaṇa-texts the etymologists got the better of the grammarians, but the latter attained ascendency and maintained it ever afterwards when the science of grammar was organized and authoritatively promulgated by Pāṇini.

Before Pāṇini the greatest figure in Indian Linguistics was Yāska, who in his Nirukta has left us what may be called the accumulated etymological knowledge of the age of the Brāhmaṇas. In this age, linguistic enquiry in India was confined mainly to the field of etymology. But it was not scientific etymology. The Brāhmaṇa-authors indulged in wild and amazingly naïve speculation on practically everything under the sun. Their etymologies were only a part of this wild speculation, and therefore anything but scientific in spirit. More scientific were the speculations of the Brāhmaṇa-authors in their discussion on the appropriateness of verses addressed to particular deities. If a verse contains a hint as to the deity to whom it should be addressed, it is called *nirukta*; otherwise, *anirukta*. This is the earliest sense in which the terms *nirukta* and *anirukta* have been used in the Brāhmaṇas. And the term *nirukti* rather signified the enquiry regarding the relation between a verse and the deity to whom it was addressed. This primary meaning of the term was later changed into 'etymology'. Causes of this fundamental change in the meaning of this word are not apparent. But one thing is certain, and that is that the looseness of thinking exhibited by the Brāhmaṇa-authors was inherited by the etymologists along with that term. The Brāhmaṇa-authors cared little for the grammatical structure of the words they discussed, being wholly engrossed with their meaning. So in the *Nirukta* too, in conformity with this tradition, the form of a word was regarded as secondary and accidental, and the meaning as its essence.

It would be wrong, however, to form an estimate of the linguistic achievements of the Brāhmaṇa-age only from these etymologies, most of which are admittedly fantastic. It may also be asked, if the Brāhmaṇa-authors themselves took these etymologies seriously. When we look to other fields of linguistic enquiry, we shall find, however, convincing proof of real progress, particularly with regard to verbal forms. Proper terminology is altogether wanting, yet in the Brāhmaṇas verbal forms have been mentioned in a way that shows that their secret had been penetrated already. There is nothing to prove that the verbal root had been actually discovered in the age of the Brāhmaṇas, but short of that practically everything had been already done. A man may not know that there is a thing called root, but if he can say that such dissimilar forms as *jāta*, *januṣā* and *ajījanat* are congeneric, then he will be surely admitted by all as possessing a sound knowledge of the Sanskrit verbal system. This is precisely the position of the Brāhmaṇa-authors. They were fully aware of the interrelation between congeneric verbal forms, however dissimilar they may appear. But the common element in these related forms they had not yet been able to isolate, apparently because that involves postulating forms that generally do not occur at all. There can be no doubt that the Brāhmaṇa-authors already had a full grasp of the pattern of Sanskrit verbal system, but they did not yet dare to indulge in theorizing. It should be mentioned that though in most cases the forms thus grammatically connected with each other are verb-forms, yet there are instances of both verbal and nominal forms being correctly described as congeneric.

This is a remarkable achievement, considering the age of the texts containing these grammatical speculations. And it may well seem prodigious, if we remember further that there is not a single instance of mistake. If these same Brāhmaṇa-texts parade scores of puerile etymologies, the conclusion—hinted at above—becomes irresistible that to the authors themselves they were just speculations and nothing more, perhaps a pastime and diversion like the Brahmodyas. Indeed, etymologies like *kambojāḥ kambalabhojāḥ* or *na kṣatra iti nakṣatraḥ* suggest nothing else.

Complete grasp of the verbal system shown by the Brāhmaṇa-authors proves beyond doubt that they had already learnt to think grammatically. Yet, of a proper grammatical terminology there is hardly any trace in the Brāhmaṇas. The first attempt to supply this deficiency was necessarily awkward. Thus the ponderous term *punarāvṛttam-punarninṛttam* is used in the Brāhmaṇas to indicate repetition or alliteration. Real progress in this direction was made only *after* the Brāhmaṇa-period. The earliest attempts to name and classify scientifically the sounds of the Sanskrit language are to be found in the Aitareya-Āraṇyaka (III. 2. 5) and the Chāndogya-upaniṣad (II. 3–5), where the occlusives (*sparśa*), spirants (*ūsman*) and vowels (*svara*) have been separately mentioned. The liquids (*antasthā* for later *antaḥsthā*) find mention for the first time only in the Ṛkprātiśākhya (I. 9). In the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, the terms for masculine and feminine are still *vṛṣan* and *yoṣā* (IV. 1. 3), but the Śatapatha (X. 5. 1. 2) already knows the later teιms *pum*, *strī* and *napuṃsaka*. Of the three numbers, the Śatapatha mentions *eka-vacana* and *bahuvacana* (XIII. 5. 1. 18), but the *dvivacana* is mentioned for the first time only in the Atharva-prātiśākhya (I. 7). The difference between the three grammatical *persons* was clearly stated for the first time by Yāska (VII. 2), though in extremely awkward language; and the three tenses were quite aptly designated *kariṣyat*, *kurvat*, and *kṛta* already in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa (IV. 5. 1; IV. 5. 3; V. 1. 1).

The great age of Indian Linguistics was the period from Yāska to Pāṇini. After Pāṇini, the progress of Indian Linguistics has been due chiefly to the pull and thrust of time, and rarely to the achievements of individual genius. This is perhaps due to the fact that unlike Pāṇini the later Sanskrit grammarians had to tackle not a living language, but a dead idiom. So linguistic studies in the post-Pāṇinean age, specially in the field of Sanskrit, became more and more philosophical in character, and gradually lost touch with the living and changing idiom of the day. There is nothing to wonder at in this, for a vigorous linguistic discipline can never be built up on the basis of an Esperanto, though it may throw up any number of interesting linguistic problems for solution. I am not suggesting that nothing was done to take note of the changes coming over the language. Everyone of the post-Pāṇinean grammatical works on Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākrit would cry out against any such assertion. What I mean is that, although the language changed fundamentally in vocabulary by absorbing non-Sanskritic elements, yet the tendency persisted to derive everything from Pāṇini's ideal idiom. Sanskrit, from a language like any other, had become the language of the gods, and so words like *mian*, *muluk* and *maulana* had to be—and could be!—explained in terms of Sanskrit grammar. In short, historical sense was altogether lacking. Later in the day, lexicographers tried to supply this deficiency by collecting *deśī* words that were thrusting themselves more and more into literary usage, yet no attempt was made to do for Sanskrit what Hesychius had done for Greek. Hesychius tried to give for each loan-word in Greek the source-language from which it was derived. Thus commenting on the loan-word *mamatrai* in Greek, Hesychius says: 'it signifies Strategoi among the Indians' (*strategoi par' Indois*), and I have not the slightest doubt that Hesychius' *mamatrai* is nothing but Skt. *mahāmātra*—the title, in fact, of the Indian Strategos about the beginning of the Christian era. If we assume further that the word had first become current among the Ionian Greeks, as is, for obvious reasons, almost quite certain, then the syncope of the second syllable in the Greek form would offer no difficulty at all, for the chief characteristic of Ionian is psilosis. Thus Iranian *Hind* became *Ind* in the mouth of the Ionians. In the same way, Skt. *mahāmātra*, in the mouth of the Ionians, had to become *maāmātra*, and then *mamatrai*. The historical vision shown by Hesychius is, however, lacking in our lexicographers, since they were determined to explain every word in terms of Sanskrit grammar. Yet foreign words have been pouring into Sanskrit even from before Sanskrit became definitely characterized as a distinct Indo-Iranian dialect. The name of the god Indra himself, mentioned already in the famous Boghaz-köi inscription, has now turned out to be the thematized form of the HITTITE word *innar*, meaning 'strength'.

It goes without saying, that the borrowing of words is not possible without cultural contact, direct or indirect, with those from whom the words are borrowed. And it is through these borrowed words that language often throws light on the remote past of which history holds no record. To illustrate the point, let us discuss a few Semitic words that have found their way into Sanskrit. The first such word that springs to mind is *asura*. Usually this word is connected with Skt. *asu* 'life', but I suppose none is quite happy about this etymology. From the present-day standpoint of Linguistics, no etymology will be taken seriously unless the phonology of the word concerned is supported all along the line by the history of its meaning. Nobody would today dare to propose etymological equations merely on the basis of forced phonological agreement, as did, with amazing naïveté, even some top-ranking Scandinavian linguisticians. Connection between *asura* and *asu* is, from the modern standpoint, at the most possible but by no means admissible, since it renders no help in elucidating the meanings the word possessed and developed. But if it is only admitted that the word is nothing but the Aryanized form of the name of the city-god of Aššur, a consistent theory about its meaning can be offered without much difficulty. The history of western Asia in the second millennium B.C. as it is now taking shape in the light of the archaeological discoveries made in that region in course of the first quarter of the present century, clearly shows that the Aryans were present and ruling there about 1500 B.C. Under the circumstances, it would be nothing short of a miracle if the Aryans failed to come under the influence of the superior civilization of the Assyrians, since, it is fully established today, the Assyrians—through trade settlements—dominated the whole of western Asia, from Mesopotamia to Cappadocia, even so early as the middle of the third millennium B.C. In fact, Assyrian history today must begin, not with Assyria itself, but with the Assyrian trade-settlements of Cappadocia. Contact with this far-flung Assyrian people was thus inevitable for the Aryan tribes. As a result of contact with the Assyrians, the religion and culture of the Aryans underwent a profound change. The Indo-European religion seems to have contained no magical element. The gods were prayed to simply on the belief that they, when favourably disposed, would confer boons, but there was no idea of compelling the gods to do the bidding of the supplicants by means of rites and phrases endowed with magical potency. The Assyrians, however, were magic-ridden, and they fully believed in the potency of sacrificial rites to compel their gods to interfere in human affairs in the interest of the worshippers. Most probably, the Aryans learnt from the Assyrians this new way of worshipping the gods, and also borrowed from them the name of their city-god Aššur to designate their own chief gods. It was naturally the more progressive elements among the Aryans that had profited most from contact with the Assyrians, and it was surely they in the main who accepted willingly the Assyrian designation for their chief gods. The less progressive elements continued faithful to the older Daiva-gods of Indo-European antiquity, though the new Asura-religion they could not altogether ignore. Thus occurred the Deva-Asura split among the Aryans. The Asura-worshippers predominated in Iran, and the Daiva-worshippers in India. But since magical power is indispensable in the making of a great god, some of the Deva-gods too, particularly Indra, came to be called Asura in India.

I have tried above to present as briefly as possible the supporting historical arguments in defence of etymologically connecting *asura* with 'Assyria'. In dealing with other words of probable Assyro-Babylonian provenance I shall have to be still more brief. The Ṛgvedic word *manā* (a certain weight) has long been connected with Babylonian *manū*, and *niṣka* with Babylonian *nišku*. In the same way may be connected *khāri* with Babylonian *kāru*, *nāga* (tin) with Sumerian *nāggu*, *āra* (metal) with Assyrian *eru*, and *godhūma* with Semitic *ḫanṭim*. I must confess that of these words I feel quite confident only of *godhūma*, for in Iranian *gantuma* we have the indispensable intermediate form, which also suggests the route by which the word travelled to India from the Semitic world. Of the other words I am profoundly distrustful, for in their case we haven't the warrant of history that they were actually borrowed by the Indians from the Semites. There is a striking similarity between Red Indian *potomac* and Greek *potamos*, both meaning 'river', but there can be no question of borrowing here, because history knows of no contact between America and antique Greece. So the similarity between the Sanskrit and the Assyro-Babylonian words mentioned above may be purely accidental. Borrowing can be proved solely on the basis of cultural contact, as in the case of Iran and India, or on the basis of cultural continuity, as in the case of Mycaenean and Akhaian Greece. European archaeologists have fully demonstrated, particularly Ridgeway, that the weights and measures of the Minoan-Mycaenean age continued to be used unchanged also after the Aryan invasion—which means that the culture of pre-Aryan Greece was maintained on the whole even after the Aryan invasion of that country. Cannot our archaeologists decide in the same way whether the Mohenjo-daro civilization continued essentially unchanged even after the Aryan invasion of India? But that is by the way. What I was going to say is that, given the cultural relation between India and the Semitic world as it existed and still exists from the earliest times to the present age, such borrowings should not be surprising at all. The wholly inexplicable word *hrūḍu* occurring in the Atharvaveda (I. 25. 2-3) has been explained by Victor Henri as a proto-Semitic loan-word, namely **harūḍu* (J.A., 1897, pp. 511–516). The legend of the great deluge in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa is perhaps the best-known instance of Semitic influence on Vedic India. The legend was known in India, apparently, long before the age of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, for "the peak on the Himālayas from which the ship slid down,' mentioned in the Atharvaveda (XIX. 39. 8), clearly refers to this flood-legend. The passage is: *yatra nāvaprabhraṃśanaṃ yatra himavataḥ śiraḥ*. Most scholars are agreed today further that the cult of the seven Ādityas is nothing but an Indianized version of the Babylonian cult of seven planets, as Oldenberg insisted. In the Bāveru-Jātaka we have perhaps a direct reference to Babylonia, the Brāhmī script is still admitted to be derived from some Semitic script, and the name Kharoṣṭī is nothing but the Sanskritized form of the Aramaic word *haroŝeth* 'to engrave'. If we add to this India's enormous debt to Semitic culture in astronomy, perhaps dating from the Vedic times, it will, I am sure, no longer seem improbable that the words *manā, niṣka*, etc., were actually borrowed from the Semites.

I shall now discuss the influence of the pre-Aryan languages of India on Indo-Aryan. The first problem that faces us here is the language and civilization of the Mohenjo-daro people. On the whole, enlightened public opinion has come to the conclusion that the Mohenjo-daro civilization should be regarded as pre-Vedic and non-Aryan. Since the Vedic language as we know it cannot be so old as the Mohenjo-daro civilization (*circa* 2500 B.C.), there is no other alternative but to admit that the Mohenjo-daro civilization was pre-Vedic. I repeat, that the Vedic language cannot be so old, because every living language changes, and changes with a speed that can be approximately measured, as in the case of the English language—from Chaucer to Shakespeare, from Shakespeare to Byron, and from Byron to Shaw. The Old Persian inscriptions of the sixth century B.C. give us the earliest picture of a definitely datable Aryan language, and calculating back from this language it is possible to arrive at an approximate date for the language of the Avestan Gāthās, which is admittedly on the same stage of evolution as the language of the Ṛgveda. And the date thus reached hardly takes us beyond 1000 B.C.! Vedic *culture* is certainly older, but certainly not older by 1500 years. So it must be admitted that the Mohenjo-daro civilization was pre-Vedic. But it is another question whether this civilization was Aryan or non-Aryan.

Hitherto in our discussion, we have tried at every step to strengthen the argument from language by suggestive data from cultural history—fully in the belief that this is the only true method of linguistic enquiry. In judging the Mohenjo-daro problem, however, we shall have to do without any assistance from language. The data of cultural history must be our only guide here. But such data do offer us suggestions we are looking for. We know that Paśupati was one of the gods worshipped by the Mohenjo-daro people, and this may seem to show that the Vedic civilization was continuous with the Mohenjo-daro civilization, specially if we remember that under the name Rudra, this god was worshipped by the Ṛgvedic Aryans. But the Ṛgvedic hymns depict the religion and culture of the priestly classes only. In popular religion Rudra's position was altogether different, as we know already from the oldest Brāhmaṇas, which repeatedly caution the sacrificer against inviting Rudra or pronouncing his name. There can be no doubt that Rudra was a god of aversion to the Vedic Aryans, and the reason can only be that he was a god of the hostile aboriginals. The Śatarudrīya was evidently the outcome of fear felt by the Aryans in pronouncing his name, and it is not without significance that the Mīmāṃsists of a much later age permitted even to non-Traivarṇikas the worship of the dreaded god Rudra. This, I think, is proof sufficient that the Vedic Aryans regarded Rudra as an alien god,—which is to say that the Rudra-worshipping Mohenjo-daro people were not Aryans. We must conclude, therefore, that they were the—or one of the—pre-Aryan peoples of India.

The hesitation I felt in formulating the last sentence was not unintentional, for we have abundant proof of the existence of at least two widely-spread speech-families in pre-Aryan India, namely the Austric and the Dravidian. To which of these two—or if to any one of them—the language of the Mohenjo-daro people belonged, cannot be decided with certainty in the present state of our knowledge. The likelihood, however, cannot be denied that the language of Mohenjo-daro should have belonged to one of these two speech-families, and perhaps it is possible to argue that one of these two has a better claim than the other to be regarded as the language of Mohenjo-daro. Dravidian is an isolated language-group in India, without any discoverable affinity with any language outside: I say this downright, in spite of well-known attempts to prove the contrary, for the said attempts are absolutely unscientific and fantastic. But it is otherwise with Austric. Over a great part of south-east Asia the Austric speech in various forms is spoken today, and no part of India is without Austric speech-pockets. Even Burushaskī, a dialect of extreme north-west, shows definite points of similarity with Austric. And yet Austric cannot be regarded as the original language of south-east Asia, for we have in Andamanese, surrounded on all sides by Austric and Dravidian idioms, a language that is neither Austric nor Dravidian—which may be therefore regarded as a descendant of the original language of Austronesia.

It will now be possible, perhaps, to attempt an answer to the question raised above, viz.: which of the two pre-Aryan speech-families of India is older. It seems to me that the answer cannot but be in favour of Dravidian. Dravidian presents the picture of a receding and contracting speech-family, and there is nothing to suggest that it was ever transplanted from elsewhere to the soil in which it now has its roots. Whereas Austric comes as a deluge, fills up the vacant spaces, overflows the land, and then passes out into the islands of the ocean. The Uralic connections of Austric, stressed by Hevesy, cannot be brushed aside as altogether improbable. To all appearance, the Dravidians were the Akhaians of pre-Aryan India, the Austrics its Dorians. It is difficult to imagine them in interchanged rôles. To assume that the Dravidians were the later invaders and the Austrics the earlier settled population of India, is to suggest that the Dravidians suddenly lost their power of locomotion after reaching India, and that the Austrics started on their career of conquest only after sustaining defeat at the hands of the Dravidians!

From these considerations it would certainly seem best to conclude that the Dravidians were the earlier of the two pre-Aryan races of India. And, considering the nature of the Mohenjo-daro civilization with its advanced city-life, which was—and still is to a large extent—unknown among the Austrics, we should further concede, that it is they, and not the Austrics or any other people, who built up the prehistoric Mohenjo-daro civilization of India. This civilization flourished in the west until the advent of the Aryans, but in the east it was destroyed earlier by the Austrics radiating from their original home, supposed to have been situated in Indo-China.

There is a curious thing about the relation between Dravidian and Indo-Aryan. Rarely does the sound-system of one language deeply affect that of another. But Dravidian has apparently influenced the Indo-Aryan sound-system in more ways than one. None of the Indo-European dialects is so poor in spirants as Sanskrit, and linguisticians of an earlier generation were misled by the example of Sanskrit into asserting, even for the original Indo-European, an almost spirantless sound-system. But spirants are far more natural in pronunciation than pure occlusives, since even a very little less or very little more of energy than is just required in pronouncing a pure occlusive converts it into a spirant. All the other Indo-European dialects, including Iranian, possess a sufficient quota of spirants in their sound-systems, but Sanskrit is almost spirantless. This peculiarity of Sanskrit, strangely overlooked even by many modern linguisticians, requires explanation. And the obvious explanation that suggests itself is the influence of Dravidian, of which one of the chief characteristics is admittedly just this poverty of spirants. Dravidian influence should therefore be held responsible not only for the cerebral sounds of Indo-Aryan, but also for its poverty of spirants, unless of course, putting the cart before the horse as of old, we acquiesce in the unwarranted assumption that the consonant system described by Sanskrit grammarians can be accepted, practically without any modification, also for the original Indo-European.

ONOMATOPOEIA IN PĀLI

By MADHUSUDAN MALLIK

Onomatopoeia or sound-imitation played an important rôle in the formative period of most languages. It is difficult to account for their origin, which may be due to the specific ejaculations from joy, bewilderment, hatred, etc. (cf. pooh-pooh theory), to reflex utterances after physical action (cf. ye-he-ho theory), to mysterious coincidence between sense and sound (cf. ding-dong theory), to imitations of certain objects in a certain way (cf. bow-wow theory).

Noiré has emphatically asserted that the origin of all words can be traced to the interjectional cries of primitive men. True that the origin of onomatopoetic words can be traced to imitation of sounds or movements in nature, still they are never more than approximations to nature. Had there been any real correspondence between the sign and the thing symbolized, onomatopoetic words would have been the same in all languages of the world. The flowing sound of a river is indicated in English by 'gurgling', of which the French form is 'glou-glou' and the Bengali expression 'kal-kal'. Neither do the phonetic changes exactly correspond with the natural sound. Despite the fact that onomatopoetic words are less subject to phonetic laws than conventional symbols, yet modifications intervene at times. These are liable to loose entirely their imitative values (cf. vulgar Latin Pīpīo which was changed into pigeon in French).

Reduplication is generally seen to be an accompanying factor, yet it is not the only criterion of a single mode or category of expression varying between plurality, frequency, intensity and the like.

In the embryonic stage of the language onomatopoetic words, interjections, reduplicating symbols were in all likelihood characterized by a multitude number. With the advance of civilization and culture, the dwindling of their number set in and in the modern advanced and analytical stage of civilization, no appreciable rôle is being enacted. What happens is that the mutual relationship is being expressed by an accidental or casual connection.

We are not in a position to obtain an accurate idea of these primitive sounds. Creation in the domain of language is conspicuous by its absence. As far as we can, to the best of our ability, do, is to postulate a phonetic system upon which depended the coinage of a particular word in question. The vocabulary of a child is often assigned as the breeding ground and convenient storehouse of lexicographical creation. The child in spite of its vain skill and ingenuity to coin words succeeds in establishing the fact that the creations are no more than real acquirements. Herein lies the similarity or akinness of the sounds in different languages (cf. English cock-a-doodle-do, French coquerico, Greek kikeriki, Danish kykeliky to English quack-quack, French cancan, Danish raprap). These imperfect representations of natural cries are convenient to a child rather than to utter an altogether new sound.

The Indo-Aryan languages in India are characterized by a large number of onomatopoetic words in their vocabulary. This is probably due to the non-Aryan influence especially the Austric and the Dravidian languages, both of which display a variety of forms. The new Indo-Aryan languages show a remarkable propinquity in this direction. Bengali as a new Indo-Aryan language shows such peculiar formations as have no apparent relation to the sound echoing the sense.

The middle Indo-Aryan languages represented by Pāli and Prakrits came into intimate and close contact with a number of non-Aryan races. As a necessary corollary echo-words and words known as 'deśī' came to be adopted in Pāli.

The peculiar feature of Pāli onomatopoetic words is that they cannot be traced to Sanskrit. They are of local or native origination. Although a complete list of these words has not yet been compiled and systematically studied, yet from stray references in Buddhistic literature we cannot undermine their influence.

Onomatopoetic words fall under various groups, according to the different modes of treatment. They may be classified as follows:—

(1) As objects, (2) As indicating animals supposed to utter them, (3) As Nouns, (4) As Verbs, and (5) As Interjections.

(1) As Objects—*Kakaca*, a saw (probably from the sound of sawing a tree: Skt. Krakaca); *kiṇkiṇika*, a small bell (from the sound particle kini); *dindima*, a musical instrument, a small drum (Skt. diṇḍima, cf. also dundubhi); *dundubhi*, a kettle-drum (cf. duddabha).

(2) As indicating animals supposed to utter them—*Kāka*, a crow (from its very utterance of the sound kā kā, Skt. kāka, a crow); *kākola* or *kākoḷa*, a raven specially in its quality as bird of prey, feeding on carrion (cf. Skt. kākola, a raven); *kikī*, a kind of bird (after the sound of the bird, cf. Skt. kṛka-vāku, a cock); *kukkuṭa*, a hen (cf. Skt. kukkuṭa, Lat. cucurio, Ger. kikeriki); *koka*, a wolf (from a peculiar sound the animal is supposed to make, not identical with koka, a cuckoo); *kokila*, a cuckoo (cf. Skt. koka, a kind of goose, also cuckoo with kokila as its derivative, cf. also Gr. kokkux, Lat. cuculus, Eng. cuckoo, Drav. kyil); *jīvam-jīvaka*, a kind of bird akin to pheasant, distinguished by a peculiar note which it strikes and corresponds, to our surprise, to sounds allied to jīvam-jīva (cf. Jaina phrase jīvañjīveñagacchai, jīvañjiveṇa ciṭṭhai); *susuka*, alligator, also sound made by a young peacock; *hukku*, noise made by

a jackal (cf. Mārāṭhi huki, hukki hukā 'cry of jackal', Beng. hukkā huā, Hindi hukuka 'crying, sobbing').

(3) As Nouns—*kalakala*, a confused noise, the flowing sound of a river (cf. Beng. kal kal); *kolāhala*, uproar, tumult (cf. Beng. kolāhala); *daddara*, a grinding sound (cf. Skt. dardara, Beng. dar-dar); *daddabha*, a thud, indistinct noise (from the falling of a large fruit); *mammana*, stuttering, stammering (cf. Skt. murmura and murmurā, Lat. murmur, cf. also babbhara); *milakkha* (mleccha) a barbarian, foreigner, an outcast, a hillman (probably from the strange sound of a foreigner, a variant milakkhu also occurs); *murmura*, burning chaff, hot ashes, crackling fire (cf. Skt. murmur, lit. rustling, crackling, cf. also Lat. murmur, Eng. murmur, Gr. marmuro 'to rustle', Ohg. murmurōn and murmueōn, Ger. murmeln); *murumura*, grinding sound (from the crackling sound of the teeth when biting bones, sound root √mṛ); *babbhara*, certain brisk sounds (a reduplicated formation of bhara-bhara which is ultimately contracted into babbhara, cf. also sara-sara, Beng. bhaḍ-bhaḍ, Mārāṭhi bhara-bhara); *sassara*, rustling of a snake through the bushes or along the ground (a contracted form of sara-sara); *halā-hala*, a kind of deadly poison, uproar, tumult (cf. Beng. halāhal); *huhuṅka*, uttering huṃ huṃ, i.e. rough sound (generally spoken of a Brahmin proud of his caste, cf. Skt. Om); *surusuru*, Gogerly 'sucking up food', Childers, 'a word imitative of the sound made when curry or rice is eaten hastily'. (In *Sutta-Nipāta* it represents the drinking of milk); *capucapu*, smacking the lips, grunting at stool (cf. Beng. chap-chap); *ghuru-ghuru*, snoring like a pig, a crunching sound in eating raw flesh (cf. murumuru); khala-khala, noisy sound, chattering, translator of Vinaya Texts 'harsh tones' (cf. Skt. khaṭa-khaṭāya 'to spring or issue forth with a noise', Mārāṭhi khaṭkhaṭa 'fuss, bother, altercation, cf. also Beng. khaṭ-khaṭ').

(4) As Verbs—*ciccitāyati*, to hiss (cf. Beng. ciṭ-ciṭ, a syncopated form of ciciṭāyati); taṭataṭāyati, to shake, rattle, make sound like taṭ-taṭ, spoken of a person when enraged or in fury or frenzy, to grind or gnash one's teeth, cf. also ciccitāyati); *biḷibiḷikā*, to tittle-tattle (cf. Beng. biḍ-biḍ); *kinakinayati*, rings (cf. also kinikinayati); *gaggarāyati*, gurgles (from Skt. gargara); *ghurughurāyati*, shores (Skt. ghuraghurāyate); *tintināyati*, groans, sighs; *galagalāyati*, trickles (cf. Beng. gaḍ-gaḍ); *dhamadhamāyati*, roars, hums; *daddabhāyati*, crackles.

(5) As Exclamation—*amma*, child language (Skt. amba, cf. Gr. amma 'mother', Oisl. amma 'granny', Ohg. amma 'mummy', also Lat. amita 'father's sister' and amare 'to love', Fr. amour 'love'); *ahaha*, exclamation of astonishment and excitement (cf. Skt. lalatta, Gr. laleō, Lat. lallo, Eng. lull, Ger. lallen, Agr. hola, cf. also re. its shortened or abbreviated form); *su*, sound of scaring away undesired elements, usually repeated 'su su', hissing of a snake (cf. susuka).

SOME CRITICS OF ĀNANDAVARDHANA'S THEORY OF DHVANI

By K. KRISHNAMOORTHY

At about the beginning of the ninth century A.D., several schools of literary criticism prevailed in Kashmir, and in Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* we see an attempt made for the first time to set forth a theory of poetry assimilating all the essentials found in the various schools, and at the same time presenting a new explanation of all the problems. Already, by the time of Ānandavardhana, a theory of Suggestion regarding literature had been current for some time in literary circles, in however vague a form, and it was being ridiculed by orthodox critics.[1] It was as a spokesman and foremost representative of this new school of thought that Ānandavardhana wrote his *Dhvanyāloka*. Being a typical product of that age of polemics, the *Dhvanyāloka* was written in a highly contentious and argumentative style. Though in one sense, the *Dhvanyāloka* is an eclectic work, it does not go the whole hog with any of the earlier theories. It presupposes the *modus operandi* of *Rasa* taught by Bharata and adopts his very terminology but at the same time it considers *Rasa* only in relation to *Guṇa, Alaṅkāra, Doṣa* and other rhetorical concepts. It implicitly borrows the scheme of *Alaṅkāras* as taught by Bhāmaha and Udbhaṭa, recognizes that they are beautifying elements in poetry, but introduces one condition —that they should be in harmony with *Rasa*. Similarly, the concept of *Guṇas, Rīti, Vṛtti* and *Saṅghaṭanā* are referred to and accepted subject to the condition of assisting *Rasa-dhvani*. The linguistic analysis of grammarians and logicians is adopted, only to be modified so as to suit the uniqueness of poetry. Other schools of thought too come in only for review. Thus, in its very nature, the *Dhvanyāloka* could not satisfy completely the sentiments of any single school of thought or discipline of rhetoric, excepting a section of literary connoisseurs (*Sahṛdayas*).[2] And instead of stopping the controversy about literary theories once and for all time, it gave a fresh impetus for further discussion with a greater zest. Commentators on Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*, like Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, wrote elaborate books[3] to disprove Ānandavardhana's theory that *Rasa* is always suggested; followers of orthodox disciplines of rhetoric like Pratīhārendurāja tried their best to defend their system by bringing *Dhvani* under one or another figure of speech. Logicians like Jayanta Bhaṭṭa and Mahimabhaṭṭa too joined in the attack against the *Dhvani*-theory and the latter wrote a long polemical treatise with the only object of demolishing the doctrine of *Dhvani*. Independent writers like Kuntaka sought to exhibit greater originality than Ānandavardhana by offering new explanations of *Dhvani*. There arose text-book writers like Viśvanātha and Jagannātha who took objection to points of detail in the *Dhvanyāloka*. That even such an implicit follower of Ānandavardhana as Mammaṭa thought it better to avoid the very mention of *Dhvani* in his definition of poetry is clear enough to show how this controversy had done considerable damage to the theory of *Dhvani* as formulated by Ānandavardhana and elaborated by Abhinavagupta. In this article, it is attempted to give an account of the various criticisms levelled against the *Dhvanyāloka*; a consideration of the *Vyaktiviveka* and the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa*, however, is omitted here since these have received exclusive and exhaustive treatment by the present writer elsewhere.[1]

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[1] For an elaboration of this point see my article: 'Germs of the Theory of *Dhvani*', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, 1948.

[2] *Cf.* तेन ब्रूमः सहृदयमनःप्रीतये तत्स्वरूपम् । —*Dhvanyāloka*, I. d.

..सहृदयानामानन्दो मनसि लभतां प्रतिष्ठामिति प्रकाश्यते । —*Vṛtti* thereon.

[3] *Cf.* The *Hṛdayadarpaṇa*.

All that has come down to us of the controversies about *Dhvani* prior to the composition of the *Dhvanyāloka*, is a single stray verse quoted in the *Dhvanyāloka* itself. As to the fact that it comes from the pen of a poet called Manoratha, contemporaneous with Ānandavardhana himself,[2] we have Abhinavagupta's clear testimony in the Locana. The verse abounds in biting sarcasm. It states :

'A poem which contains nothing of a delightful kind, which does not have figures of speech, not even the merit of glittering expression, and which is totally devoid of *vakroktis*—who else but an ignoramus can praise such a poem as possessing *Dhvani*? And one is at a loss to imagine what reply he would give when a sharp-witted man puts him a straight question about the nature of *Dhvani* itself.'[3]

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[1] *Vide*: (i) 'Mahimabhaṭṭa's strictures against the theory of *Dhvani*', *The Half-Yearly Journal of the Mysore University*, March, 1949.

(ii) 'Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's theory of *Rasa* and censure of *Dhvani* as reviewed by Abhinavagupta', *The Journal of the University of Bombay*, September, 1948.

[2] For a discussion about Manoratha, *vide* my article, 'Ānandavardhana, his date and works,' *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIV, Nos. 3-4.

[3] Viz.: यस्मिन्नस्ति न वस्तु किञ्चन मनःप्रह्लादि सालङ्कृति
व्युत्पन्नै रचितं च नैव वचनैर्वक्रोक्तिशून्यं च यत् ।
काव्यं तद् ध्वनिना समन्वितमिति प्रीत्या प्रशंसञ्जडो
नो विद्मोऽभिदधाति किं सुमतिना पृष्टः स्वरूपं ध्वनेः ॥ —*Dhv.*, pp. 26-7.

(The abbreviated form *Dhv.* has been used to stand for the *Dhvanyāloka*. Page references are to the *Kashi Sanskrit Series* Edn., 1940.)

According to Manoratha, then, the idea of *Dhvani* is nothing but nonsense born in the perverted minds of some ignoramuses. He is of opinion that whatever beauty there can be in a poem comes under one or another kind of the well-known figures of speech and that it is idle to claim any new kind of poetic charm for pieces lacking in *alaṅkāras*. The verse gives striking expression to all the contempt and scorn characteristic of a contemporary traditionalist towards a new-fangled notion.

If Manoratha's verse indicates the boundless contempt of a senior contemporary of Ānandavardhana towards the *Dhvani*-theory, Jayantabhaṭṭa's summary criticism of it in his *Nyāyamañjarī* manifests the same attitude shared by a younger contemporary. Jayantabhaṭṭa was a reputed logician of Kashmir who composed an elaborate treatise on the tenets of the *Nyāya* System and who endeavoured to repudiate the views of other systems which did not agree with the tenets of *Nyāya*. He thinks that the newly preached theory of *Dhvani* does not deserve any serious notice at all. He laughs at the very idea that poets, of all persons, should propose solutions to problems concerning words and their import, problems that have eluded satisfactory solution even at the hands of the most learned of logicians.[1] He ridicules Ānandavardhana as a *paṇḍitaṁmanya*, a man who makes a pretence for scholarship which he does not possess. He notes the first two instances of *Vastu-Dhvani* cited by Ānandavardhana,[2] and contents himself with the remark that the fact can be explained more satisfactorily by regarding the so-called suggested meaning as being conveyed by the primary function of words with the assistance of other *pramāṇas*, particularly *anumāna* or inference.[3] Jayantabhaṭṭa's criticism has been hedged in between his refutation of the two views of *Mīmāṁsakas* that

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[1] *Cf.* अथवा नेदृशी चर्चा कविभिः सह शोभते ।
विद्वांसोऽपि विमुह्यन्ति वाक्यार्थगहनेऽध्वनि ॥
Also : तदलमनया गोष्ठ्या विद्वज्जनोचितया चिरं,
परमगहनस्तर्कज्ञानामभूमिरयं नयः ।
—*Nyāyamañjarī*, p. 45 (*Kashi Sanskrit Series*).

[2] एतेन शब्दसामर्थ्यमहिम्ना सोऽपि वारितः ।
यमन्यः पण्डितम्मन्यः प्रपेदे कञ्चन ध्वनिम् ॥
विधेर्निषेधावगतिर्विधिबुद्धिर्निषेधतः ।
'भम धम्मिअ वीसत्थो,' 'मा स्म पान्थ गृहं विश' ॥
—*Nyāyamañjarī*, p. 45 (*Kashi Sanskrit Series*).

[3] मानान्तरपरिच्छेद्यवस्तुरूपोपदेशिनाम् ।
शब्दानामेव सामर्थ्यं तत्र तत्र तथा तथा ॥
—*Loc. cit.*

Arthāpatti (Implication) and *Abhāva* (Non-apprehension) should be regarded as independent *pramāṇas* or instruments of valid knowledge. In Jayantabhaṭṭa's view, *Dhvani* occupies almost the same place as that of *Arthāpatti* and, therefore, the criticisms levelled against the latter, will, in his opinion, apply *mutatis mutandis* in regard to *Dhvani* too. Just as *Arthāpatti* is shown to be nothing more than a kind of inference, *Dhvani* also will be another kind of inference only. He kills two birds with one stone by positing that words with their well-known functions are enough to explain all meanings, got through some *pramāṇa* or another. Variety in meaning is due, in other words, to the variety of the *pramāṇas* that assist in the grasp of the meaning, not to the variety of functions (*vyāpāra*) of a word. It will be seen that Jayanta criticizes the theory of *Dhvani* only incidentally, in the course of his attack on the Bhāṭṭa school of Mīmāṁsā. What interests us, however, is the low opinion he has about the capacity of poets like Ānandavardhana to speak with authority on such abstruse subjects as the import of words.

The next critic of the *Dhvanyāloka* who deserves to be noticed here is Pratīhāra-Indurāja, the writer of a commentary called *Laghu-vṛtti* on Udbhaṭa's *Kāvyālaṅkāra-sārasaṅgraha*. Though but a commentator, and though Udbhaṭa's work contains absolutely no reference to *Dhvani*, Pratīhāra-Indurāja goes off at a tangent to prove at considerable length how the newly-preached theory of *Dhvani* can be explained in terms of the *alaṅkāras* themselves. Whether this Pratīhāra-Indurāja is identical with Bhaṭṭa-Indurāja, the preceptor of Abhinavagupta, is still a mooted point amongst scholars.[1] There is no doubt that they should have lived about the same time; but in view of the fact that Abhinavagupta's preceptor was an adherent of the *Dhvani*-theory whereas Pratīhārendurāja was its opponent, it would appear that the two were distinct persons. Pratīhārendurāja, though he professes to explain Udbhaṭa's text, is seen very often to hold independent views. Thus, while Udbhaṭa regards *Rasa* as only an alaṅkāra,[2] Indurāja emphatically quotes with approval a stanza which states that *Rasa* is the soul of poetry.[3] And in opposition to Udbhaṭa's view that *Guṇas* and *Alaṅkāras* are almost on a par,[4] Indurāja believes with Vāmana that *Guṇas* are more intrinsic to poetry than *Alaṅkāras.*[1] So there is nothing surprising in Indurāja's attempt to bring all the important varieties of *Dhvani* under figures of speech.

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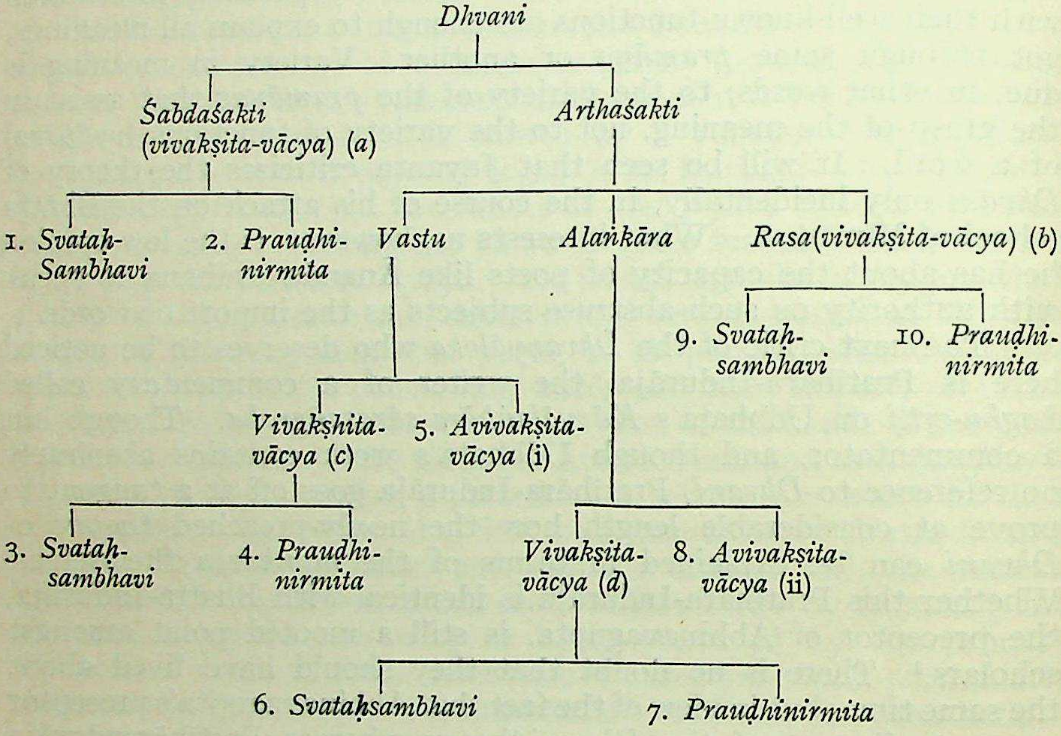
[1] *Cf.* Dr. S. K. De, MM. P. V. Kane and N. D. Banhatti, editor of Udbhaṭa's work in the *Bombay Sanskrit Series*.

[2] For details, see my article: 'Ānandavardhana's treatment of *Alaṅkāra* in relation to *Dhvani*', *Indian Culture*, Vol. XIV, No. 4.

[3] रसाद्यधिष्ठितं काव्यं जीवद्रूपतया यतः ।
कथ्यते तद्रसादीनां काव्यात्मत्वं व्यवस्थितम् ॥
—*Laghuvṛtti* on the *Kāvyālaṅkāra-Saṅgraha* (*Bombay Sanskrit Series*), p. 83.

[4] उद्भटादिभिस्तु गुणालङ्काराणां प्रायशः साम्यमेव सूचितम् ।
—Ruyyaka's *Alaṅkārasarvasva*, p. 7 (K. M. Edn.).

Indurāja alludes to a scheme of classification of *Dhvani*, which is slightly different from Ānandavardhana's but which includes all the varieties mentioned by the latter. Indurāja's scheme consisting of twenty varieties is as follows:—


Dhvani
Śabdaśakti
(vivakṣita-vācya) (a)
Arthaśakti
1. Svataḥ-
Sambhavi
2. Prauḍhi-
nirmita
Vastu
Alaṅkāra
Rasa(vivakṣita-vācya) (b)
9. Svataḥ-
sambhavi
10. Prauḍhi-
nirmita
Vivakṣhita-
vācya (c)
5. Avivakṣita-
vācya (i)
3. Svataḥ-
sambhavi
4. Prauḍhi-
nirmita
Vivakṣita-
vācya (d)
8. Avivakṣita-
vācya (ii)
6. Svataḥsambhavi
7. Prauḍhinirmita

These ten varieties are further said to be two-fold, i.e. in *pada* and *vākya* and hence the total number is twenty. The four broad varieties of *vivakṣita-vācya*, (marked (*a*), (*b*), (*c*) and (*d*) in the above table) are said to come under the figure of speech *Paryāyokta*. The two main varieties of *avivakṣita-vācya* (marked (i) and (ii) in the table) are brought under the figure *aprastuta-praśaṁsā.*[2] Thus taking the very instances of *Dhvani* cited by Ānandavardhana,[3] Indurāja remarks that they are subsumed under one of these two *alaṅkāras*, or some other *alaṅkāra* like *Rasavad*, *Preyas*, *Ūrjasvin*, *Udātta*, *Nidarśanā* and *Śleṣa*. What strikes us most while reading Indurāja is the fact that he *accepts* the principle of *Dhvani* and even its divisions while trying to point out that the beauty of the instances of *Dhvani* is due to the presence of one *alaṅkāra* or another. It is indeed a very strange position that Indurāja has taken up. Very often he indulges in what look like self-contradictions. He believes that *Rasa* is the soul of poetry, its body being *śabda* and *artha*. He also knows that *Rasa*, being the soul, is *alaṅkārya* (what is ornamented) and not an *alaṅkara* (an ornament).[1] Yet he has no hesitation in regarding *Rasavad* as an *alaṅkāra*. His attitude towards *Dhvani* also is analogous to his uncertain attitude towards *Rasa*. Indurāja is concerned more with showing that Udbhaṭa's work is not open to the charge of omission, than with disproving the theory of *Dhvani* as explained by Ānandavardhana. Thus Pratihara Indurāja's remarks have for us only a historical importance. No wonder he found no followers in subsequent writers.

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[1] *Laghuvṛtti*, p. 82.

[2] अतश्च पर्यायोक्ताप्रस्तुतप्रशंसयोरेव यथाक्रमं विवक्षिताविवक्षितवाच्ययोः सर्वध्वनिभेदसामान्यभूतयोर्ध्वनिभेदयोरन्तर्गतिर्वाच्या । —*Op. cit.*, p. 91.

[3] *Cf. Dhv.*, p. 225, pp. 167-8, p. 261, p. 137, p. 246, p. 175 with *Laghuvṛtti*, pp. 85-92.

To the same period also belongs the *Daśarūpaka*, a work on Dramaturgy by Dhanañjaya. Dhanika, who was not much separated from Dhanañjaya in point of time, has written a learned commentary called *Avaloka* on the *Daśarūpaka*. He also seems to have written an independent treatise on poetry called *Kāvya-nirṇaya*, from which he frequently quotes. Though expressly a work on dramaturgy, the *Daśarūpaka* touches upon the problem of *Rasa* which is common to both drama and poetry. Dhanañjaya, in his exposition of *Rasa* follows Bharata in the main and his position that *Rasa* is aesthetic pleasure enjoyed only by the spectator and that it cannot be said to exist in the hero or the actor closely resembles the view of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka.[2] He also follows Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka in holding that the *vibhāvas*, etc., shed their individual associations and get universalized in literature.[3] Only Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's expression, *Bhoga*, is replaced by the word *svāda* in Dhanañjaya's explanation of the nature of *Rasa*.[4] Dhanañjaya thus may be said to be a follower of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka in his interpretation of Bharata. But like Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Dhanañjaya does not disprove Ānandavardhana's theory. Dhanika, however, tries to supply this omission on the part of Dhanañjaya. At considerable length he sums up the position of Ānandavardhana and then refutes it. Dhanika states clearly that the relation of poetry to *Rasa* is one of *bhāvya-bhāvaka-bhāva* and not *vyaṅgya-vyañjaka-bhāva*.[5] He works out the implications of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's remarks. *Vyañjanā* is said to be a supernumerary *vyāpāra* since the *sthāyibhāvas* in a poem are not suggested but only signified. Dhanika is of opinion that *Tātparya* or purport which plays a part in ordinary statements, also plays a similar part in statements of poetry. Following Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Dhanika tries to show how the *Mimāṁsā* concept of *Bhāvanā* can be made to apply to literature also. In every sentence, the predicate is the most important element as conveying the main intention of the speaker. The verb may be expressed in a sentence (as in *gāṁ abhyāja*) or it may be left to be understood by the speaker (as in *dvāraṁ dvāraṁ*). Even in such instances as the latter where the verb is unexpressed, the meaning is understood because of the *tātparya-śakti* or purport. In the same way the main thing (*Kārya*) to be communicated in a poetic statement is aesthetic pleasure (*svānanda*). And pleasure we know, can be communicated only through the medium of *Ratyādis*. These *Ratyādis* may be expressed in so many words (as in *Prītyai navoḍhā priyā*) or they may be left unexpressed. Even when they are left unexpressed, the expressed words will be sufficient to convey them through *Tātparya-śakti*. Just as the final drift (*vākyārtha*) of every sentence (vedic or non-vedic) is *Kriyā* or predication, whether expressed explicitly or not, so also the final drift (*vākyārtha*) of every poetic utterance is *Ratyādis* as heightened by *vibhāvas*, etc. (i.e. *Rasa*). And in view of the purpose of poetry, the *vibhāvas*, etc., may be looked upon as corresponding to *padārthas* (or meanings of individual words). In other words, Dhanika thinks that corresponding to *Tātparya-śakti* in all sentences (which is different from *śabda-vyāpāras* like *Abhidhā* and *Lakṣaṇā*), there is *Bhāvakatva* in poetic utterances; but there is no independent *śabda-vyāpāra* such as *vyañjanā*. He feels that this explanation will also show why only *sahṛdayas* can enjoy poetry and why *Abhidhā* and *Lakṣaṇā* also enter into relationship with poetry. Since *Bhāvakatva* is an essential element in poetry, only *Sahṛdayas* who can recognize it can enjoy *Rasa*. And since *Rasa* (which is *Bhāvya*) corresponds to *vākyārtha* or *Tātparya*, it can be understood only through the medium of *padārthas* (which are either primary or secondary). Dhanika's explanation, then, can be summed up as follows:—

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[1] *Cf. Laghuvṛtti*, p. 83.

[2] *Cf.* The *Daśarūpaka* (published by the Gujerati Printing Press, Bombay), IV. 37–39, 42.

[3] ता एव च परित्यक्तविशेषा रसहेतवः । —*Ibid.*, IV. 41.

[4] *Cf.*, *Ibid.*, IV. 43–45.

[5] अतो न रसादीनां काव्येन सह व्यङ्ग्यव्यञ्जकभावः । किं तर्हि ? भाव्यभावकसम्बन्धः । काव्यं हि भावकम् । भाव्या रसादयः । ते हि स्वतोऽभवन्त एव....काव्येन भाव्यन्ते ।

—The *Daśarūpakāvaloka*, p. 158.

Ordinary sentences	*Abhidha* or *Lakṣaṇā*	*Padārtha*	*Tātparya*	*Vākyārtha*
‖	‖	‖	‖	‖
Poetic utterances	*Abhidhā* or *Lakṣaṇā*	*Ratyādi*	*Bhāvakatva*	*Rasa*

Whereas Ānandavardhana thinks that in a sentence the scope of each *vyāpāra*, *Abhidhā*, *Lakṣaṇā* and *Tātparya* ceases as soon as their meanings are signified, Dhanika holds that their scope does not cease. In other words, through *Tātparya, Abhidhā* or *Lakṣaṇā* itself functions till the *vākyārtha* is understood. Dhanika says that there is nothing which can restrict the unlimited scope of *Tātparya.* Thus in the instance *Bhrama Dhārmika,* etc.,[1] Ānandavardhana thinks that *Abhidhā* ceases as soon as the meaning of *Vidhi* (i.e. 'freely do wander') is denoted and it is powerless to denote the meaning of *Niṣedha* (i.e. 'do not venture to come'). But Dhanika says that since the intention (*vivakṣā* or *tātparya*) of the speaker is *niṣedha, abhidhā* itself is powerful enough to denote that meaning too.[2]

Thus it will be seen that Dhanika was an implicit follower of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka who tried to demonstrate the needlessness of accepting *vyañjanā* as a third *vyāpāra.* He, too, asserts categorically the all-important nature of *Rasa* in poetry and takes objection only to its explanation in terms of *Dhvani.* Ingenious as his explanation of *Tātparya* was, still it could not enlist the support of any great writer in the history of Sanskrit poetics. We find echoes of this view, however, in the voluminous work *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* of Bhoja,[3] in Śāradātanaya's *Bhāva-prakāśa*[4] and in Kumārasvāmin's *Ratnāpaṇa,* a commentary on the *Pratāparudra-Yaśobhūṣaṇa.*[5]

Next we may pass on to Kuntaka, the author of the *Vakroktijīvita.* Kuntaka's place is unique in the history of Sanskrit Poetics. Perhaps a younger contemporary of Abhinavagupta, Kuntaka knew the theory of *Dhvani* and was not entirely dissatisfied with it. Endowed as he was with a refined taste for poetry and a sound sense of values, he found that Ānandavardhana's analysis of *Dhvani,* as well as elaboration of *Rasa-aucitya* was perfectly justified. But he was not prepared to go the whole hog with Ānandavardhana when it came to a summary rejection of all *alaṅkāras,* so ably expounded by the ancients, as of little or no importance. He could not bring himself to say, as Ānandavardhana had said, that all the ancient writers on Alaṅkāra had entirely missed the truth about poetry. Kuntaka knew, at the same time, that the restricted application of particular figures, or *Guṇas* or *Rītis* could never do justice to all the manifold instances of poetry. He therefore wanted to demonstrate a new universal principle of poetry capable of the widest application. According to Kuntaka, *Dhvani* in itself could not be an adequate explanation of poetry since it invariably had to take the assistance of the other elements. Taking his cue from Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, who had referred to the wide principle of *Vakrokti* or *Atiśayokti* as underlying all figures of speech, Kuntaka tried to give it even a wider significance by bringing under its fold even the principles of *Dhvani* and *Rasa-aucitya*. He is not a slavish follower of either the ancient *alaṅkāra*-school or the new *Dhvani*-school; at the same time he is also not an unsparing critic of either school. Kuntaka, therefore, may be regarded as an eclectic writer who incorporates into his work the merits of both the schools. But whereas his criticism of the ancients is more pointed and frequent,[1] it may be said that he hardly criticizes the *Dhvani*-theory and he is second to none in his admiration for Ānandavardhana since he always quotes from the latter with approval.[2] Kuntaka brought to bear on his study, a taste for poetry and a gift of sharing his delight with the readers which is indeed unrivalled in the range of Sanskrit writers. His insight into literature is surprisingly keen and he has the very rare capacity of analyzing things and, after a searching examination of every element, laying his finger precisely on the points which give rise to pleasure. Kuntaka's eclecticism is very well instanced in his description of the best road to poetry (the *Sukumāramārga*). But at the same time it reads more like a commentary on the *Dhvani*-theory rather than a criticism of it:—

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[1] See *Dhv.,* p. 52.

[2] See *Daśarūpakāvaloka,* pp. 149–159.

[3] *Cf.* Dr. V. Raghavan, *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa,* Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 170.

[4] अतो ध्वन्याख्यतात्पर्यगम्यमानत्वतः स्वतः ।
काव्ये रसालङ्क्रियादिः वाक्यार्थो भवति स्फुटम् ॥
—p. 150 (*Gaekwar Oriental Series*).

[5] *Cf.* The *Ratnāpaṇa,* pp. 32-33 (*Bālamanoramā Sanskrit Series*).

'The high road of poetry along which have trodden the greatest of poets is one where words and meanings acquire ever new shades as a result of the fresh genius of the poet; which is embellished but little by figures and where excellences are not strained; where the skill and effort of the poet are made invisible by the abundance of feelings and natural descriptions which brings aesthetic delight to the minds of men of taste; where the identity of parts is lost in the enjoyment of the whole; which is comparable only to the ingenious creation of Brahman in point of variety and beauty, and where, whatever the poetic effect, everything is the result of the poet's genius.'[3]

Here Kuntaka is almost summarizing Ānandavardhana's position. Kuntaka's *Vakrokti-jīvita* represents not so much a new theory of *kāvya* but an attempt at bringing all the specific conceptions of *Alaṅkāra*, *Guṇa*, *Rīti*, *Rasa* and *Dhvani* under a more general principle. *Vakrokti* is this general principle and according to Kuntaka, it is the essence of poetry. By *vakrokti* he understands the peculiarity capable of producing extraordinary charm. *Vakrokti* is that special activity of the poet (*Kavi-vyāpāra*) which deviates from the ordinary mode of linguistic usage and as a result of which both sounds and senses are invested with unique beauty so as to give aesthetic delight to the *sahṛdayas*. Thus in poetry, from the standpoint of the poet, it is *vakra-vyāpāra* which matters most; from the standpoint of the reader it is *vakratā* or *vaicitrya* (or *vicchitti* or *camatkāra* or *Parispanda*) that is significant. Beauty in poetry is due to the poet's extraordinary function. Having thus stated his position in general terms Kuntaka proceeds to analyze the various types of *Vakrokti* or *ukti-vaicitrya*. He distinguishes six varieties of *vakratā* in *kavi-vyāpāra*:—(1) *Varṇa-vinyāsa*, (2) *padapūrvārdha*, (3) *Pratyaya*, (4) *Vākya*, (5) *Prakaraṇa* and (6) *Prabandha*.[1] All *alaṅkaras* are brought under the first or the 4th variety, viz., *vākya-vakratā*. *Mādhurya*, *ojas*, etc., are said to be *Guṇas* of *vakratā* or *vaicitrya* contributing to particular *Mārgas* or styles. It will be seen that the other four varieties of *vakratā* as also some varieties of *vākya-vakratā* do not relate either to *Alaṇkāras* or *Guṇas* or *Rītis*. They all include only the various aspects of *Dhvani*. *Dhvani* in general is identified with *Vaicitrya* itself.[2] The major classification of *Dhvani* into three varieties viz., *Vastu*, *Alaṅkāra* and *Rasa* is implicitly accepted by Kuntaka.[3] Even *śabdaśakti-mūla-dhvani*, a variety based on a different classification, is explicitly brought under *paryāya-vakratā*, a sub-class of *pada-pūrvārdha-vakratā*,[4] and the very instances cited by Ānandavardhana are quoted.[5] Similarly *arthāntara-saṅkramita-vācya-dhvani* is brought under *Rūḍhi-vakratā*, another sub-class of *pada-pūrvārdha-vakratā*.[6] *Rasa* is said to be at the root of all *Vakrokti* and its particular manifestation in relation to *pada*, *vākya*, *prakaraṇa* and *prabandha*, etc., is considered under either the sub-classes of *pada-pūrvārdha-vakratā* such as *viśeṣana-vakratā*, *saṁvṛti-vakratā*, *vṛtti-vakratā* and *bhāva-vakratā* or under independent major varieties of *vakratā* such as *prakaraṇa-vakratā*,

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[1] *Cf.*, pp. 115, 124, 129, 216, etc., *Vakroktijīvita* (2nd Edn.).
[2] *Cf.*, pp. 133, 75-76, 42–44, 221, etc., *ibid.*
[3] *Vakroktijīvita*, I. 25–29.

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[1] *Vakroktijīvita*, I. 18–21.

[2] *Cf.* प्रतीयमानता यत्र वाक्यार्थस्य निबध्यते ।
वाच्यवाचकवृत्तिभ्यां व्यतिरिक्तस्य कस्यचित् ॥ —*Vakroktijīvita*, I. 40.

Also: ‘प्रतीयमानं पुनः काव्यपरमार्थज्ञानामेवानुभवगोचरतां प्रतिपद्यते । —*Ibid.*, p. 56.

Cf. Ānandavardhana's remark:—प्रतीयमानं पुनरन्यदेव, etc., *Dhv.*, I. 4.

[3] *Cf.* pp. 134, 187, 207, etc. For details, *vide* Dr. S. K. De's *Introduction to the Vakroktijīvita*, p. xiv.

[4] See p. 95, *op. cit.*

[5] Viz. कुसुमसमययुगमुपसंहरन्नुत्फुल्लमल्लिकाधवलाट्टहासो व्यजृम्भत ग्रीष्माभिधानो महाकालः and वृत्तेऽस्मिन्महाप्रलये धरणीधारणायाधुना त्वं शेषः—*Vide Dhvanyāloka*, p. 288 ff.

[6] See p. 88. Also Dr. De's *Introduction*, p. xliv.

vākya-vakratā and *prabandha-vakratā*.[1] And in the third chapter Kuntaka illustrates *alaṅkāradhvani* under *vākya-vakratā*. Finally, Ānandavardhana's *atyanta-tiraskṛta-vācya-dhvani* (or *lakṣaṇā-mūla-dhvani*) is brought under *upacāra-vakratā*, a sub-class of *pada-pūrvārdha-vakratā*.

Kuntaka is also of opinion that *Rasas* can never be deemed as *alaṅkāras* in their restricted sense but only as *alaṅkārya*. Hence he criticizes the definitions of *Rasavad-alaṅkāra*, given by Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Udbhaṭa.[2] But Kuntaka also uses the word *alaṅkāra* with a very wide connotation, as synonymous with *Vakrokti* itself.[3] It is in this wide sense only that *Rasa* might be regarded as *alaṅkāra*.

All these facts prove that Kuntaka was fully alive to the importance of *Rasa*[4] and the doctrine of *Dhvani* as preached by Ānandavardhana and that he was more opposed to the narrow view of *alaṅkāras* held by the ancient writers than to the main principles of the *Dhvani* theory. It is only the expression *Vakrokti* which he borrows from the ancients in its general sense; and even then, he invests it with more significance than the ancients had done. Kuntaka's idea of *alaṅkāra* is poles apart from the narrow idea of the ancients. Such being the case, the following statement of Dr. De will have to be regarded as inaccurate. 'Thus in the figure *Rasavat*, which was recognized by Old Poetics (Bhāmaha, iii. 6; Daṇḍin, ii. 280 f.) and which helped to smuggle in, as it were, the idea of *rasa* into their systems, the moods and feelings are roused not for their own sake but only to adorn the expressed thought. *Kuntaka substantially*

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[1] *Cf.* p. 105 ff. and p. 132.

वाग्वल्ल्याः पदपल्लवास्पदतया या वक्रतोद्भासिनी
विच्छित्तिः सरसत्वसम्पदुचिता काप्युज्ज्वला जृम्भते ।

तामालोच्य विदग्धषट्पदगणैर्वाक्यप्रसूनाश्रयं
स्फारामोदमनोहरं मधु नवोत्कण्ठाकुलं पीयताम् ॥

Com.: कीदृशी विच्छित्तिः ?—सरसत्वसम्पदुचिता = रसवत्त्वातिशयोपपन्ना ।—(*Ibid.*, p. 133.) *Cf.* also *Kārikās*, 4–21, Ch. IV and the *antura-śloka* on IV. 4., viz.,

निरन्तररसोद्गारगर्भसन्दर्भनिर्भराः ।
गिरः कवीनां जीवन्ति न कथामात्रमाश्रिताः ॥

[2] *Cf. Vakroktijīvita*, III. 10 and *Vṛtti* thereon (pp. 156 ff.).

[3] उभावेतौ (= शब्दार्थौ) अलङ्कार्यौ तयोः पुनरलङ्कृतिः ।
वक्रोक्तिरेव वैदग्ध्यभङ्गीभणितिरुच्यते ॥ —*Vakroktijīvita*, I. 10.

[4] *Cf.* मुख्यमक्लिष्टरत्यादिपरिपोषमनोहरम् ।
स्वजात्युचितहेवाकसमुल्लेखोज्ज्वलं परम् ॥
रसोद्दीपनसामर्थ्यविनिबन्धनबन्धुरम् ।
चेतनानाममुख्यानां जडानां चापि भूयसा ॥ —*Ibid.*, III. 6-7.

follows this tradition although in the meantime the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana had already worked out the importance of Rasa *and indicated its position as an essential element of poetry.*[1] (Italics ours.) Kuntaka does not follow the ancient tradition; he follows Ānandavardhana's tradition in the main in spite of minor differences.

But we are concerned here more about Kuntaka's attitude towards *Dhvani*. Here again Kuntaka's position has been frequently misrepresented. Dr. Harichand Sastri states[2] that the system of *vakrokti*, as propounded by Kuntaka, is also known as the system of *Bhakti*. Dr. S. K. De who thinks this statement to be inaccurate, himself writes 'The *Vakrokti-jīvita-kāra*, therefore, may be classed (together with Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Udbhaṭa, and Vāmana) among those who hold (according to the classification of the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana) that *Dhvani* or suggestion is *Bhākta*; or in other words, among those who maintain that the suggested sense may be reached by the process of Indication or Transference (*Lakṣaṇā*) . . . Thus we see that the doctrine of *Vakrokti* (with relation to the theory of *Dhvani*), as set forth by Kuntaka, is not synonymous with but is only a variety of *Bhakti-vāda*, which is alluded to by the *Dhvanikāra* in the first verse of his work, but which takes several forms, as Abhinavagupta points out, according as the *tādātmya* or *tādrūpya*, *lakṣaṇā* or *upalakṣaṇa*. . . . Indeed, Kuntaka belongs to that group of authors, who, having flourished after Ānandavardhana's time do not deny the concept of *Dhvani*, but try to explain it in terms of already recognized ideas.'[1]

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[1] *Introduction to the Vakroktijīvita*, pp. xxvi–xxvii (1st Edn.).

Dr. De has revised his statement in the second edition as follows: 'Kuntaka substantially follows this tradition, but as in the meantime the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana had already worked out the importance of *Rasa* and indicated its position as an essential element in poetry, he had to assign to *rasa* a definite place in his system, and could no longer regard the rasavat etc. as convenient figures of speech in which the rasas could be included.' (p. xxxvii) Even in this modified form, the criticism stands that Kuntaka *does not* substantially follow the tradition of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. Again, it is not wholly true that it was because of Ānandavardhana's influence that Kuntaka was forced to deviate from the earlier tradition and give greater recognition to the importance of *rasas* in poetry. For, in that case, he would never have set aside so nonchalantly Ānandavardhana's own dictum, viz.,

प्रधानेऽन्यत्र वाक्यार्थे यत्राङ्गं तु रसादयः।
काव्ये तस्मिन्नलङ्कारो रसादिरिति मे मतिः॥

—(*Dhvanyāloka*, II. 5, quoted and refuted at length in the *Vakroktijīvita*, p. 163 ff.), a fact which is noted by Dr. De himself. [*Vide* '. . . nor could we regard them with Ānandavardhana as cases of *guṇibhūta-vyaṅga* in which the suggested sense (here *rasa*) is subordinated to the expressed poetic figure', p. xxxviii] The real position seems to be that Kuntaka wanted to go a step farther than Ānandavardhana himself in assigning a proper place to *Rasa* in poetry. He must have felt that *Rasas* are always primary, never secondary to aught else. His idea of *Rasavad-alaṅkāra* is quite novel in so far as the well-known figures like *Upamā* and *Rūpaka* acquire that status when they are associated with *Rasas* that are primarily delineated in a poem.

(*Cf.* रसेन वर्तते तुल्यं रसवत्त्वविधानतः।
योऽलङ्कारः स रसवत् तद्विदाह्लादनिर्मितेः॥

Com.: तमेव रसवदलङ्कारं लक्षयति—रसेनेत्यादि। 'योऽलङ्कारः स रसवत्' इत्यन्वयः। यः किल एवंस्वरूपो रूपकादिः रसवदभिधीयते। किं स्वभावेन—रसेन वर्तते तुल्यम्। रसेन शृङ्गारादिना तुल्यं वर्तते, यथा ब्राह्मणवत् क्षत्रियस्तथैव। स रसवदलङ्कारः ....*op. cit.*, pp. 175 ff.). This view comes nearer the views of Abhinavagupta and Viśvanātha who are acknowledged followers of the *Dhvani* theory, but who at the same time believe in the unrivalled supremacy of *Rasa* in poetry.

[2] *Kālidasa et l'Art poetique de l'Inde*, pp. 96-7.

This long quotation from De contains many mis-statements. Firstly, as has been already pointed out, it is wrong to hold that Kuntaka is on a par with Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and others regarding his attitude towards *Dhvani*. Secondly, it is equally wrong to hold that Kuntaka subscribes to the *Bhākta-vāda* in whatever form. Not only is *Vakrokti* not synonymous with *Bhakti* (as Dr. Harichand thinks), it is also not even a variety of *Bhakti*. In *Upacāra-vakratā*, no doubt we have the idea of *Bhakti* but it is only one of the innumerable sub-varieties of *Vakratā*, not the whole of it. Even so, if Kuntaka had brought all the varieties of *Dhvani* under *Upacāra-Vakratā*, the statement that Kuntaka is a *Bhākta-vādin* would have been valid. But as we have seen, it is only one variety which Ānandavardhana himself is prepared to concede as *Lakṣaṇā-mūla*, that Kuntaka brings under *Upacāra-vakratā*. Supposing Kuntaka had refused to accept any other variety of *Dhvani* except this *Lakṣaṇā-mūla* variety, even then the statement that Kuntaka is a *Bhākta-vādin* would have been valid. But as we have shown, Kuntaka admits all the varieties of *Dhvani* under one or another class of *Vakratā*. Dr. De refers to the several forms which *Bhākta-vāda* may assume according to Abhinavagupta. It is evident that Kuntaka's concept of *Vakrokti* can come under none of those forms. It has already been shown that Kuntaka's *Bhakti* is not identical with Ānandavardhana's *Dhvani* (so no *tādātmya*); it is not even the differentiating property of all varieties of *Dhvani* (hence no *lakṣaṇā*); *upalakṣaṇa* or occasional mark it can be in some instances, and this is a point conceded by Ānandavardhana himself. But since in all instances it cannot be an *upalakṣaṇa*, this form of *Bhāktavāda* also will not apply to Kuntaka's view of *Vakrokti* and *Dhvani*. In support of his statement Dr. De writes 'The word *bhakti* or *bhākta*, as explained by Abhinavagupta (p. 9), is almost synonymous with *lākṣaṇika*, and is therefore a very comprehensive term to indicate generally the system of all writers who regard *Dhvani* as a secondary element (*bhākta* or *gauṇa*) in poetry. Kuntaka, therefore, in maintaining the primary importance of *Vakrokti* and regarding *Dhvani* as a secondary element included therein, certainly belongs to this school; but the same remark applies also to Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa, Daṇḍin and Vāmana of older Poetics who apparently include all ideas of *Dhvani* in particular poetic figures like *Paryāyokta*, etc.' [1] Dr. De has completely misunderstood Abhinavagupta. It is true that '*Bhakti* or *Lakṣaṇā* is a very comprehensive term, to indicate the systems of all writers who apparently regard *Dhvani* as a secondary element; but the question is about the precise meaning of 'secondary'. According to Abhinavagupta, *Bhākta-vāda* is that which thinks that *Dhvani* is 'secondary' or *lākṣaṇika*, not primary or *Abhidheya*, nor *vyaṅgya* or suggested. Abhinavagupta considers Vāmana to be a *Bhākta-vādin* because he refers to *Lakṣaṇā* as a function of words in his *sūtra* '*sādṛśyāllakṣaṇā Vakroktiḥ*'; Similarly Udbhaṭa also is said to be a *Bhāktavādin* because he recognized *Guṇa-vṛtti* as an independent function of words in his *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa*. Abhinavagupta does not call either Bhāmaha or Daṇḍin a *Bhākta-vādin* since they do not explicitly refer to *Lakṣaṇā* or *Bhakti*. Dr. De's assertion that all the four rhetoricians are *Bhākta-vādins* cannot thus get any support from Abhinavagupta.

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[1] De's *Introduction to the Vakroktijīvita*, pp. xxix-xxx (1st Edn.), pp. xli-xliii (2nd Edn.).

The fact that *Dhvani* is included by some of them like Udbhaṭa (according to the opinion of the commentators) under particular poetic figures like *Paryāyokta* goes to prove only that Udbhaṭa and such others were *abhāva-vādins* and not *bhākta-vādins* 'according to the classification of Ānandavardhana'. For *alaṅkārāntarbhāva-vāda* is only a kind of *abhāvavāda*, not *bhākta-vāda*.[2] If Dr. De is using the word 'secondary' not as a technical English equivalent of *Lakṣaṇā* or *Bhakti*, but as a general term to mean 'secondary in importance,' [3] even then at the most, all the four writers Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Udbhaṭa, and Vāmana may be called *Bhāktavādins* since they do not give primary importance to *Dhvani* in all its aspects and consider *alaṅkāras* as more important. But with Kuntaka, the position is different. He recognizes explicitly the supreme importance of *Dhvani* in general (since he equates *Dhvani* with *Vakratā* or *vaicitrya*) as well as the varieties of *Dhvani* in particular (since he equates them with particular varieties of *Vakratā*). Thus it will be seen that whichever way one might consider the problem, Kuntaka's theory of *Vakrokti* cannot be described as *Bhakti*. Hence MM. P. V. Kane's statement, similar to that of Dr. De, 'It (the *Vakroktijīvita*) therefore holds the same view as those who regarded

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[1] Pp. xliii, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* Ānandavardhana's *vṛtti* on the 1st *Kārikā*.

[3] But then, this would not be according to the classification of Ānandavardhana as Dr. De would like to think.

Dhvani to be *Bhākta'* [1] will also be found to be wide of the mark. Dr. De's other statement that Kuntaka did not deny the concept of *Dhvani*, but tried to explain it in terms of already recognized ideas is also far from being accurate. Kuntaka did not explain *Dhvani* in terms of already recognized ideas. He explained it in terms of *Vakrokti*, a term which was no doubt already recognized, but which was by him made to signify ideas never before signified.

But it must be noted in this connection that staunch followers of Ānandavardhana like Vidyādhara [2] and Jayaratha [3] had branded Kuntaka as a *Bhākta-vādin*, and that is the reason which has misled modern scholars. Such mis-statements of Vidyādhara, etc., can be explained only by the fact that they never based their remarks on a complete study of Kuntaka's work. Even Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* [4] makes Kuntaka say that *Vakrokti* is only an *alaṅkāra* in its narrow sense. Even a cursory reading of the *Vakrokti-jīvita* is enough to disprove Viśvanātha.

The upshot of the above discussion is that Kuntaka is not a formidable critic of the *Dhvani*-theory; that he deserves a place here at all amidst the critics is because he is neither a devoted follower of the *Dhvani*-theory exclusively. Since his view of *Vakrokti* is more comprehensive than *Dhvani*, it is clear that he was not completely satisfied with Ānandavardhana's exclusive consideration of *Dhvani*. There is a shift in the emphasis on the importance of *Dhvani*. Ānandavardhana held that *Kavipratibhā* works only through the medium of *Dhvani*, and hence *Dhvani* is the soul of poetry. Kuntaka would put it differently. *Dhvani* very frequently indicates *Kavi-Pratibhā*. But the activity of *Pratibhā* is more comprehensive and it is not chained to *Dhvani* only. It may derive help from *alaṅkāras*, *Guṇas*, *Rītis*, and *Dhvani*. Hence *Kavi-pratibhā* is more important and its activity is *Vakrokti*, noticeable in a thousand and one ways though the major ways are of *Dhvani*. While Anandavardhana thinks that *Alaṅkāras*, *Guṇas*, etc., are all related to *Dhvani*, Kuntaka holds that they are related to *Vakrokti*. This is all the difference in theory. Mahimabhaṭṭa, who was nearer in point of time to Kuntaka than Vidyādhara and Jayaratha was careful enough to note the close resemblance of Kuntaka's *Vakrokti* and Ānandavardhana's *Dhvani*. He thinks that *Vakrokti* is nothing but *Dhvani* masquerading in disguise since the same examples of

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[1] *History of Alaṅkāra Literature*, p. lxxxv.

[2] एतेन यत्र कुन्तकेन भक्तावन्तर्भावितो ध्वनिस्तदपि प्रत्याख्यातम्। —*Ekāvalī*, p. 51.

[3] इदानीं यद्यप्यन्यैरस्य (= ध्वनेः) भक्त्यन्तर्भावमुक्तम् तदपि दर्शयितुमाह। —*Alaṅkāra-vimarśinī*, p. 8.

[4] *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (Kane's Edn.), p. 3.

Ānandavardhana fill the pages of Kuntaka's work,[1] and he directs his attack against *Vakrokti* as much as against *Dhvani*. Kuntaka's theory was no doubt very ingenious and very beautifully explained but in its very nature it could not affect the stream of thought in any noticeable way.

Viśvanātha is a writer who closely follows the theory of *Dhvani* but who thinks that certain statements of Ānandavardhana are too loose and do not stand the test of a scientific scrutiny. According to him the only scientific definition of poetry is *vākyaṁ rasātmakaṁ kāvyaṁ*; and whatever falls outside the sphere of *Rasa* should be automatically regarded as falling outside the province of poetry. Thus in his zeal for scientific accuracy and logical precision, Viśvanātha heaps ridicule not only upon the conservative definition proposed by his worthy predecessor (*upajīvya*) Mammaṭa, but also on almost all the definitions of the ancients including Ānandavardhana.

Viśvanātha, first of all, refers to the saying of Ānandavardhana '*kāvyasyātmā dhvaniḥ*, and the three-fold classification of *Dhvani* (viz., *Vastu*, *Alaṅkāra* and *Rasa*) mentioned by him. And then he points out that if Ānandavardhana means only the last class of *Dhvani*, i.e. *Rasa* to be the soul of poetry, he has nothing to complain about; but, if on the other hand, Ānandavardhana should mean that all the three classes of *Dhvani* are the soul of poetry, Viśvanātha is not prepared to agree with him. Viśvanātha says that such a view is incorrect inasmuch as it would apply with equal force to *prahelikās* or conundrums which also contain some suggested *vastu*. The definition of Ānandavardhana is thus shown to be tainted by the fallacy of 'too wide'.[2] Further, *Rasa* alone is said to be the distinguishing mark of poetry; prosaic statements such as 'Devadatta goes to town' also may contain suggested meanings such as 'His servant also accompanies him'; but they are not poetry because of the absence of *Rasa*. In the same way, the stanzas quoted as instances of *vastu-dhvani* by Ānandavardhana are regarded as poetry not because of *Vastu-dhvani* therein, but because of the presence of *Rasa* or *Rasābhāsa*.[3] Like Mahimabhaṭṭa, Viśvanātha also points out the contradiction involved in

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[1] ....ध्वनेरेवेदं लक्षणमनया भङ्ग्याभिहितं भवति, अभिन्नत्वाद्वस्तुनः। अत एव चास्य त एव प्रभेदास्तान्येवोदाहरणानि तैरुपदर्शितानि। तच्चायुक्तमित्युक्तं। वक्ष्यते च। —*Vyaktiviveka*, p. 126.

[2] यत्तु ध्वनिकारेणोक्तम्—'काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिः—' इति तत्किं वस्त्वलङ्काररसादिलक्षणस्त्रिरूपो ध्वनिः काव्यस्यात्मा। उत रसादिरूपमात्रो वा। नाद्यः। प्रहेलिकादावतिव्याप्तेः। द्वितीयश्चेदोमिति ब्रूमः।

—*Sāhityadarpaṇa*, p. 4.

[3] 'अत्ता एत्थ णिमज्जइ—' इत्यादौ वस्तुमात्रस्य व्यङ्ग्यत्वे कथं काव्यव्यवहार इति चेत्, अत्रापि रसाभासवत्तैवेति ब्रूमः। अन्यथा 'देवदत्तो ग्रामं याति' इति वाक्ये तद्भृत्यस्य तदनुसरणरूपव्यङ्ग्यावगतेरपि काव्यत्वं स्यात्। अस्त्विति चेन्न।—*Op. cit.*

Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka-Kārikās*, I. 1 and I. 2. If *Dhvani* is the soul of *Kāvya*, *Pratīyamānārtha* alone deserves to be looked upon as the soul, not *Vācyārtha* also, as the second *Kārikā* would apparently imply.[1]

It will be seen that Viśvanātha's criticism of Ānandavardhana is related only to minor matters of detail and not to the fundamental doctrines as such. By comparing the criticisms of Viśvanātha with those of Mahimabhaṭṭa, we find that he has borrowed, almost *verbatim*, the words of the latter. Ānandavardhana himself explicitly admits that *Vastu-Dhvani* and *Alaṅkāra-dhvani* invariably enter into relationship with *Rasa*[2] and this is no discovery made by Viśvanātha for the first time. The three kinds of *Dhvani* are treated separately in so far as they make a unique appeal to the *Sahṛdayas*. Viśvanātha's criticism of Ānandavardhana's classification of *Dhvani* into three major types can be ascribed only to his eagerness for evolving a theoretically perfect definition of poetry. But from the practical point of view such definitions are bound to be inadequate. As Jagannatha points out,[3] descriptions like those of a flowing river or a waterfall where the charm consists in the suggested ideas (*vastu*) or figures of speech, will have to be shut out from the purview of poetry according to Viśvanātha's rigid definition. Great poets are very often seen to indulge in such descriptions and it would be presumptuous on the part of a literary theorist to place a ban on such a vast bulk of recognized literature.

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[1] यच्च ध्वनिकारेणोक्तम्—'अर्थः सहृदयश्लाघ्यः—' इति, अत्र वाच्यस्यात्मत्वं 'काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिः—' इति स्ववचनविरोधादेवापास्तम्। —*Op. cit.*, p. 5.

For Abhinavagupta's resolution of the contradiction see my article: 'Abhinavagupta's Contribution to the Theory of Dhvani', *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, April 1948.

[2] *Cf.* प्रतीयमानस्य चान्यभेददर्शनेऽपि रसभावमुखेनैव उपलक्षणं प्राधान्यात्। —*Dhv. vṛtti* on I. 5.

[3] ....तथा च जलप्रवाहवेगनिपतनोत्पतनभ्रमणानि कविभिर्वर्णितानि। कपिबालादिविलसितानि च। न च तत्रापि यथाकथञ्चित्परम्परया रसस्पर्शोऽस्त्येवेति वाच्यम्। ईदृशरसस्पर्शस्य 'गौश्चलति', 'मृगो धावति' इत्यादावतिप्रसक्तत्वेनाप्रयोजकत्वात्। —*Rasagaṅgādhara* (N. S. Edn.), p. 9.

'THE AŚOKA CHAKRA'—ITS SYMBOLISM

By H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI

Since the attainment of the status of an equal member of the (British) Commonwealth of Nations by India the Government of this country has taken two momentous steps : one, the replacement of the Union Jack by a Tricolour Flag, in the centre of which appears the design of the wheel (*chakra*) found on the abacus of the Sarnath Lion Capital of Aśoka; and the other, the adoption of a new seal with the design of the aforementioned capital itself. This has aroused a fresh interest amongst not only experts but public in general in the crowning sculptures of the Aśokan pillars, particularly the one that once graced Sarnath, i.e. Isipatana-Migadāya (Deer Park near Benares) of ancient times. The latter, as is well known, is composed in an ascending order of a bell-shaped (? inverted lotus) capital; an abacus on which are carved in high relief an elephant, a galloping horse, a bull and a lion, placed between four wheels, and finally a drum on which stand four roaring lions back to back, which once supported a great wheel of which only fragments now remain.

Vogel thought that the four animals that appear on the abacus are merely ornamental motives.[1] But other scholars have read a symbolism in them. Smith took them as symbolic of four cardinal points.[2] Bloch conjectured that they represent the gods Surya, Indra, Śiva and the goddess Durgā, and indicate the subordination of these Brāhmanical deities to the Buddha and his *Dharma*.[3] Daya Ram Sahni held that the drum with the four animals is meant to represent the Anotatta Lake, one of the sacred lakes of the Buddhists in which the Buddha took his bath. He drew attention, in this connection, to a Buddhist text in Burmese character which describes and illustrates the lake as having four mouths guarded by a horse, a dragon, a bull and an elephant.[4] Yuan Chwang expressly mentions that the Sarnath Pillar was erected by Aśoka at the spot at which the Buddha, having attained enlightenment, first preached his religion.[5] This fact, taken together with the well-known influence of the teaching of Buddha-Śākyamuni on Aśoka, has naturally led many scholars to interpret the capital in the light of the famous Buddhist treatise called the *Dhamma-chakka-ppavattana Sutta* which is concerned with the First Sermon of the Buddha at Isipatana-Migadāya.[1] The wheels, according to this interpretation, symbolize 'the Turning of the Wheel of Law' by the Buddha, while the lions are intended to typify Śākyasiṁha, 'the Lion of the Śākya Race' or the Buddha himself.[2] Attention may also be drawn to the fact that in Buddhist symbolisms the elephant represents the Conception, the bull the date of the Nativity, and the horse the Great Departure of the Lord.[3] In other words, the whole composition of the Sarnath Capital may be taken to represent the principal events in the life of the Buddha till the time of the First Sermon, the only missing link being the *Bodhi-druma* representing the Enlightenment.

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[1] Daya Ram Sahni, Guide to the Buddhist Ruins at Sarnath, 41.

[2] History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon (1911), 59f.

[3] Guide to the Buddhist Ruins at Sarnath, 41.

[4] *Ibid.* See also Malalasekera, Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names, I, 96f.

[5] Watters, On Yuan Chwang, II, 50. The Sarnath Inscription of Kumāradevī (*EI.*, IX, 325, 328) records that she restored 'the Lord of the Turning of the Wheel (*Dharmachakra Jina*) in accordance with the way in which he existed in the days of Dharmāśoka, the ruler of men'. If a fact, this points to the existence of human representation of the Buddha even as early as the time of Aśoka. Use of images of gods in the Maurya period is testified by Patañjali.

The above interpretation doubtless has much force and reason in support of it. But one should at the same time note the omission on the Sarnath abacus of the figure of deer which is generally, though not invariably, associated with wheel in the sculptural representation of the incident of the *Dharmachakrapravartana* at the Deer Park in the post-Maurya age,[4] and which one reasonably expects could have been very appropriately used by Aśoka on the pillar in question. Again, it is no doubt true that the Buddha is often compared with the lion, and his preaching with *sīhanāda* or the roar of lion in several early Buddhist texts.[5] But he is invariably described in early literature as Śākyamuni, an expression used by Aśoka himself, and not Śākyasiṁha which is unknown to Aśokan epigraphy.

Attention may now be invited to another early Buddhist text, namely, the *Chakkavatti-Sīhanāda Sutta*, which possibly affords a clue to the proper appreciation of the Sarnath Capital with its *chakra* and crowning lions. It was preached by the Buddha to the monks at Mātulā in Magadha, and contains the story of Daḷhanemi, who was 'a sovereign overlord, a righteous king ruling in righteousness, lord of the four quarters of the earth, conqueror, the protector of his people (*Chakkavattī dhammiko dhammarāja chāturanto vijitāvī janapada-tthāvariya-ppatto*), who lived in supremacy over this earth to its ocean bounds, having conquered it, not by the scourge, not by the sword, but by righteousness (*so imaṁ paṭhavīṁ sāgara-pariyantaṁ adaṇḍena asatthena dhammena abhivijīya ajjhāvasati*)'. It further expatiates upon the Aryan duty of a *chakravartī* ruler to live 'on the law of truth and righteousness (*Dhamma*), honouring, respecting and revering it, doing homage to it, hallowing it' .... providing 'the right watch, ward and protection for his own folk, for the army, for the nobles, for vassals, for Brāhmins and householders, for town and country dwellers, for the religious world, and for beasts and birds'.

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[1] In the inscription of mediaeval times the monasteries found at Sarnath were known as 'Dharmarājika', 'Dharmachakra' and 'Sad-Dharma-chakra-pravartana-vihāra' (Gauḍalekhamala, 108; Guide to the Buddhist Ruins at Sarnath, 1).

[2] Marshall, ASR. AR., 1904-5.

[3] Foucher, Beginnings of Buddhist Art, 21. In Hindu mythology the bull is sometimes taken to represent Justice or Virtue personified. Cf. *Vṛisho hi bhagavān Dharmo* (Manu, VIII. 16).

[4] For wheel associated with deer, see Foucher, *op. cit.*, Plates IV, XIX, and without the animal, Plates II, XXVIII.

[5] Rhys Davids and Stede, Pāli-English Dictionary (1925), 173.

The above description undoubtedly contains the Buddhist idea of an all-conquering temporal ruler, as opposed to his counterpart in the religious world. It further recalls the following passage of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*:

> *chakkavattī ahuṁ rājā Jambusaṇḍassa issaro*
> *muddhābhisitto khattiyo manussādhipatī ahuṁ*
> *adaṇḍena asatthena vijeyya paṭhaviṁ imaṁ*
> *asāhasena dhammena samena m-anusāsiyā*
> *dhammena rajjam kāretvā asmin paṭhavimaṇḍale.*

The known facts of Aśoka's life after the Kaliṅga War, who deprecated conquest through arrow (*sarasake eva vijaye*); who proclaimed that the chief conquest was the conquest by righteousness (*Dhamma-vijaya*), and that he had won this repeatedly among his borderers and 'even as far as at the distance of six hundred *yojanas*', where his Hellenistic contemporaries were ruling; whose solicitude for his people, for *Brāhmaṇas* and *Śramaṇas* as well as for beasts and birds is eloquently borne out by his epigraphs, certainly show that he looked upon himself as a prototype of Daḷhanemi.[1] In the *Divyāvadāna* he is actually described as a *chaturbhāga chakravarttī Dhārmiko Dharmarājo*.[2]

The *Chakkavatti-Sīhanāda Sutta*, as well as several other early texts, e.g. the *Mahāsudassana Sutta*, the *Mahāpadāna Sutta*, the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta*, describe the *chakkavattī* as the possessor of seven precious things (*sattaratanasamannāgato*), namely, the *chakkaratana* ('the Treasure of the Wheel'), the *Hatthiratana* ('the Treasure of the Elephant'), the *Assaratana* ('the Treasure of the Horse'), the *Maṇiratana* ('the Treasure of the Gem'), the *Itthiratana* ('the Pearl among Women'), the *Gahapatiratana* (the Commoner), and the *Pariṇāyakaratana* ('the Treasure of the Councillor').[3] What is worthy of note is that in early Buddhist literature the wheel is not invariably associated merely with the First Sermon of the Lord. It is an essential attribute of a *chakravartī* ruler, 'the symbol of a monarch's conquering efficacy, the wheel of his chariot rolling over his dominions'.[1] We are told that travelling through the air it appears only before the king of a warrior race, an anointed king who has purified himself, and following it to the various quarters of the world the king becomes a *chakravartī*. Epic references also show that the *chakra* was the mark of universal sovereignty and apparently represented the wheel of the monarch's chariot. Compare :

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[1] Another monarch of this type was Mahā-Sudassana mentioned in the *Mahāsudassana Sutta*.

[2] Bhandarkar, Aśoka, 2nd ed., 237.

[3] For jewels associated with a *chakravartī* ruler, see also Vishṇu Purāṇa, 57. 68–71.

yāvad āvartate chakraṁ tāvatī me vasundharā.
(Rām., II, 10, 36)

paraṁ ch-ābhiprayātasya chakraṁ tasya mahātmanaḥ
bhavishyatyapratihataṁ satataṁ chakravarttinaḥ.
(Mbh., I, 73, 30)

tasya tat prathitaṁ chakraṁ prāvartata mahātmanaḥ
bhāsvaraṁ divyamajitaṁ lokasannādanam mahat

* * * * *

sa rājā chakravarttyāsīt sārvabhaumaḥ pratāpavān
īje cha bahubhir yajñair yathā Śakro Marutpatiḥ.
(Mbh., I, 74, 127, 129)[2]

The Buddhist texts noted above also say that riding upon his *hatthiratana* and the *assaratana* the *chakravartī* could pass over along the broad earth to its very ocean boundary. That horses were yoked to chariots needs no special mention, while the use of the elephant for the same purpose is referred to by Nearchus.[3] As for the bulls or bullocks, Strabo, on the authority of Megasthenes, bears witness to their use for transporting engines of war, food for the soldiers, provender for the cattle, and other military requisites in the days of the Mauryas.[4] Another classical writer refers to races of chariots drawn by oxen, with horses on either sides, which was in vogue in Pāṭaliputra presumably in the time of the same dynasty.[5] We thus see that while the *chakra* may symbolize the chariot of an all-conquering monarch, three of the animals on the Sarnath abacus may also be connected with his vehicle, or at least with the extension of his influence far and wide. Finally, the lion undoubtedly typifies the might of a *chakravartī*. Emperors are not unoften compared with this mighty beast of forest in Indian as well as non-Indian literature. Lion-throne and lion-gate are counted among their other attributes, and the lion-roar (*siṁhanāda*) indicates a war-cry, a cry challenging rivals to battle. In this light the four roaring lions sitting back to back and directing their gaze to the four quarters of the earth assumes new significance.[1]

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[1] Rhys Davids and Stede, *op. cit.*, 89. The *chakkaratana*, as described in Pali texts, has thousand spokes. In lithic representations we find a lesser number. The wheels on the Sarnath abacus have twenty-four spokes each. It does not seem that any special significance attaches to this figure.

[2] For the significance of the word *chakra* in *chakravartin*, see Nilakanta Sastri's Presidential Address, Indian History Congress, Third Session, Proceedings, 267ff.

[3] Cambridge History of India, I, 405. cf. also Seltman, Greek Coins, p. 229; I.A. XI. 125.

[4] McCrindle, Megasthenes and Arrian, 88.

[5] Monahan, Early History of Bengal, 172. Rāmayaṇa, II, 70. 29 refers to chariots drawn by camels, horses, cows and asses.

'The birth of Ajātasatru and the enlightenment of the Buddha took place in the same country and the same age, and they met in Rājagṛiha as Charles V and Martin Luther did at Worms. The symbol of aggressive imperialism stood face to face with the preacher of piety and morality, a leader of a movement that was destined to convulse a continent. The two ideologies did not long remain apart. They were harmonized and the magician who worked the miracle was Dharmāśoka who combined in himself the imperial tradition of his forebears as well as the spiritual fervour of the age of the Śākyas.'[2] The Sarnath Capital stands as a monument of this harmony between two opposing ideas. It blends into its stony textures the story of the birth of a new religion (the *Dhammachakkappavattana* of the Buddha), as well as that of the *Dhammavijaya* of a historical Buddhist *chakravartī*.

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[1] The expressions *siṁha-yāna* and *siṁha-ratha* (Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 1213) show that lions are also associated with chariot in Indian mythology.

The lion *motif* is found in Western Asia at a much early date. It has been suggested that the Mauryan sculptors were familiar with Persian art tradition, while others have detected Greek influence on Mauryan art. The treatment of muzzle and paws of the Sarnath lions, we are told, is reminiscent of Khorsabad and Persepolis (René Grousset, The Civilizations of the East (India), 89). Another scholar points out the similarity of the treatment of the hair of these animals to those found at Halicarnasus in Asia Minor (*IA*., 1908, 278). It is worth while to remember, in this connection, not only the existence of political and social contact between India and the Western world during the Maurya period, but also the presence of a considerable number of foreigners in the Mauryan metropolis which necessitated the appointment of special officers, including physicians and judges, to look to their needs.

[2] Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India, 5th ed., 188-89.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE EARLY CHĀLUKYA RULE IN THE WESTERN DECCAN

By G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI

The early Chālukyas attained the zenith of their power in the Deccan in the reign of Pulakeśin II. But as is well known, the career of the famous king closed under tragic circumstances which created a great chaos within the Chālukya dominions. Indeed all vestiges of Chālukya rule was totally lost for a time. But thanks to the courage, energy, patience and steadfast determination of Vikramāditya I, a younger son of Pulakeśin II, the situation was largely retrieved. The Kurnul Plates, dated in the third regnal year of the king (657 A.D.), state that he 'at the head of many famous battles, assisted by none but (his) noble steed Chitrakaṇṭha and the edge of his glittering, spotless and sharp sword. . . . conquered would-be conquerors', and 'having gained for himself the royalty of his father which had been concealed by the triad of kings, caused the burden of the whole kingdom to be governed by (himself) alone.'[1] There is ample evidence to show that Vikramāditya did rule over the whole of the western Deccan. His authority was acknowledged by subordinate rulers stationed at Lāṭa, Nāsikyavishaya, western Khandesh, Puri-Koṅkaṇa 1400, Sthānaka, and southern Koṅkaṇa.[2] In the third, and again in the tenth year of his reign, he made land grants in the Naḷavāḍi-vishaya (Kurnul district).[3] An inscription dated in the twenty-seventh year of his reign has been found at Dimmaguḍi, Gooty taluk, Anantapur district.[4] Finally, a hero-stone inscription at Annavaram-agraharam, Darsi taluk, shows that the Chālukya king even controlled for a time a portion of the Nellore district.[5] On the other hand, we must note that there is no evidence to show that Vikramāditya exercised any authority over the Kosalas, Kaliṅgas or the Veṅgi-maṇḍala. Even the rulers of the collateral branch at Pishṭapura seem to have declared their independence.

The extensive dominions over which Vikramāditya I held sway were retained in tact by his successors till the days of his great-grandson bearing the same name. But within a little more than a decade after the death of the latter no recognizable trace of the authority of his family remained. This dramatic collapse of the power of the early Chālukyas forms the great event of historical interest of the reign of the second Vikramāditya's son and successor Kīrtivarman.

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[1] *JBBRAS.*, XVI, 225, 235; *IA.*, X, 244.

[2] G. H. Khare, Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan, I, 12f.; *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, 56ff.; *EI.*, XIV, 144ff.; XXV, 230; *BISMQ.*, XX, No. 4, 66ff.; *NIA.*, I, 747; *IA.*, XVIII, 265f., etc.

[3] *JBBRAS.*, XVI, 225, 227, 235, 238f.; *IA.*, X, 244.

[4] *SIE.*, 364 of 1921.

[5] *SIE. AR.*, 1933-34, App. B, No. 183, also Part II, para. 2.

The new king came to the throne in 746-47 A.D., and his latest known date is 757 A.D. The distribution of his stone inscriptions, land grants and *jayaskandhāvāras* shows that he was certainly in possession of the Sholapur and Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency, the South Kanara, Bellary and Anantapur districts of the Madras Presidency, and the north-western districts of the Mysore State. Epigraphs of the reign have been found at Paṭṭadakal in the Bijapur district, Aṇṇigeri and Diḍgūr in the Dharwar district, Āḍūr in South Kanara, Kurukundi in the Alur taluk, Bellary district, and Nilūru in the Gooty taluk, Anantapur district. The king granted the village of Kāravandar on the eastern bank of the Tūmburavu in the Korivoḍe-vishaya, and also land in Vanniyapāḷu in the neighbourhood of the village Arapuṁse, the villages of Arapuṁse itself and Beppaṭṭi in the Beḷvola-vishaya, Saḻḻiyur in the Pānumgal-vishaya, and also the villages of Āḍūr (8 miles from Hangal) and Saganur (12 miles from Diḍgur) in the Dharwar district. The victorious camps of the king were stationed at Nelavoḍige and Bhaṇḍāgāraviṭṭage on the bank of the Bhīmā and at Raktapura.[1] The Ainuli Plates mention Nāgaśakti of the Sendraka race as a feudatory of the Chālukya king. Two others were Dōsirāja, governor of Banavāsi 12000, and Prince Sinda of Pāṇḍipura (same as Āḍūr in South Kanara).[2]

No record has been discovered as yet to show that the authority of Kīrtivarman was acknowledged in the northern provinces of the Chālukya dominions. And it is precisely in this quarter that the movement to overthrow the Chālukya rule in the western Deccan appears to have started. Its leader was the Rāshṭrakūṭa Dantidurga. His Ellora Plates show that in 742 A.D. he held possessions in the Aurangabad district of the Nizam's Dominions, and the contiguous district of Khandesh.[3] The record describes him as a *mahāsāmantādhipati* who had obtained the five great sounds (*samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda*). Although no reference is made to any overlord, it can hardly be doubted that he acknowledged the suzerainty of Vikramāditya II. The Daśāvatāra Temple Inscription mentions five of his predecessors, namely, Dantivarman I, Indra I, Govinda I, Karka I and Indra II. Nothing substantial is known about the first two. The Baroda Plates of Karka-Suvarṇavarsha describes Govinda I as *svakiy-ānvaya-vaṁśa-karttā* ('the maker of his own lineage')[1] which definitely suggests that the family to which Dantidurga belonged rose into prominence for the first time in the days of his great-grandfather. Karka I and Indra II also, like Dantidurga, receive the epithet *samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda-mahāsāmantādhipati*, indicating their feudatory rank, obviously under the Chālukya king. The rise of this new line of feudatories seems to have followed the extinction of the feudatory family of the Sendrakas of Khandesh sometime after 680 A.D.[2] The Sanjan Plates inform us that Indra II, in battle, carried away the daughter of a Chālukya prince from her marriage pandal at Kheṭaka (usually identified with Kaira), and married her according to the Rākshasa form. She may have belonged to the ruling family of Lāṭa. The issue of this union was Dantidurga. The Ellora Plates vaguely refer to his victories which suggests that he had no significant achievement to his credit when the record was issued in 742 A.D. Twelve years later at the time of the issue of the Samangaḍ Plates we see that the status of Dantidurga had undergone momentous changes: from being a mere feudatory he became a sovereign ruler, an equal with his erstwhile overlord.

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[1] *EI.*, III, 4ff.; XXI, 204ff.; VI, 253f., Add. vii; *IA.*, XI, 70; *IMP.*, II, p. 854; *SII.*, IX, I, Nos. 50-51; *MAS.*, 1909, pp. 12 a, 14; *EI.*, III, 4ff.; IX, 200ff.; V, 202ff.

[2] *MAS. AR.*, 1908-9, pp. 12 a, 14; *IA.*, XI, 70; *IMP.*, II, p. 854.

[3] *EI.*, XXV, 25ff.

The Rāshṭrakūṭa records state that Dantidurga attained the position of a king of kings, the supreme lord (*rājādhirāja-parameśvaratām*) by 'suddenly conquering Vallabha with his assaulting force' and by 'overcoming the endless forces of Karṇāṭaka which were invincible to others, and which were skilled in effecting defeat on the lord of Kāñchī, the king of Keraḷa, the Choḷa, the Pāṇḍya, Śrī-Harsha and Vajraṭa'. Scholars are unanimous in identifying the Vallabha king in the above passage with Kīrtivarman II. We know that as a *yuvarāja* he had led an expedition against the king of Kāñchī and humbled him. He was therefore not devoid of martial prowess. The efficiency and fame of the Chālukya army is borne out by its description in the Rāshṭrakūṭa records quoted above. Why then did it suffer a military debacle during the reign of Kīrtivarman? We can only guess an answer to this question. The expression 'suddenly conquering' (*sahasā jigāya*) is significant in this connection. It suggests that the Karṇāṭaka army was caught unaware by the forces of Dantidurga. Again, the Samangaḍ Plates state that Dantidurga's tuskers 'tore open and rent asunder the high banks of the Mahī, the Mahānadī and the Revā'. The Daśāvatāra

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[1] *IA.*, XII, 158-59.

[2] The following Sendraka inscriptions have come to light so far:—

(*a*) The Kasare Plates of Nikumbha-Allaśakti (*BISMQ.*, XX, No. 4, 66ff.).

(*b*) The Dhulia Plates of the same (*NIA.*, I, 747); the Bagumra Plates of the same (*IA.*, XVIII, 265ff.); the Mundakheḍa Plates of Jayaśakti (*D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, 55n).

Temple Inscription says that he conquered, besides the Vallabha king, the rulers of Kāñchī, Kaliṅga, Kosala, Śrīśaila, Mālava, Lāṭa and Taṅka.[1] The chronology of these extensive conquests is not known, but some of them may have been undertaken before the Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler came into conflict with the Chālukya forces. Dantidurga apparently created an efficient military machine to effect these conquests, and it was still fresh and powerful. On the other hand, the almost ceaseless warfare of the reign of Vikramāditya II (we must remember that he claims to have conquered Kāñchī three times) must have left the Chālukya army thoroughly exhausted, and its strength greatly undermined. Hence when the rival forces met, it was the Chālukya army which was worsted.

The grant recorded in the Samangaḍ Plates shows that Dantidurga extended the boundary of his possessions in the south up to the Satara district.[2] He, no doubt, dealt a heavy blow at the power of the Chālukyas. But the task begun by him was left unfinished, for, as the Poddaṭūru Inscription informs us, he met with an untimely death while as yet a youth.[3] A struggle for succession now broke out within the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom in course of which the throne passed into the hands of more than one person. The inscription referred to above makes a pointed allusion to this by stating that the Fortune (Lakshmī) of the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom behaved as if like a harlot (*veśyeva*) till her recovery by force of his arms by Kṛishṇa I, the uncle of Dantidurga.[4] This fact is also borne out by the statement of the Baroda Plates of Karka-Suvarṇavarsha that Kṛishṇarāja 'uprooted a relative (*vaṁśyam*) of his who resorted to evil ways, and appropriated the kingdom to himself for the benefit of his family'. The Surat Plates of Karka, as well as several other Rāshṭrakūṭa inscriptions, tell us that Kṛishṇa I 'quickly gained the titles of king of kings and supreme lord, which were made resplendent by numerous *Pālidhvajas*' by conquering one Rāhappa. It is not altogether impossible that he was identical with the *vaṁśyam* referred to above. Whatever the truth may be, the confusion within the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom afforded an unexpected opportunity to the Chālukya king to make a bold attempt to recover his lost position. He launched an attack upon Kṛishṇa I but apparently suffered a disastrous defeat. The incident is graphically described in the Baroda Plates of Karka, which say that Krishṇa 'transformed into a deer (i.e. put to flight) the great boar (the crest of the Chālukyas), which was seized with an itching for battle, and which, kindled with the warmth of bravery, attacked him'. The overthrow of the sovereign rule of the Chālukyas was now complete. The Kauthem Plates expressly state that they lost their supreme position in the reign of Kīrtivarman II. It must have happened after 757 A.D. when we find the Chālukya king making a grant from his *jayaskandhāvāra* at Bhaṇḍāgāravittage on the bank of the Bhīmā, and before 768 A.D. when we find the Rāshṭrakūṭa king in his *jayaskandhāvāra* at Maṇṇe in the territory of the Gaṅgas.[1]

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[1] Note the correction made in *EI.*, XXV, 28-29.

[2] DKD., 390.

[3] See the following note.

[4] *SII.*, IX, I, No. 68, p. 40; K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, Three Lectures, p. 63.
Tasmin Sāhasatuṅga-nāmni nṛipatau svas-sundarī-prārthitē yātē *yūni* divan divākarasamaṁ vēśyēva Lakshmīs=tataḥ I Tatr=āvāpa bhuja-dvayēna nibiḍaṁ sāślishya ramyair-guṇaiḥ prītyā prāṇasamaṁ chiraṁ ramayati Śrī-Kṛishṇarājādhipaṁ ||

The fall of the early Chālukyas appears to have been abrupt and unexpected. Its immediate cause was of course a military debacle. But there seems to have been other causes also which contributed to the same end. As was the general practice in India in those days, the provinces of the early Chālukya dominions were ruled by hereditary governors, and it is obvious that under such circumstances its integrity largely depended upon the loyalty of the local rulers and constant vigilance of their sovereign over their activities. The *jayaskandhāvāras* of the kings found in different parts of their kingdoms testify not only to their warlike activities, but also to their tours of personal inspection of the administration of their feudatories. The predecessors of Kīrtivarman II, from Vikramāditya I onwards, with the possible exception of Vijayāditya, were almost constantly engaged in aggressive exploits, and they directed their attention particularly to the enemies in the south. As a result, their visits to the northern provinces of their kingdom were few and far between.[2] It seems, therefore, that the governors of that region were left with a large amount of initiative of their own, and in some cases even enjoyed special privileges which were possibly denied to others. We see, for instance, that the name of the sovereign ruler does not appear in any of the known copper-plate charters of the Sendrakas of Khandesh. Neither do we find it in the Ellora grant of Dantidurga. Even Jayasiṁha of Lāṭa, brother of Vikramāditya I, does not mention the latter in the single grant of him that we know so far. Far more significant than this perhaps is the fact that these local ruling families were allowed to maintain, under their own command, well-organized army always in readiness to meet any intruder from the north. The defeat of Vajraṭa by Jayasiṁha and that of the Tājikas by Avanijanāśraya-Pulakeśin of Lāṭa can only be explained in this light. The concession, though useful, was undoubtedly a dangerous expedient. The whole system appears to have worked well under the charge of the Chālukyas of Lāṭa and the Sendrakas of Khandesh. The latter family, as we have seen, probably became extinct sometime after 680 A.D., and their place was filled up by the ancestors of Dantidurga, who must have succeeded to all the privileges and advantages enjoyed by their predecessors. The disappearance of the Chālukya family of Lāṭa probably took place not long after 739 A.D., for no successor of Avanijanāśraya-Pulakeśin is known. This seems to have afforded an opportunity to Dantidurga, himself probably a son of a Lāṭa princess, to extend his influence in that direction as well. Kīrtivarman II thus had to deal with a dangerously powerful rival in the north, and in the contest that followed he lost his kingdom. Hence the laxity of control over the northern provinces, the excessive powers—both military and civil—enjoyed by the governors of that region, the disappearance of the Chālukyas of Lāṭa and the Sendrakas of Khandesh, the constant warfare in the south, which brought no gain but only led to military exhaustion—all these combined to bring about the seemingly sudden close of the early Chālukya rule in the western Deccan.

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[1] Talegaon Plates of Kṛishṇa I. *EI.*, XIII, 275ff.

[2] Note that only one *jayaskandhāvāra*, and that of Vijayāditya, is so far known to have been located in the farthest northern provinces of the Chālukya kingdom.

THE STATUS OF TERRITORIAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC GROUPS IN THE EARLY SMṚITIS.*

By U. N. GHOSHAL

In tracing the rights (or disabilities) of the component classes of the social system, the *Dharmasūtras* follow more or less the lines laid down by their Vedic predecessors. But a new line of enquiry is opened up by their consideration of the status of regional and other groups now brought prominently into notice. As regards the regional and family groups, we find that their customs are explicitly given binding authority in the wider sphere of social life as also within the narrower field of public administration. Illustrating this point we may quote Vaś. who says (I, 10), while listing the sources of *dharma*, that acts productive of spiritual merit (*dharma*) and customs (*ācāra*) which are approved of in Āryāvartta ('the Aryan country'), are everywhere acknowledged as authoritative. In the same context Vaś. declares (I, 17) on the authority of Manu that the peculiar laws (*dharma*) of regions (*deśa*), caste sub-divisions (*jāti*), and clans or families (*kula*), may be followed in the absence of rules of the revealed texts.[1] B. similarly, while tracing the sources of *dharma* at the beginning of his work, states (I, 1. 2. 9) that the customs (*ācāra*) of Āryāvartta are also authoritative. On the other hand, B. mentions (I, 1. 2. 13–15) a number of lands as impure, thereby implying that the customs prevailing there have no authority. In an earlier passage (I, 1. 2. 1 f.), B. specifically enumerates two sets of practices which have authority within their respective spheres, namely the North and the South [2]. We have an indirect reference to the authoritative character of the customs (*dharma*) of regions (*deśa*) and families (*kula*) in Āp. (II, 6. 15. 1). The high respect accorded to regional and other groups is illustrated by a text of Viṣ. (V, 31–32) which makes it a penal offence to revile one's caste sub-division (*jāti*) and company (*pūga*) as well as village (*grāma*) and country (*deśa*).

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* Abbreviations:—G. = *Gautama-Dharmasūtra* ; Vās. = *Vāsiṣṭha-Dharmasūtra* ; B. = *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra* ; Āp. = *Āpastambīya-Dharmasūtra* ; Viṣ. = *Viṣṇu-Smṛiti*.

[1] We may quote Vaś. XIX, 7 to show how regional and other customs were held to be almost as authoritative as the *Dharmasūtra* list of class duties. In this passage the king is required to maintain the four *varṇas* in their respective paths after considering the entire group of customs of regions (*deśadharma*), of caste sub-divisions (*jātidharma*) and of clans or families (*kuladharma*).

[2] It is worth remarking that the practices quoted in the above passage relate to eating and drinking, marriage, and the means of livelihood. In other words, they are concerned with rules of social life alone.

In the list of authorities for the law applicable to the king's court of justice G. (XI, 19-20) mentions next to 'the Veda, the Smṛitis, the Aṅgas and the Purāṇa' the customs (*dharma*) of regions (*deśa*), caste-groups (*jāti*) and families (*kula*) which are not opposed to the sacred texts (*āmnāya*). After this occurs a passage (XI, 21) which has been thus translated by Bühler (SBE., II, 237): 'Cultivators, traders, herdsmen, moneylenders and artisans (have authority to lay down rules) for their respective classes'[1]. On the authority of this translation very definite views have been put forward by scholars in recent times about the status of trades and crafts in the early Smṛitis. Thus Dr. R. C. Majumdar (*Corporate Life in Ancient India*, 2nd ed., pp. 124 f.), after declaring G.'s text in contrast with Jātaka passages to mark 'a further stage in the development of the guild organization', observes, 'The corporations of traders and artisans are now recognized by the constitution as an important factor in the state and invested with the highly important power of making laws for themselves'. While Dr. Majumdar thus states Gautama's text to be a warrant for the legislative authority of trade- and craft-guilds, Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee finds in it (read along with Vaś. I, 17, XIX, 7; B.I., 12. 6; Āp. II, 6. 15. 1) evidence not only of legislative independence, but also of independent political status, of local bodies. As he observes (*Local Government in Ancient India*, pp. 124 f.), 'If the power of independent legislation is one of the criteria of an independent political status, it is amply fulfilled in the case of these local associations. They developed a distinct body of laws and bye-laws to regulate their work and activities, the existence and authority of which are clearly affirmed and admitted by our law-books.' Finally, we may quote the view of Dr. Beni Prasad who finds in the above-quoted text of Gautama not only the grant of legislative authority to occupational groups, but also the virtual recognition of village autonomy. He writes (*The State in Ancient India*, pp. 165-6), 'Gautama thus grants legislative powers to groups or associations of men. It is more than probable that the followers of various occupations regulated a part of their life and transactions by the customs which had spontaneously arisen among them and by the rules which were enunciated to meet any emergencies. It is significant that the cultivators are mentioned among the self-regulative groups. In practice it would mean that a village should enjoy a good deal of autonomy.'

Now it may be admitted that G. contains definite evidence of the organization of trades and selected crafts under accredited leaders. In the passage immediately following XI, 21 we read, 'Having learned the state of affairs from those who in each class have authority to speak, the king shall give the legal decision.' This suggests that the trades and crafts had their recognized spokesmen probably corresponding (as Dr. Majumdar thinks) to the *Jeṭṭhakas* of Jātaka texts. But the attempt to find a warrant for the legislative authority of trades and crafts in G. XI, 21, is certainly a forced one. The last-named passage simply means that cultivators, traders, etc., are authorities for the usages of their respective groups (*vargas*). Some further light is thrown upon this point by the context of the present passage. According to G. XI, 20, as we have seen, the customs of regions, etc., are declared to be authoritative, provided they are not opposed to the sacred law. By contrast G. XI, 22 tells us, as has been noticed above, that the king before giving his decision is to ascertain the customs of trades and crafts from the respective leaders of groups. It would thus appear that the customs in both sets of cases had legal validity, but while those of the former group were sufficiently well known, those of the latter class (probably because of their technical and changing character) had to be ascertained beforehand from the proper authorities. Let us next turn to the explanations of the commentators. Haradatta (Comm. on G. XI, 20) explains the text by stating that when the spokesmen have said, 'Such is our complete custom, the decree shall be given in accordance therewith'. To the same effect Maskari (Comm. on *Ibid.*,) observes that the king shall himself repeatedly consider the customs as enunciated to him by the cultivators and so forth through their respective spokesmen and thereafter give the legal decision. These authoritative explanations leave no doubt that the occupational groups were credited with the legal recognition of their customs and not with the 'power of making laws for themselves'. Coming to general grounds it seems extremely improbable that the early Smṛiti texts would allow the trades and crafts a privilege that they denied to the king himself, viz. that of independent legislation. The study of Comparative Jurisprudence shows us by what slow degrees legislation properly so called has replaced blind obedience to custom in ancient societies of the East as well as of the West. It is needless to point out that there is no authority in these ancient texts for assigning 'independent political status' to the local assemblies, for such a statement would be a contradiction in terms.

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[1] The passage in the original is as follows: *Karṣakavaṇikpaśupālakusīdikāravaḥ sve sve varge.*

Turning to another point, we may observe that G. in the passages quoted above makes no reference to local bodies as such. We may of course take the reference to cultivators in a general sense to apply to a village unit. But none of the early Smṛitis credits the villages with the enjoyment of virtual autonomy. Āp. (II, 10. 26. 4 f.), on the contrary, distinctly speaks of the king's appointment of officials in charge of villages and towns with well-defined jurisdiction and functions. Viṣ. (III, 7. 15) goes a step further and anticipating Manu mentions a chain of royal offices in charge of 1, 10 and 100 villages with appropriate duties. It would thus seem that administrative centralization instead of village autonomy was the key-note of local government in the early Smṛitis.

In conclusion, we may cast a glance at a specific type of social organization which receives but scanty attention in the *Dharmasūtras*, but is known from other sources to have occupied an important position in contemporary public life. We refer to the *gaṇa* association which rose to the position of an independent republican community in certain favoured regions and periods of time. We have a passage (V. 167-168) in Viṣ. pointing to the possession of corporate property by the *gaṇa* and its right to frame rules for the guidance of its members. In this passage the severe penalty of banishment is laid down for one who steals the property of a *gaṇa* (*gaṇadravya*) and for one who violates its established rule (*saṃvit*). In other passages the *gaṇa* is reprobated probably because of its disregard of the stringent code of duties prescribed for classes and orders according to the sacred law. We read in Vaś. (XIV, 10) that the food of the *gaṇa* (*gaṇānna*) along with the food of harlots (*gaṇikānna*) is forbidden food. Similarly Viṣ. (LI, 7) includes eating the food of *gaṇas* along with that of a harlot, a thief, and the like among sins requiring a slight penance. The obloquy belonging to the king's servant (*rājapreṣya*) is shared by the servant of the *gaṇa* (*gaṇapreṣya*), both being included by G. (XV, 8) in the list of those whose food is forbidden.

SOME WORKS ON PALI GRAMMAR, RHETORIC AND PROSODY

By D. L. BARUA

The Theravāda Tipiṭaka is written in Pali. Tradition, however, is that the earliest known collection of the Buddha's words is one in Māgadhī or Māgadhian Pali. The Māgadhī by which the language of the Pali Canon is meant, is not certainly the Māgadhī of the Prākṛt grammarians, or that of the dramas, epics and lyrics, or even that of the inscriptions. It cannot at the same time be maintained that Pali or Māgadhī was the very language through the medium of which the Buddha promulgated his doctrine and discipline. It is reasonable, therefore, to think that through the efforts of some of the leading and immediate disciples of the Buddha, such as Mahākassapa, Mahākaccāyana, Sāriputta, Moggallāna, Ānanda and others, the language used for the recitation of the Buddha's teachings took a definite shape, which was not exactly of the type of the Old Ardha-Māgadhī or the Aśokan Māgadhī, but was yet a form of speech based on Māgadhī.[1]

As shown by R. O. Franke and others,[2] there must have been a fixed grammatical system to which the language of the Pali Canon conformed. The history of the grammatical treatment of the Pali language, however, begins from the time of Kaccāyana or Mahākaccāyana who is believed to be the first Pali grammarian. It is interesting to note that in the *Gandhavaṃsa*,[3] Mahākaccāyana is not only placed earlier than the three great Pali commentators, Buddhaghosa, Buddhadatta and Dhammapāla, but also mentioned as the only example of those who were known by the three-fold designation of ancient teacher, commentator and author (*tividhanāmakācariyā*). Tradition goes so far as to identify the grammarian Mahākaccāyana with an influential and immediate disciple of the Buddha bearing the same name, who was born in a Brahmin family at Ujjenī, the capital of the Avantī country, and who, after having succeeded his father in the office of the royal chaplain (*purohita*) under the Avantī king Caṇḍapajjota (Caṇḍapradyota),[4] joined the Buddhist Order and lived at Madhurā (Mathurā).[5] This identification, however, is not accepted by modern scholars who think that the grammarian

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[1] Cf. Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 6; Winternitz, *HIL.*, II, 13.

[2] Franke, *Pali-Grammatik*, p. 3; B. C. Law, *HPL.*, II, 632; Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 37.

[3] Edited by Professor J. Minayeff in *JPTS.*, 1886, pp. 54ff.

[4] Cf. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 40.

[5] *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, 83.

Kaccāyana or Mahākaccāyana is later than the Pali scholiast Buddhaghosa (5th century A.D.), for the latter explains the grammatical construction of Pali words by the rules of Pāṇini, and not by those of Kaccāyana.[1] Buddhaghosa who already received his education and training in the Brāhmaṇical tradition before his conversion to the Buddhist faith, was perhaps conversant with some of the earlier works on Sanskrit grammar including the grammar of Pāṇini.

There are three main systems or schools of Pali grammar: (1) that of Kaccāyana, (2) that of Moggallāna, and (3) that of Aggavaṃsa, the author of the *Saddanīti*. The first had its origin in India but developed in Ceylon in the line of the *Kalāpa-Kātantra*; the second originated and developed in Ceylon in the line of Pāṇini, Candra and Kātyāyana; and the third in Burma in the line of Kaccāyana, Pāṇini, etc. Of these, the school of Kaccāyana is the oldest. The Saddanīti school seems to be earlier than the school of Moggallāna. Each of these three schools has to its credit a large number of learned treatises in the field on Pali grammar and philology, rhetoric and prosody. The study of Pali grammar was needed particularly for facilitating the study of the canonical texts and their commentaries, and also for popularizing Pali or early Buddhism. Those who acted as pioneers so far as grammatical study is concerned, were chiefly the Buddhist monks and novices. But grammatical knowledge was not only confined to the members of the Buddhist Order, but also to the laity. Many grammatical treatises still lie buried in manuscripts. Some are reported to have been lost. Only a few of them have been published in Ceylon, Burma and other places.

An attempt has been made here to give a list of some of the important Pali works on grammar, rhetoric and prosody, based on the *Gandhavaṃsa*, supplemented by relevant materials from other available sources.[2]

Akkharamālā.—It is a short metrical work composed by Nāgasena Thera of Ceylon in the eighteenth century A.D., dealing with the Pali and Sinhalese alphabets.[3]

Akkharavisodhanī.—It is a late grammatical treatise dealing mainly with Pali philology, written in Burma by an unknown author.[4]

Atthabyākhyāna.—According to the *Gandhavaṃsa* (pp. 60, 67), this grammatical treatise was composed by the teacher, Culla

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[1] Geiger, *PLS*., p. 37; B. C. Law, *HPL*., II, 632-33, 637.

[2] For a list of modern works on Pali grammar, prosody, etc., the reader is referred to B. C. Law, *HPL*., II, 638ff., Geiger, *PLS*., pt. II, pp. 59f.

[3] Malalasekera, *PLC*., p. 285; *DPPN*., I, 5.

[4] *SV*., p. 154; Malalasekera, *DPPN*., I, 5.

Vajirabudhi, who lived in the city of Arimaddana (Pagan) in Upper Burma.[1]

Alaṃkāranissaya.—This is a *nissaya* or paraphrase on the *Subodhālaṃkāra* of Thera Saṃgharakkhita, written in 1880 A.D. by a Burmese monk.[2]

Ākhyātapada.—It is a short treatise dealing with Pali verbs, written in Ceylon.

Kaccāyana.—This is the oldest extant and most important Pali grammar. It is also called the *Kaccāyanagandha* or *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa*. It is so called, because it owes its origin to the teacher Kaccāyana or Mahākaccāyana who, according to tradition, belonged to Jambudīpa, i.e., India. In its present form, it is but an enlargement of an earlier work, called the *Susandhikappa* of Kaccāyana. It is divided into eight parts, each containing *suttas* (rules or aphorisms), *vutti* (gloss), *payoga* (application of the rules with illustrations), and *nyāsa* (explanatory notes). In the *Kaccāyanabheda*, it is distinctly stated that the *suttas* were written by the teacher Kaccāyana, the *vutti* by the teacher Saṃghanandī, the *payoga* by the teacher Brahmadatta, and the *nyāsa* by the teacher Vimalabuddhi. The *nyāsa* also exists as a separate work, called the *Mukhamattadīpanī*. The *Kaccāyana*, as we now have it, is a work, not of any single author but of many authors, and before it took its present form, it developed by stages. Kaccāyana's aphorisms are based on some earlier works, such as the *Kalāpa-Kātantra* of Śarvavarman, Pāṇini's grammar, etc. Kaccāyana's indebtedness to some such authority is frankly admitted in his aphorism (I. I. 9): *Parasamaññā payoge*. The *Kaccāyana* is said to have been taken to Burma early in the 5th century A.D. Since then several works have been written on it both in Ceylon and Burma.[3]

Kaccāyanadīpanī.—It is an anonymous work forming a commentary on Kaccāyana's grammar.[4]

Kaccāyana-dhātumañjūsā.—It is a metrical work, probably of the 15th century A.D. It is called simply *Dhātumañjūsā*. The roots contained in it are arranged on the line of the *Kaccāyana*. According to Subhūti (*Nāmamālā*, Intro., p. xcv), the work is similar to Vopadeva's *Kavikalpadruma*.[5]

Kaccāyanabheda or Kaccāyanabhedadīpikā.—This work consisting of seven chapters forms a masterly commentary on the *Kaccāyana*. According to the *Gandhavaṃsa* (pp. 64, 67, 74), it was written by the teacher Dhammānanda on his own initiative in the

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[1] *SV*., p. 34; Bode, *PLB*., p. 28; Malalasekera, *DPPN*., I, 56ff.

[2] Bode, *PLB*., p. 95; Malalasekera, *DPPN*., I, 185.

[3] Vide Subhūti, *Nāmamālā*, Intro., pp. v ff.; Malalasekera, *PLC*., 179ff; Bode, *PLB*., p. 21; B. C. Law, *HPL*., II, 633ff.; Malalasekera, *DPPN*., I, 479.

[4] Vide B. C. Law, *HPL*., II, 636.

[5] Geiger, *PLS*., pp. 50, 56; Malalasekera, *PLC*., p. 237; *DPPN*., II, 1158.

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city of Arimaddana (Pagan), while others hold that its author was Thera Mahāyasa who lived at Thaton in the second half of the 14th century A.D. (*Svd.*, v. 1250; Bode, *PLB.*, pp. 36f.). There are two important *ṭīkās* on it, namely, the *Kaccāyanabheda-mahāṭīkā* and the *Sāratthavikāsinī*.[1]

Kaccāyanayoga.—It is a learned treatise dealing with the aphorisms of the *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa*, written in Burma (Bode, *PLB.*, 21).

Kaccāyanavaṇṇanā.—It is a commentary on the *Susandhikappa* of Kaccāyana, written by Mahā Vijitāvī Thera.[2]

Kaccāyanavutti.—This work contains the *vutti* or gloss of Kaccāyana's aphorisms, written by the teacher Saṃghanandī, an inhabitant of Ceylon.[3]

Kaccāyanasāra.[4]—It is a résumé of the *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa*. In it, the *Rūpasiddhi*, *Bālāvatāra*, *Sambandhacintā*, and other grammatical works have been quoted. According to the *Gandhavaṃsa* (p. 74), it was written by a celebrated Pali grammarian, named Dhammānanda Thera, who lived at Pagan in Upper Burma, while according to others, its author was Mahāyasa Thera who lived at Thaton in the second half of the 14th century A.D.[5]

Kaccāyana-suttaniddesa.[6]—It is so called because it explains the *suttas* or aphorisms of Kaccāyana. It is also titled as *Suttaniddesa*, dated 1181 A.D., and composed at Arimaddana (Pagan) in Upper Burma by the teacher (*ācariya*) Saddhammajotipāla.[7]

Kavisāraṭīkānissaya.—This nissaya or paraphrase pre-supposes the existence of a *ṭīkā* on the book *Kavisāra* with which it deals. Its author and the time of origin are not known.[8]

Kavisārapakaraṇa.—It is a useful work on Pali prosody.[9]

Kāmaṇḍakī.—It is a work on Pali metrics, written by an unknown author.[10]

Kārikā[11].—This is a short metrical treatise dealing with Pali grammatical rules. This work seems to be earlier than the *Saddanīti* of Aggavaṃsa. It was composed in Burma by the teacher Dhammasenāpati.[1]

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[1] Subhūti, *Nāmamālā*, Intro., pp. lxiii f.; Geiger, *PLS.*, pp. 51f.; Malalasekera, *DPPN.*, I, 478.

[2] *Svd.*, v. 1242; Subhūti, *Nāmamālā*, Intro., pp. xviii f.; Bode, *PLB.*, p. 46; Geiger, *PLS.*, pp. 52f.; *JPTS.*, 1882.

[3] Malalasekera, *PLC.*, p. 180; *DPPN.*, II, 993.

[4] Ed. with Sinhalese Trans. by W. Ñāṇatilaka, Welitara, Ceylon, 1892 (*JPTS.*, 1912, p. 143).

[5] *Svd.*, v. 1250; Bode, *PLB.*, pp. 36f.

[6] Ed. in Sinhalese by N. J. Cooray, Colombo, 1905 (*JPTS.*, 1912, 144).

[7] *Gandhavaṃsa*, pp. 64, 74; *Piṭakatthamain*, p. 66; Subhūti, *Nāmamālā*, Intro., p. xv.; Bode, *PLB.*, p. 17; *JPTS.*, 1908, p. 89; Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 50; Malalasekera, *DPPN.*, II, 1190.

[8] B. C. Law, *HPL.*, II, 638.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] Ed. in Sinhalese by W. Ñāṇatilaka, Welitara, Ceylon, 1897 (*JPTS.*, 1912, p. 144).

Gandhaṭṭhi.—It is a grammatical work on Pali particles, probably of the fourteenth century A.D., written by the Burmese Thera Maṅgala, an inhabitant of Arimaddana (Pagan) in Upper Burma.[2]

Gandhābharaṇa [3].—This work deals with Pali particles. It was composed in about 1980 B.E. (= 1436 A.D.) by a celebrated teacher and author named Ariyavaṃsa on his own initiative.[4] Ariyavaṃsa was a native of Ava in Burma, and belonged to the Chapada sect.[5]

Culla-nirutti.—This is one of the oldest Pali grammars. It is also called the *Culla-niruttigandha*, ascribed to Mahākaccāyana, the author of the *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa.*[6]

Chandoviciti.—It is a work on Pali metrics.[7]

Chandosāratthavikāsinī or Vuttodayapañcikā.—It is an important work, being a commentary on the *Vuttodaya.* Its author was a distinguished Pali and Sanskrit scholar named Saddhammañāṇa Thera, an inhabitant of Pagan. He also translated into Pali the Sanskrit grammar *Kātantra.*[8]

Chappaccayadīpanī.—It is a work on Pali prosody, written by Saddhammañāṇa Thera, an inhabitant of Pagan.[9]

Dhātupāṭha.—It was written prior to the *Dhātumañjūsā* belonging to the school of Kaccāyana.[10]

Dhātvatthadīpanī.—This metrical work contains a re-arrangement of the roots mentioned in Aggavaṃsa's *Saddanīti.*[11]

Nayalakkhaṇavibhāvanī.—This grammatical treatise was written by the Burmese Thera Vicittācāra in the second half of the eighteenth century A.D.[12]

Padavibhāga.—It is a grammatical treatise written by the Burmese Thera Ñāṇālaṅkāra.[13]

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[1] *GV.*, pp. 63, 73; Bode, *PLB.*, pp. 15f., 16, fn. 1; *JPTS.*, 1908, pp. 92ff.; Subhūti, *Nāmamālā*, Intro., p. lxix; Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 38, fn. 2; Malalasekera, *DPPN.*, I, 571.

[2] Bode, *PLB.*, p. 26; Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 57.

[3] Ed. in Sinhalese by W. Ñāṇatilaka, Welitara, Ceylon, 1898 (*JPTS.*, 1912, p. 142).

[4] *GV.*, pp. 64, 65, 75.

[5] *SV.*, p. 98; for further details, vide Bode, *PLB.*, pp. 41ff.; cf. also *JPTS.*, 1896, p. 50, No. 164; Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 57; Malalasekera, *DPPN.*, I, 181.

[6] *GV.*, pp. 59, 65; *Svd.*, vv. 1233ff.; Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 38; Malalasekera, *DPPN.*, II, 79.

[7] B. C. Law, *HPL.*, II, 638.

[8] Fausböll, *JPTS.*, 1896, pp. 51, 52; *Piṭakatthamain*, p. 74; Bode, *PLB.*, p. 26; Malalasekera, *DPPN.*, I, 922, 926; II, 1017.

[9] Bode, *PLB.*, p. 26; Malalasekera, *DPPN.*, I, 926.

[10] Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 56.

[11] Vide R. O. Franke, *Pali Grammatik*, pp. 58f., 63f.; B. C. Law, *HPL.*, p. 636, fn. 1.

[12] Vide Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 58; B. C. Law, *HPL.*, II, 636.

[13] Bode, *PLB.*, pp. 71, 77; Malalasekera, *DPPN.*, II, 131.

Padasādhana.[1]—The *Padasādhana*, also called the *Padasodhana* or *Padasādinī*, forms an abridged version of Moggallāna's grammar. It is, therefore, sometimes called the *Moggallāna-saddattharatnākara*. This treatise consists of six chapters dealing with Pali *sadda, sandhi, samāsa*, verbs, prefixes and suffixes. It was composed towards the close of the twelfth century A.D. by Piyadassī Thera who was a pupil of the grammarian Moggallāna and lived in the Devarāja Vihāra in Ceylon.[2]

Payogasiddhi.—This work is considered to be one of the best and comprehensive Pali grammars belonging to the school of Moggallāna. The authorship of this work is ascribed to Vanaratana Medhaṅkara (= Medhaṅkara III) of Ceylon, who lived in the time of King Bhuvanekabāhu III (thirteenth century A.D.) as an incumbent of the Vijayabāhupariveṇa, built by King Vijayabāhu I.[3]

Bālāvatāra.—The *Bālāvatāra* is the most important and popular handbook of Pali grammar produced in Ceylon in the thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D. It consists of seven chapters. It is based on the Kaccāyana, and in it the aphorisms of Kaccāyana have been treated in a more systematic and concise form. According to some, it was written by Thera Dhammakitti, the author of the *Saddhammasaṅgaha* (Subhūti, *Nāmamālā*, Intro., pp. xxivf; cf. Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 51), whereas the *Gandhavaṃsa* (pp. 62, 71) clearly records that, at the instance of the three Theras, namely, Sumaṅgala, Buddhamitta and Mahākassapa, the teacher Vācissara composed this treatise together with the *Sambandhacintā-ṭīkā* and the *Moggallānavyākaraṇa-ṭīkā*. This Vācissara is further represented as the author of eighteen treatises on a variety of subjects.[4]

Bālāvatāra-ṭīkā.—This *ṭīkā* on the *Bālāvatāra* was written probably in the fifteenth century A.D. by the Burmese Thera Uttama on his own initiative, when he lived in the city of Arimaddana (Pagan) in Upper Burma. This Uttama was also the author of the *Liṅgatthavivaraṇa-ṭīkā*.[5]

Mukhamattadīpanī.—The *Mukhamattadīpanī*, also called the *Nyāsa*, is a Pali grammatical treatise of outstanding merit. It forms the oldest and best commentary on the *Kaccāyanayoga*. It was written by the teacher Mahā Vimalabuddhi, probably in the eleventh century A.D. (Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 38). According to some, Mahā

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[1] Ed. in Sinhalese by Dhammānanda and Ñāṇissara, Colombo, 1887.

[2] Vide Subhūti, *Nāmamālā*, Intro., p. xxxviii; Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 54; B. C. Law, *HPL.*, II, pp. 635ff.; Malalasekera, *PLC.*, pp. 201, 205; *DPPN.*, II, 131, 207.

[3] *GV.*, pp. 62, 72; Subhūti, *Nāmamālā*, Intro., p. xliv; Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 54; Malalasekera, *PLC.*, pp. 230 f.

[4] Vide also Malalasekera, *PLC.*, pp. 217, 243ff.; *DPPN.*, II, 279, 849f.; B. C. Law, *HPL.*, II, 635, fn. 3.

[5] *GV.*, pp. 63, 67, 73; cf. Subhūti, *Nāmamālā*, Intro., p. xxvi; Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 51; B. C. Law, *HPL.*, II, 635, fn. 3.

Vimalabuddhi was a monk of Ceylon, while according to others, he lived in the city of Arimaddana (Pagan) in Upper Burma. This author also wrote a *ṭīkā* on the *Nyāsa*.[1]

Mukhamattasāra.—This grammatical treatise is attributed to the teacher Sāgara, better known as Guṇasāgara, an inhabitant of Pagan in Upper Burma (*GV.*, pp. 63, 67; *SV.*, p. 76). This work is said to have been composed by its author at the request of the religious teacher of the Burmese king Kyocvā (*GV.*, p. 73). It can, therefore, be assigned to the second half of the fifteenth century A.D.[2]

Moggallāna-pañcikā.—It is a commentary on Moggallāna's grammar. It is also called simply the *Pañcikā*. This commentary is now lost. According to some, it was written by the grammarian Moggallāna himself (Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 53), while others hold that it was one of the works of the Ceylonese Thera Sāriputta (*GV.*, pp. 61, 67, 71; *Svd.*, vv. 1203, 1244), who was called Sāgaramati on account of his erudition (*Saddhammasaṅgaha*, p. 63), and who lived during the reign of Parakkamabāhu I (1153–1186 A.D.) of Ceylon.

Moggallānavyākaraṇa.[3]—This work represents one of the three main systems of Pali grammar. It was produced in Ceylon by Thera Moggallāna on his own initiative. It is also called the *Saddalakkhaṇa*. This work of Moggallāna is, however, better known as the *Moggallāna* or *Moggallāna-vyākaraṇa*, precisely as the grammar of Kaccāyana is generally called the *Kaccāyana* or *Kaccāyana-vyākaraṇa*. Moggallāna's grammar shows an improvement on the *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa* from which it differs remarkably not only in the arrangement and grouping of the roots but also in the terminology. Like the grammarian Kaccāyana, Moggallāna also utilized the older Pali grammars, along with the *Kātantra* and the works of Pāṇini and Candragomin. It is perhaps later than the *Saddanīti*. Moggallāna lived in the Thūpārāma in Anurādhapura, Ceylon, in the second half of the twelfth century A.D.[4]

Rūpasiddhi[5].—It is a standard book of Pali grammar. It is variously known as the *Padarūpasiddhi*, the *Rūpasiddhipakaraṇa* or the *Mahārūpasiddhi*. It consists of seven chapters, and in the last chapter it treats of *kitakas* and *uṇādi*. The mode of treatment of this work is almost similar to that of the *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa*, on which it is based. This work was composed by a Buddhist

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[1] *GV.*, pp. 60, 67, 70; *Sv.*, p. 75; *Svd.*, vv. 1223, 1236; for details, vide Bode, *PLB.*, p. 21; B. C. Law, *HPL.*, II, 635 fn. 1; Subhūti, *Nāmamālā*, Intro., p. ix; *JPTS.*, 1896, p. 47; Malalasekera, *PLC.*, p. 204; *DPPN.*, II, 87, 638, 892.

[2] Cf. Bode, *PLV.*, p. 25; Malalasekera, *DPPN.*, II, 636.

[3] Ed. in Sinhalese by H. Devamitta, Colombo 1890 (*JPTS.*, 1912, p. 147).

[4] *GV.*, pp. 61, 66, 70; *Svd.*, v. 1251; Subhūti, *Nāmamālā*, Intro., p. xxx; Malalasekera, *PLC.*, p. 179ff.; B. C. Law, *HPL.*, II, 62, 505, 635; Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 53.

[5] Ed. by Grunwedel, Berlin, 1883; Sinhalese edition by M. Guṇaratana, Colombo, 1897 (*JPTS.*, 1912, p. 146).

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monk named Dīpaṅkara Buddhappiya in the second half of the thirteenth century A.D. In the colophon the author introduces himself as an inhabitant of the Coḷa country in South India. He went to Ceylon for study where he completed his course under Thera Ānanda Vanaratana, and became famous as Coḷiya Dīpaṅkara. He was also the author of the *Rūpasiddhi-ṭīkā* and the *Summapañcasutta*.[1]

Vuttodaya.[2]—The *Vuttodaya*, which literally means an exposition of metres, is a valuable work on Pali prosody. It is written partly in prose and partly in verse. It deals only with the *Lokiyacchanda* (popular prosody), and includes in it both *Mattābheda* and *Vaṇṇabheda*. The *Vuttodaya* is evidently based on some earlier Sanskrit works on post-Vedic metre. Both in terminology and in the method of treatment there is an agreement between it and Piṅgala's work. In the Colophon it is stated that the book was composed by Saṃgharakkhita Thera who is believed to be a pupil of Sāriputta and Medhaṅkara of Ceylon. This work, therefore, belongs to the twelfth century A.D. Although Saṃgharakkhita also wrote many other treatises, he became famous as *Vuttodayakāra*.[3]

Saddanīti[4].—The *Saddanīti* is one of the most important Pali grammars. It had its origin in Burma, where it is still regarded as a classic. This work was composed in 1154 A.D. by the Burmese Thera Aggavaṃsa on his own initiative.[5] This Aggavaṃsa became the religious teacher of King Narapatisithu who reigned at Pagan from 1167 A.D. to 1204 A.D. The *Saddanīti* is considered to be 'the most comprehensive' Pali grammar.[6] In the colophon it is clearly stated that this treatise is based on the works of the ancient teachers and on the canonical texts. In fact, it contains materials not only from the Pali *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa* but also from Sanskrit grammars, such as those of Pāṇini and others. It illustrates grammatical rules with ample quotations from the canonical texts. This work is divided into three parts: *Padamālā*, *Dhātumālā*, and *Suttamālā*. It consists of 27 chapters. Of these, the first eighteen chapters are called the *Mahāsaddanīti* and the remaining nine are called the

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[1] *GV*., pp. 60, 66, 70; *Svd*., v. 1260; *Saddhammasaṅgaha*, p. 65; Subhūti, *Nāmamālā*, Intro., p. xxi; Geiger, *PLS*., pp. 50ff.; B. C. Law, *HPL*., II, 635; Malalasekera, *PLC*., pp. 220ff.; *DPPN*., II, 309, 750.

[2] Published by Fryer in *JASB*., 1877; edited with Sinhalese paraphrase by Vimalajoti, Colombo 1888 (*JPTS*., 1912, p. 154); also edited in Roman character with an English translation by R. Siddhartha in the Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XVIII, pp. 1-54.

[3] *GV*., pp. 61, 67, 70; *Svd*., vv. 1209-10; cf. *JPTS*., 1896, pp. 46, 48, 51; G. E. Fryer in *JASB*., Vol. XLVI, pt. I; Geiger, *PLS*., p. 57; B. C. Law, *HPL*., II, 638; Malalasekera, *PLC*., pp. 197 ff.; *DPPN*., II, 914, 991.

[4] Ed. in Roman by Helmer Smith in three parts, London, 1928–30.

[5] *GV*., pp. 63, 67, 72; *Svd*., v. 1238.

[6] C. Duroiselle, *BEFEO*., tome v, p. 147, note.

Cullasaddanīti. The *Saddanīti* was, as pointed out by Mabel Bode, 'the first return-gift of Burma to Ceylon'.[1] According to the *Sāsanavaṃsa* (pp. 40, 74), a few years after its completion a copy of the *Saddanīti* was carried from Pagan to Ceylon by the Burmese Thera Uttarājīva who gave it as a present to the dwellers of the Mahāvihāra. Some of the monks of Ceylon who were doubtful about the erudition of the Burmese monks in grammatical studies, went to Pagan, where they found and examined the *Saddanīti* in original, which they then declared superior to all grammatical treatises written in Ceylon.[2]

Subodhālaṅkāra [3].—It is a very important and learned treatise on Pali rhetoric and prosody. It was composed by the Ceylonese Thera Saṃgharakkhita, on his own initiative, in the second half of the twelfth century A.D. This author was the pupil of Sāriputta and Medaṅkara, and he wrote many other treatises including the *Vuttodaya*. There are two important *ṭikās* on it.[4]

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[1] *JPTS*., 1908, p. 88.

[2] Cf. Bode, *PLB*., pp. 16 f.; Subhūti, *Nāmamālā*, Intro., p. xlviii; Geiger, *PLS*., pp. 54 f.; B. C. Law, *HPL*., II, 636, fn. 1; Malalasekera, *DPPN*., I, 9; II, 1015.

[3] Ed. with Sinhalese paraphrase by Paṇḍit Dharmasena, Colombo, 1909 (*JPTS*., 1912, pp. 151 f.).

[4] *GV*., pp. 61, 62, 66, 70; *Svd*., vv. 1209, 1210, 1256; cf. also *JPTS*., 1896, pp. 46, 48, 51; *JASB*., vol. XLIV, pt. I; Geiger, *PLS*., pp. 32, 46, 57; B. C. Law, *HPL*., II, 638; Malalasekera, *PLC*., p. 199 f.; *DPPN*., II, 1226.

YAŚOVARMMAN OF KANAUJ

By ADRIS BANERJI

In 1900 the late Sir Auriel Stein stated ruefully, 'Scarcely any historical data are as yet available regarding King Yaśovarmman of Kānyakubja, apart from our notice in our passage though we have a historical poem dealing with Yaśovarmman's victory over an unnamed Gauḍa king in Vākpati's *Gaudavaho.*'[1] Since almost half a century has elapsed, the British rule in India has come to an end, with the exception of a solitary epigraph found in the ruins of Nalanda, very little fresh information has reached us.

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The death of Harsha marked the end of an age. He was not the last Hindu emperor, but the last great Buddhist emperor of India. Neither Dharmmapāla, nor Devapāla, neither Mahīpāla I nor Rāmapāla could claim that undoubted suzerainty over the greater portion of the *Āryāvartta,* and that profound patronage of Buddhism, which the last scion of the House of Pushpabhūtis can claim from posterity. As an empire-builder, as an administrator, he probably failed, unlike Chandragupta or Samudragupta, to give his dynasty a permanency, but as an author, as a warrior, as a patron of learning, arts and religion he was undoubtedly the last of the 'Barons'.

SOURCES

1. *Gaudavaho* by Vākpatirāja, a *Prākṛit* historical *kāvya* edited by S. P. Pandit, in the old Bombay Sanskrit Series. I was informed while at Sarnath that a relation of his, the late R. S. Pandit, was engaged in preparing a fresh edition. But his sad and untimely death must have put an end to his efforts.

2. Nalanda Inscription of the time of Yaśovarmman. This interesting inscription in high-flown Sanskrit was discovered a few years ago at Nalanda. It is a Buddhist document, and its object is to record that Mālāda, the son of Yaśovarmmadeva's minister, who is called *Mārgapati,* as well as *Udichīpati* and *Pratita-Tikina,* made certain gifts to the community of *Bhikṣus* and to the temple erected by King Bālāditya at Nalanda in honour of the 'son of Śuddhodana', i.e. the Buddha. It extols Yaśovarmman in hyperbolic terms as the *lokapāla* (guardian of the world), who 'has risen after

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[1] Kalhaṇa's *Chronicles of Kings of Kashmir,* footnote to IV. 134, p. 132.

placing his foot on the heads of all the kings and has completely removed the terrific darkness in the form of all his foes by the diffusion of the rays of his sword'.[1] Dr. Hirananda Sastri thought that he is identical with Yaśodharman of the Mandasor inscriptions, and further corrected the latter's name into Yaśovarmman.[2] But Dr. R. C. Majumdar correctly pointed out that there is no warrant for the above assumption.

3. Ghosrawan Inscription of the reign of Devapāladeva, which gives a biographical account of an abbot of Nalanda in the reign of the second monarch of the Pala dynasty.

4. Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅginī,* critically edited by the late Sir M. A. Stein and translated by the late R. S. Pandit, from Allahabad, entitled *The River of Kings.*

5. Some crude coins of the Indo-Scythian type bearing the name Yaśovarmman.[3]

An evaluation of the character and contents of the sources is *prima facie* necessary, before deductions are made from it. Vākpatirāja, the author of the only book *Gaudavaho,* was a court poet of Yaśovarmman, along with Bhavabhūti, the author of *Mālatimādhava* and *Uttararāmacharitaṁ.* He shares with Kalhaṇa and Sandhyākaranandin the merit of having ever approached the duties of what in modern times are known as official historiographer. To say that Kalhaṇa was an official historiographer would be doing an injustice to him, as his family received very little patronage after the death of Harsha. He (Vākpati) is supposed to be a *Kshattriya* of the Paramāra clan. To do justice to Vākpati he never takes the credit of writing an *itihāsa,* but on request, he was writing a complete narrative of the manner in which Yaśovarmman killed the king of Magadha, who is no other than the lord of Gauḍa, from which the book takes its name.[4] But in fact, the murder of the king of Gauḍa occupies only six couplets, including the campaign and the battle, so that even an embarrassed commentator has to explain this shortcoming of the poet.[5] This has led to a plausible conjecture that it was prelude to another work which has either not reached us, or never written, due to the conquest of the Kāṇyakubja kingdom by Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa. Nowhere any attempt has been made to guise this work as a serious treatise on history, but throughout it claims to be a *kāvya.* Its faithful adherence to prosody, invocation to former poets, conclusively prove the intentions of the author. Yet this happens to be our major source of information about his conquests. Therefore proper estimation of this work is so important for the reign of Yaśovarmman of Kanauj.

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[1] R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj,* p. 205.

[2] *Ep. Ind.,* vol. XX, p. 40.

[3] Smith, *Cat. Coins Ind. Mus.,* vol. I, p. 268; Cunningham, *Coins of Mediæval India,* p. 44, note 20.

[4] *Gaudavaho,* v. 844.

[5] See comment on couplet 416, p. 420.

The first quality that marks the work is the brevity of the historical disquisition which, though disappointing in some respect, makes his account all the more interesting; take for example, he does not mention the name of the lord of Magadha. Vaṅga or any monarch who opposed him.

Ghosrawan Inscription of the time of Devapāladeva states that Vīradeva visited the *vihāra* at Yaśovarmmapura. This is probably the city founded in Magadha by the king. The same place is also mentioned in the Nalanda Inscription of Mālāda.[1]

In the *T'ang* annals it is stated that Yaśovarmman (*I-cha-fon-mo*) sent an embassy to the emperor of China. M. M. Chavannes and Levi thought that this embassy must have taken place between 734 and 747 A.D.

According to Vākpati, Yaśovarmman seems to have been *bhāgvata*, because except in one place he is compared with Hari, Keśava, the various forms of Vishṇu. Finally, he belonged to the lunar race. The late Jain work *Bappabhaṭṭasuricharita*, makes him a member of the Maurya dynasty. The same is the case with *Prabhāvaka-charita*, quoted by Dr. R. S. Tripathi.[2] In fact, the appearance of Yaśovarmman at Kanauj, has antecedents as well as the subsequent history of his dynasty, remains few of the unsolved mysteries of Indian history—just as the Nalanda Inscription has proved the historicity of Vākpati's claims as far as the conquest of Magadha is concerned, a happy find of another epigraph might help us one day. The excavations of Ghosrawan or Kanauj itself might be of great help.

Following the tradition of Indian poets and *smṛitis*, Yaśovarmman starts from his capital Kanauj on *digvijaya*. He first arrives in the valley of the Son, and from there he proceeds to the Vindhya hills; the locality is settled by the mention of Vindhyavāsinī, guided by a *Savara*. That is the modern Vindhyachal, in Mirzapur district of the United Provinces. From this region Yaśovarmman proceeded towards Magadha. The king of Magadha was frightened by Yaśovarmman, but his vassals decided to make a stand in which the king of Magadha was killed. Yaśovarmman seems to have captured the ladies of the royal family, because subsequently while describing a *sabhā* of Yaśovarmman on his return to his capital, Vākpati poetically describes the queens of the king of Magadha plying the flywhisk as a token of having been turned into slaves.[3] Evidently, the custom prevailed in India in turning ladies of royal rank into slaves when conquered. It appears that there was only one battle and the whole of Magadha and Gauḍa fell into the hands of the Kanauj king. Magadha was southern Bihar, and Gauḍa was northern Bengal-part of Puṇḍra, probably the area in or about modern districts of Maldah, Rajshahi, Purnea in Bihar. Thus the Barrackpur Inscription of Vijayasena tells us that he impetuously assailed the lord of Gauḍa, whom he was not able to vanquish, so that it had to be conquered by his grandson Lakshmaṇasena who assumed the title of Gauḍeśvara.[1] As Vijayasena practically ruled the whole of Bengal, including Rāḍhā, Samataṭa, Suhma and Varendrī, the geographical position of Gauḍa becomes quite clear. After defeating the king of Gauḍa, the Kanauj monarch arrived at the seacoast perfumed by cardamon and full of plantation of cocoa palms.[2] This area has always received the most poetic embellishments from the most famous poets. Kalīdāsa, while describing the *digvijaya* of Raghu, tells us:

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[1] *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, vol. XXXIV, pts. I and II.

[2] Tripaṭhi, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

[3] vv. 695–97.

> *Dūr=ādayaś=chakra-nibhasya tanvī tamāla-tālī-vana-rāji-nīlā* ।
> *Ābhāti velā lavaṇāmbu-rāśer=dhārā-nibaddheva kalaṅka-rekhā* ॥

A little earlier Yaśodharmman's court poet had also sung in the same manner.[3]

Then the poet describes the defeat of the king of Vaṅga, who was considered powerful by possession of war elephants. Strange as it may seem, the king of Vaṅga seems to have specialized in possessing war elephants, which distinguished him from other princelings. About three centuries later, we find the same description in the Tirumalai Rock Inscription of Rajendra-chola, where claim is made that the general of Rajendra-chola captured his elephants and women.[4] This Vaṅga is generally taken to be the whole of Bengal, but originally it represented a portion of it, namely, the south-eastern Bengal,[5] comprising the modern districts of Dacca, Bakerganj, Jessore, Khulna, Faridpur and Noakhali. From Vaṅga he passed through fields and by flocks of deers sitting at their ease, and crossing the Mālaya mountain, accepted the submission of the king of the southern region [6] and then arrived on the eastern seacoast, which is poetically identified with the place where proud Rāvaṇa was humiliated by Vālī. The whole campaign is very summarily treated, but the description leaves no doubt that the Kanauj army crossed into Utkala by the Midnapur region, and crossing the mountainous and jungle-clad area, now known as *Garhjat* States of Orissa,

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[1] vv. 20–23. *JBORS.*, vol. XXV, 'Extent of Sena Kingdom', etc.

[2] v. 418, p. 120.

[3] Mandasor Inscription in *CII.*, vol. III, p. 146. The place offered a safe refuge in times of invasions, with its innumerable canals, jungles and swamps. Cf. Haraha Inscription of Īśānavarmman, *EI*, vol. XIV, p. 117 and R. G. Basak, *History of North-Eastern India*, p. 3.

[4] *EI.*, vol. IX, pp. 232-33.

[5] *JRAS.*, 1935, pp. 665-6.

[6] v. 423.

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arrived in the southern land. From there, according to his court poet he turned north-west, and visiting the place where Rāvaṇa offered his ten heads to the god Śiva (that is, Gokarṇa-Mahabaleshwar) went still northward, when he is said to have defeated the lord of the *Pāraśika* colony (*janapada-patina*). The Persians have played a great rôle in the history of India, since Achaemenid times, and have always been met with in western India. The researches of Prof S. H. Hodivala in his *Studies in Parsi History* and Mr. S. K. Hodivala, who has culled together almost all the references to the Parsis contained in epigraphic records, literary works and traditional accounts in his *Parsis of Ancient India*, have shown the truthfulness of the above hypothesis. The Persian conquests of Baluchistan, Sindh, Cutch and the Punjab are now well known.[1] But by the fifth century of the Christian era, most of these areas were reoccupied by the Imperial Guptas from whom they were wrested by the Huṇas. But possibly in some unknown corner or inaccessible spot a small percentage existed, independently of all the changes that had taken place in the political stage of northern India. Balādhurī in his *Kitāb Futuḥ al Buldān* mentions Iranian and Turkish colonies in Mekran and Kalat describing Muhammad ibn al Kāsim's successful expedition against Deval. It is possible, however, that the *Pāraśika* colony referred to implies Sanjan, where a large number of Iranians settled down, whatever be the historicity of Kisse Sanjan.

From there Yaśovarmman reaches the banks of the Narmmadā and the western ocean, by which probably Sindh is mentioned, and rested there for a while. From Sindh the Kanauj army reaches Marudeśa or Marumāḍa or modern Marwar, whose deserts, we are told, were infested with elephants(?) and lions.[2] It was from this Marumāḍa, or rather from its principal city Bhillamāla, that Kanauj was to receive its greatest dynasty, later in history. From Marudeśa, Yaśovarmman went to Śrī-Kaṇṭha or Thāneśvar. From Thāneśvar he visited Kurukshettra near Karnal, and from there he went to Ayodhya. After Ayodhya a poetical description is given of hard fighting in the Himalayas, which might refer to Basti and the Terai region.

DATE OF YAŚOVARMMAN

Nothing practically is known about the date of Yaśovarmman; except the solitary inscription of Mālāda, found in the ruins of Nalanda, no other epigraph of Yaśovarmman is known to us. I have a suspicion that when Mālāda made this gift, Yaśovarmman had already passed away. Because it is a *pari passu* notice of the monarch, and he is not noticed with the usual imperial titles ending in *vijayī*. There are, however, two other synchronisms which to a certain extent fix his dates. Panthier, quoted by Chavannes and Levi, has suggested the identity of Yaśovarmman (*I-cha-fon-mo*) with the king of central India, who sent in 731 A.D. his minister *Seng-po-ta* to the Chinese court.[1] The *Annals* of the *T'ang* dynasty of China further mention that after the first Chinese attack on Baltistan (736–47 A.D.), Muktāpiḍa sent an embassy to Emperor *Hiun-Tsang* (*c.* 713–55 A.D.). The king requested an alliance against Tibetans, and stated that he had made a common front with the king of central India and had closed the five routes of Tibet.[2] Since two centuries, the Tibetans had become really very powerful and are reported to have made extensive conquests. We learn from the French *savant* Sylvain Levi that during the years that followed the death of Harshavardhaṇa of Kanauj, 'Eastern India' and the other neighbouring territories of Tibet were dominated by them. The real foundation of this greatness was laid by *Lonn-tsanso-lnng-tsan* (*c.* 581–600 A.D.) who united the various hilly tribes of the land. His son, *Srong-btsan-sgam-po*, extended the dominions in all directions. By force he married a Nepal princess and for the next two centuries Nepal remained a part of the Tibetan empire. He is said to have been master of half of India. *Srong-btsan-sgam-po* died about 650 A.D. His grandson maintained his hold over Indian dominions. But decline set in from the end of this reign. During the series of minorities and regencies that followed, Indian dominions were probably lost to the Tibetan Government. China reconquered her provinces and, while the Tibetan army was engaged with the aggressors, the Indian provinces together with Nepal probably revolted. Nepal was subdued again, but our further information about India is singularly inconclusive.[3]

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[1] *IHQ.*, vol. XIII, pp. 105–116; E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, Berlin, 1924.

[2] v. 471, p. 134.

This decline of the Tibetan supremacy practically coincides with the rise of Yaśovarmman and, even later, that of Lalitāditya-Muktāpiḍa, a new luminary in the political horizon of Kashmir. The Chinese expedition to Baltistan made a great impression on political India, and it is also appreciable that during the great days of Tibetan imperialism the lot of the little kingdom of Kashmir had not been enviable. What is more interesting possibly is that Yaśovarmman's Himalayan expedition had something to do with this. It might have been towards the Nepal border conterminous with Basti or Kumaun and Garhwal. Unless Yaśovarmman's frontier coincided with that of Tibet, it is incomprehensible how he

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[1] *Journal Asiatique*, 1895, p. 353. Mentioned by Stein.

[2] Stein, *Chronicles of Kashmir*, footnote 126.

[3] Levi, *Le Nepal*, vol. II, pp. 146ff. and 173ff. During his explorations of Khotan and other sites in Chinese Turkestan, considerable Tibetan records were found by Sir M. A. Stein.

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could have closed the gates leading into Tibet. The Kashmir king certainly could not have issued on a *digvijaya* unless the home front had been safe, and at this time he seems to have remained in alliance with Yaśovarmman. This alliance should not be confused with that mentioned by Kalhaṇa, which we shall have occasion to discuss subsequently, because due to imperious intervention of Mitraśarman the treaty was never concluded. Particular stress on this alliance seems to have been laid by Lalitāditya's ambassadors, because it seems to have been well known to Kashmir court that, thanks to the embassy of 731 A.D., Yaśovarmman enjoyed some prestige in the imperial court of China. Therefore we shall not be wrong in assuming that the date of Yaśovarmman lay in the first two quarters of the eighth century of the Christian era, probably between *c.* 720 and 750 A.D. Dr. R. S. Tripathi puts the date to *c.* 725–52 A.D.[1]

DISCUSSION

There are indications that he was actually regarded as a king of considerable active habits. His army is referred to in praiseworthy manner by Kalhaṇa.[2] His embassy to the emperor of China, which was also followed by his conqueror Lalitāditya too, shows his attempts at wide diplomatic intercourse.[3] In order to appreciate his actual achievement, it is necessary to realize the extent of his kingdom. Kalhaṇa in one place says that the land of Kānyakubja was between the Yamunā and the Kāli-Nadī probably the Kali-Sindh in the Farrukkabad district.[4] Stein, however, has considered it improbable. In another place Kalhaṇa refers to the Doab between the Ganges and the Yamunā, the area known in ancient times as *Antarvvedī*. This was probably the true extent of the kingdom when he came into power or ascended the throne. The southern and eastern U.P. probably were then either under Jivītagupta II or any of his feudatories who no longer acknowledged him. Yaśovarmman probably marched from Kanauj to Jaunpur and thence to Banaras, because he certainly did not cross the hilly regions of Mirzapur, which he visited later on after he had arrived at the Son valley, probably *Son=āntarāla-vishaya,* mentioned in one of the sealings found at Nalanda. He then visited Vindhyavāsinī, led by a *Savara,* where he seems to have spent the summer and the monsoon. On hearing his approach, *Magadhanātha,* we are told, beat a hasty retreat. Probably he evacuated his ancient capital Pāṭaliputra and retired to a more inaccessible region. The identity of this king of Magadha has been established long ago by Ramaprasad Chanda as Jivītagupta II.

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[1] *History of Kanauj,* pp. 194–97.

[2] *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* IV, pp. 133-34.

[3] *Journal Asiatique,* 1895, p. 353.

[4] *Rāja.,* IV, 145.

The question now arises: where did *Magadhanātha* retire, so that he could defend himself against this upstart from Kanauj? There are several places in ancient Magadha to which he could have gone. The first was the hill tracts of Shahabad and Rohtas, because this area was, as late as Sher Khān's time, full of impassable jungle and populated with Cheroes, a wild tribe, one of whom, Mahāratha, was defeated by him.[1] The next region was the Kharagpur hills in the Monghyr district, which was never even conquered by the Muslims. The third area was Jhārkhaṇḍa. But there is more precise indication that he retired towards his ancient capital Rajgir and Nawadah hills. Yaśovarmman is credited with having founded a town in his name in Magadha. This was known as 'Yaśovarmmapura' and is referred to in at least two epigraphs. The Ghosrawan Inscription first brought the matter to our notice, and along with Kielhorn I have identified it with Ghosrawan in my paper 'An Abbot of Nalanda'. This village is situated only two miles distant from the Giriyek spur of Rajgir hills. If the battle had taken place elsewhere, there seems to have been no meaning in establishing a town so far away from the actual place of occurrence. Probably it was set up on the very battlefield. 'Such a practice was not uncommon in ancient times, and we may recall that Alexander similarly marked his victory by the foundation of two towns one named Nikaia, situated on the battlefield, and the other called Boukephela, located at a point whence Alexander started to cross the Hydaspes'.[2] Another indication is that the royal ladies fell into the hands of the conqueror. Unless there were habitations in the neighbourhood they could not have suffered this fate.

Having defeated and slain him, he passes on to enter Bengal. This he could have done either through the Teliagarhi and Sikrigali in the Santal Pargana or through Jharkhand area as Muhammad bin Bakhtyar Khālji or Sher Khān did in later history. For centuries Garhi or Teliagarhi has been the gateway to Bengal giving access to that portion of Bengal which contains the ruins of Gauḍa, etc. From Gauḍa he goes to the seacoast perfumed by cardamon and full of plantations of cocoa palm, meaning southern Bengal. It is difficult to determine the identity of the king of Bengal, because the identity of the dynasty that ruled in Vaṅga is a moot point. According to one authority the Khaḍgas were then ruling in Bengal,[3] whereas R. D. Banerji on palaeographic grounds relegated them to the tenth century A.D. It is, however, clear that the king of Vaṅga was allowed to exist as a vassal. This shows that a special treatment was meted out by Yaśovarmman to the Māgadhan king who paid with his life and whose queens were turned into slaves. Throughout his series of conquests several kings are mentioned, but none seems to have shared the fate of Jīvitagupta II nor Vākpati makes any special endeavour to trumpet their defeat.

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[1] K. R. Qanungo, *Shershah*, p. 12. Calcutta, 1921.
[2] R. S. Tripathi, *op. cit.*, p. 201.
[3] *JASB* (NS), vol. XIX, pp. 375–79.

From Vaṅga he passes through fertile plains and jungles, but here Vākpati is probably guilty of a geographical error. The Mālaya mountain, which he says Yaśovarmman crossed, was still further off, its another name being *Chandanādri*. What he did was to cross the jungle tracts of Orissa, portions of Eastern Ghats and arrive in Koṅgoda or southern Tośala. The king referred to as *dakṣina-diśa narindena* is probably a Śailodbhava king.[1] The whole southern campaign and the northern campaign, too, after *Marudeśa* is treated so summarily, that it is very difficult to discuss them. His northern conquests receive certain amount of corroboration from the Nalanda Inscription of Mālāda, whose father is described as a *Tikina*, probably from Turki *Tegin*, who was probably the *maréchal* of the northern frontier (*Udichapati*). It appears that at this time many Turks, forerunners of Alaptegin and Sabuktegin, as Buddhists as well as Hindus, accepted services in the court of Indian potentates like *Sāhis* in Kashmir. The return of Yaśovarmman from Kurukshettra was rather made by circuitous route; instead of travelling direct to his capital, he marched on Ayodhya, the homeland of the Guptas, probably through Saharanpur and Rohilkhand.

Yaśovarmman's glory was short-lived. Because King Lalitā-ditya-Muktāpiḍa of Kashmir put an end to his empire. Kalhaṇa in his *magnum opus* devotes 11 verses to Yaśovarmman's defeat and end. His meteoric rise and end was similar, a fact whose analogy is not to be found in the history of any nation on the earth. Just as he appears on the pages of Indian history without antecedents, without any history, so he disappears from the political stage without leaving any trace. It appears that some time after 747 A.D. Yaśovarmman was defeated by Lalitāditya; at first the Kashmir king probably decided to allow him to continue, but due to the intervention of Mitraśarmman, who is alleged to have found a technical error in drawing up of the treaty, Yaśovarmman was either killed or deposed.[2] There was much to be said in favour of Yaśovarmman, and it is evident that officers of the Kashmir court prevailed upon to end his rule. The situation, as explained by the late Sir Auriel Stein, seems to have been: 'The translation of the verses is not quite certain. They seem to refer to an objection raised by Lalitāditya's ministers at the time of peace negotiations to the form of the treaty document to be furnished by Yaśovarmman. It appears that diplomatic usage could have empowered each of the

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[1] *HO.*, vol. I, pp. 121–35.

[2] *Chronicles of Kashmir*, IV, vv. 137–40, pp. 132-33.

"contracting parties" to put his name first in his own copy of the treaty, copies to be subsequently exchanged between the two parties after ratification. Mitraśarmman refuses to accept the document drawn up in this form by Yaśovarmman's chancery, and Lalitāditya then breaks off the negotiations.'[1] There is, however, one interesting information supplied by Kalhaṇa, which requires to be noted before ending our discussion. Verse 144 mentions Vākpatirāja and the same verse tells us that by his defeat Yaśovarmman became the panygærist of Lalitāditya. This is possibly a veiled allusion to *Gaudavaho,* and Yaśovarmman's defeat probably never enabled Vākpatirāja to finish the poem or to write in detail on the killing of the king of Gauḍa as he promised so many times in his work.

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[1] *Chronicles of Kashmir,* footnote to vv. 137-38, pp. 132-33.

THE FAUNA IN PĀṆINI'S *ASHṬĀDHYĀYĪ*

By VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA

Man is indebted to a great extent to animals both for his food and transport. Agriculture and dairy industry, the principal sources of food supply, depend largely on the care of the livestock. Animals have also been of useful service to man in times of war and peace for covering distances. It would be interesting to know how man in ancient India reacted to his faunal environment. A comprehensive study of animal life and its use to man as depicted in the Saṁhitā and Brāhmaṇa literature, Sūtras, Epics, Arthaśāstra, Ašokan Edicts, Āyurveda and Dharmaśāstra works would fill up the pages of a full volume. We discuss below the relevant evidence from the *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini.

CLASSIFICATION

For purposes of his treatise Pāṇini divides creation into two natural and fundamental divisions, viz. animate (*prāṇin*, IV, 3, 135, 154, etc.) and inanimate (*aprāṇin*, II, 4, 6; V, 4, 97, etc.). These two categories are further expressed as *chittavat* (V, 1, 89) and *achitta* (IV, 2, 47). The word *prāṇabhṛit* is also once substituted for *prāṇin* (V, 1, 129). The animate creatures are further subdivided into men (*manushya*, IV, 2, 134) and animals (*paśu*, III, 3, 69). The animals in their turn were grouped as domesticated animals (*grāmya-paśu-saṁgha*, I, 2, 73) to be distinguished from wild animals, or on the basis of their size as *kshudra-jantus* (II, 4, 8), or on the basis of food as *kravyād*, carnivora (III, 2, 69). Pre-Pāṇinian attempts at classification are reflected in such words as *ubhayatodanta* (having teeth in both jaws), *anyatodanta* (having teeth in one jaw), *dvipād*, *chatushpād*, *ekaśapha* (uncloven hoofed), and *kshudra*, etc. (*Vedic Index*, vol. I, 510). *Aves* (*śakuni*, II, 4, 12) form a well-recognized group and are distinguished from *paśus* or animals proper (II, 4, 12). *Mṛiga* generally denotes a wild beast in the *Ashṭādhyāyī* (IV, 3, 51; IV, 4, 35), but in *sūtra* II, 4, 12 its use is confined to the *cervidae*, which is illustrated by Patañjali as *ruru-pṛishatam*, denoting two species of deer.

ANIMALS NAMED

1. Elephant (*hastin*, V, 2, 133). *Nāga* and *kuñjara* are also given as its names (II, 1, 62). A big trumpeting elephant with prominent trunk was called *śuṇḍāra* (V, 3, 88). A herd of elephants was called *hāstika* (IV, 2, 47). The height of an elephant is also

referred to as a measure (V, 2, 38), which had reference probably to the depth of a moat or the height of a rampart, both of which were measured in old times in terms of the elephant-measure. The tusk is referred to in V, 2, 113 as *danta,* which was the source of ivory, giving *dantāvala* as the name of a tusker. Strength to kill or shoot an elephant was considered a distinction conferring the title *hastighna* (III, 2, 54), and possibly soldiers with such strength were prized recruits for the army. A goad or a whip was called *tottra* (III, 2, 182). The technical word *vidhā* for the forage of elephants known to the *Arthaśāstra* is not mentioned by Pāṇini. Patañjali, however, refers to *hasti-vidhā* on *vārttika,* II, 1, 36. 3 (*Bhāshya,* I, 388).

2. Camel (*ushṭra,* IV, 3, 157). Paṇini refers to droves of camels called *aushṭraka* (IV, 2, 39) and makes allusion to the young ones of a camel (*karabha*) kept under check with a chain as *śṛinkhalaka* (V, 2, 79). He also mentions practised camel riders (*ushṭra-sādi,* VI, 2, 40); in the same *sūtra* reference is made to *ushṭra-vāmī* camels and mules. It seems that *ushṭra-sādis* were dromedary divisions and *ushṭra-vāmi* the name of the corps of those animals in the commissariat department of the army.

Pāṇini also mentions the by-products (*vikārāvayava,* IV, 3, 157) of camels called *aushṭraka.* We can form an idea of such articles from *sūtra* V, 3, 90 in which he speaks of *goṇī* and *goṇītarī,* i.e. sacks of bigger and smaller sizes manufactured from camel-hair, and also from *sūtra* V, 3, 89, referring to *kutū* and *kutupa,* i.e. *kuppas* or huge skin jars employed for carrying oil or ghee, and smaller jars and phials called *kuppis* respectively, in use from early times and manufactured from camel hides and camel intestinal integuments (Watts, *Dictionary of Economic Products,* II, 63-64).

3. *Aśva.* Horse and mare are referred to by a special compound word *aśva-vaḍava* which ended in masculine gender because of the predominance of the horse (II, 4, 27) and which to imply a unity could be optionally used in singular number. Pāṇini's reference to *Pārevaḍavā* (VI, 2, 42), unexplained by commentators, seems to refer to the famous breed of mares imported from across the Indus, as Kauṭilya also mentions that the best class of horses were those brought from Kamboja, Sindhu, Bāhlīka and Sauvīra (*Arth.,* II, 30). A mare in heat was called *aśvasyati* (VII, 1, 51), and charges paid for her covering by a stallion are referred to as *haraṇa.*

Haraṇa. The word *haraṇa* has a technical sense in *sūtra* VI, 2, 65, *Saptamīhāriṇaudharmye'haraṇe.* In this *sūtra, dharmya* means customary dues, and *haraṇa* was one of such legitimate dues. According to the *Kāśikā, haraṇa* is exemplified in the illustration *vāḍava-haraṇa,* which is explained as the money that is paid in order to replenish a horse after he has covered a mare. Such dues may have been in kind or cash, and their payment was an obligatory

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charge fixed by custom. The *Mahābhārata* uses *haraṇa* to denote dowry or nuptial presents, in money or kind, which a woman brought to her husband at the time of marriage. The word is used in the special circumstances with reference to the presents conveyed by Kṛishṇa and the Yādavas to Arjuna after the latter's elopement with Subhadrā (*haraṇam vai Subhadrāyā jñātideyaṁ mahāyaśāḥ*, Ādi., 223, 44). Thus the meaning of the word in the *Mahābhārata* is wider. The *Kāśikā*'s illustration, however, is in order and appears to have been handed down from antiquity.

Āśvīna (V, 2, 19). It is explained by Pāṇini as the distance travelled by a horse in one day (*aśvasyaikāhagamaḥ*). The *āśvīna* measure of distance is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* (VI, 131, 3) and the *Aitareya* and *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇas* (*Vedic Index*, Vol. I, 70; cf. also Caland's note in the *Pañchaviṁśa Br.*, XXV, 10, 16). The exact distance is not defined, but seems to have exceeded five *yojanas*, since in the *Atharva* it is mentioned immediately after a distance of three and five *yojanas*. Kauṭilya states six, nine, and twelve *yojanas* as the distance travelled by *rathya* horses of the third, second and first class respectively; and five, eight and ten *yojanas* by cavalry horses (*Arth.*, II, 30). Patañjali says that an average horse goes four *yojanas* a day, whereas a superior horse covers a distance of eight *yojanas* in one day (*Bhāshya*, II, 413). Taking a *yojana* to be about five miles, the *āśvīna* distance ranged between twenty-five and sixty miles per day according to the quality of the horse and the unit in which it worked. It may be added that Pāṇini derives the word from *aśva* with *khañ* suffix to denote one day's march, but the *Atharva* uses the form *āśvina* which could be better derived from *aśvin*, a horseman. Patañjali describes *śoṇa*, *hema* and *karka* as special colours (red, black and white) of horses (*Bhāshya*, I, 251).

4. *Khara*, mentioned in connection with the stables for asses, *kharaśāla* (IV, 3, 35).

5. *Aja* (IV, 1, 4; IV, 2, 39). A herd of goats is mentioned as *ājaka*. Goats and sheep were usually mentioned together as *ajāvi* and *ajaiḍa* (cf. the *gaṇa*, *Tishṭhadgu*). Of special interest is the word *jābāla* which denoted a goat-herd, and *mahājābāla* (VI, 2, 38), who must have been a person of greater distinction as the owner of a big ranch, the title being understood as denoting wealth and honour in the tracts where goat-rearing was the main occupation. The etymological derivation of *jābāla* is of interest, as Sanskrit philology has no satisfactory explanation to offer for this word. It appears to be a Semitic loan-word, connected with the Hebrew word *yôbêl* or *jobil* signifying a ram's horn. The association of *yôbêl* with a ram explains the significance of *jābāla* as a goat-herd or one who was in charge of *jabāla*, which may have been a Sanskrit rendering of the original Semitic word.

6. *Avi* (sheep, V, 1, 8), same as *avika* (V, 4, 28). A flock of rams is referred to as *aurabhraka* (IV, 2, 39). Kātyāyana mentions *avi-dūsa, avi-marīsa, avi-soḍha,* all as synonyms of *avi-dugdha* (goat's milk, IV, 2, 36; *Bhāshya,* II, 278). The dialectic origin of these words is not clear.

7. *Mṛiga* (deer, II, 4, 12). As already mentioned *mṛiga* has a two-fold meaning, viz. wild beast (IV, 3, 51) and deer (II, 4, 12). Pāṇini mentions two species, e.g. *ṛiśya,* a white-footed antelope (IV, 2, 80), and *nyaṅku,* a gazelle (VII, 3, 53), both of which are found in the earlier literature (*Vedic Index,* Vol. I, pp. 115, 463). The female deer is mentioned as *eṇī* (IV, 3, 159). Patañjali refers to *rohit* as the female of *ṛiśya* (I, 2, 68; *Bhāshya,* I, 248).

Amongst the Carnivora order (*kravyād,* III, 2, 69) are mentioned *siṁha* (lion, VI, 2, 72), *vyāghra* (tiger, II, 1, 56), *vṛika* (wolf, V, 4, 41), *kroshṭu* (jackal, III, 1, 95), *biḍāla* (cat, VI, 2, 72), *śvā* (dog, IV, 4, 11), and a domestic dog being called *kauleyaka* (IV, 2, 96).

Birds (*śakuni,* II, 4, 12; *pakshin,* IV, 4, 35; *tiryach,* III, 4, 60). Individual names are *chaṭakā* (sparrow, IV, 1, 128), *mayūra* (peacock, II, 1, 72; also *kalāpin,* IV, 3, 48), *kukkuṭa* (cock, IV, 4, 46), *dhvāṅksha* (crow, II, 1, 42), and *śyena* (hawk, VI, 3, 71). *Śuka* (parrot) is included by Patañjali in the *Khaṇḍikādi gaṇa* (IV, 2, 45). Pāṇini refers to the *vishkira* or pecking class of birds (VI, 1, 150), amongst which Charaka counts the peacock and the cock (*Sūtrasthāna,* XXVII, 46).

Kshudrajantu (II, 4, 8), smaller animals up to the size of a mungoose according to Patañjali; these were *nakula* (mungoose, VI, 3, 75), *godhā* (big lizard, IV, 1, 129-130), *ahi* (snake, IV, 3, 56), *kshudrā, bhramara, vaṭara* (kinds of bees, IV, 3, 119), and *vaṭi* (an ant, V, 2, 139).

Amongst water animals mention is made of *nakra* (alligator, VI, 3, 75), *varshābhū* (frog, VI, 4, 84), and *matsya* (fish, IV, 4, 35) and species of fish called *vaisāriṇa* (V, 4, 16).

FEEDING AND STOCK

A drove of cattle was called *samaja,* and drive to the pasture *udaja* (III, 3, 69). In an interesting *sūtra* (I, 2, 73) Pāṇini teaches the method of designating herds of domestic cattle; e.g. cows and bulls grazing together would be called *gāvaḥ* (*gāvaḥ balīvardāḥ saṅghībhūtāḥ*); similarly *mahishyaḥ* (buffaloes) and *ajāh* (he-goats and she-goats), in each case the female form of the word represented both sexes. But when heads of calves and heifers were mingled in the herd it was denoted by the masculine form *vatsāḥ.* The idiom to which Pāṇini refers has continued to our own times in such words as गाएं and बछड़े to denote names of herds of domestic cattle at the time of pasturage.

Certain terms expressive of the age of animals were familiar and significant to traders making sales and purchases in cattle. Pāṇini tells us that the age of an animal was expressed in terms of the number of its teeth (V, 4, 141), and growth of horns (VI, 2, 115), and hump (V, 4, 146). The countryside had its pasture lands for cattle called *gochara* (III, 3, 119) and pastoral herds kept on shifting from one tract to another according to the availability of fodder. The place which had once been used as ranch area and then abandoned was called *goshṭhīna* (V, 2, 18) and a forest tract where cattle had grazed was called *āśitaṁgavīna* (V, 4, 7). Straw (*busa* and *kadaṁkara*) was the normal fodder for agricultural livestock which were called *kadaṁkarīya* (V, 1, 69), corresponding to Hindi *daṅgar*. Watering place to which cattle were driven to drink water is mentioned as *nipāna* and *āhāva* (III, 3, 74); it was probably attached to a well. Salt was also given to cattle as is stated by Kauṭilya. Pāṇini refers to animal's craving for salt as *lavaṇasyati* (VII, 1, 51).

Cow and bull (*dhenv-anuḍuha*, V, 4, 77). The cow is the mainstay of the agricultural life and cattle wealth of the community. Man's indebtedness to this most useful animal cannot be overestimated. Prosperity in cows and calves was an auspicious wish invoked for the purposes of blessing, as *Svasti bhavate sagave savatsāya*, 'May there be good luck to you with cows and calves' (VI, 3, 83). Different words for denoting a cow-pen or cow-stall where cows were stationed are mentioned as *gośāla* (IV, 3, 35), *goshṭha* (VIII, 3, 97), and *vraja* (III, 3, 119). *Goshpada* was a place where cows roamed freely (VI, 1, 145, *gobhir-sevito deśaḥ*, *Kāśikā*). Dense forests where even cows could not penetrate were *agoshpada* (VI, 1, 145). It is thought that the word *gotra* originally denoted a common shed where cows of several families took shelter (A. C. Das, *Rigvedic Culture*, p. 121). The new Pāṇinian word *gotrā*, signifying an assemblage of cows (IV, 2, 51), recalls that old association. Two new synonyms of *gotrā*, viz. *gavyā* (IV, 2, 50) and *ādhenava* (IV, 2, 47), had also come into use.

The herds were assigned to the regular care of a *gopāla*, and other officers called *tantipāla* (VI, 2, 78) who held complete charge of royal cattle. A cowherd's son attended on cows from his very boyhood and when he had attained the age fit for accompanying the cows to the jungle he was called *anugavīna* (V, 2, 15), a term of as much importance in a cowherd's family as *kavacha-hara* was to the Kshattriya.

LIFE-STORY OF A COW

The different stages in the life-cycle of a cow were minutely observed. When the heifer first attained puberty, she was termed *upasaryā* (*kālyā prajane*, III, 1, 104) and her first mating *upasara*

(III, 3, 71). If she miscarried she was called *vehat* (II, 1, 65). Approaching her delivery time she became *adyaśvīnā* (V, 2, 13) corresponding to Vedic *pravayyā* (VI, 1, 83); after calving she was called *gṛishṭi* (II, 1, 65). Pāṇini also refers to *mahāgṛishṭi* (VI, 2, 38), which most probably signified the cow whose milking period continued up to her next calving. *Dhenu* was a cow in milk (II, 1, 65), also called *astikshīrā* by Kātyāyana (II, 2, 24, 21); when six months had elapsed after calving she was called *bashkayaṇī* (II, 1, 65), from which we have the Hindi word *bakhainī*. A cow calving every year was reputed to be as *samāṁ-samīnā* (V, 2, 12), an epithet which must have helped to increase its price. Patañjali speaks of an excellent cow (*gotarā*) which not only calves every year but gives birth to a heifer (*gotareyaṁ yā samāṁ samāṁ vijāyate, strīvatsā cha*, II, 413). In a debt transaction sometimes a cow was pledged to the creditor stipulating to discharge the debt from her milk, the cow being called *dhenushyā* (IV, 4, 89).

BULL

The name of a very young calf was *śakṛitkari* (III, 2, 24) corresponding to Vedic *atṛiṇāda* (*Bṛ. Up.*, I, 5, 2). In the next stage it was called *vatsa*, a group being called *vātsaka* (IV, 2, 39), for whom separate stables were maintained (*vatsaśālā*, IV, 3, 36). A calf two years old was *dityavāh* (VII, 3, 1; *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, 359). A calf of well-developed size and therefore chosen to grow as a stud bull was called *ārshabhya* (i.e. good for becoming a bull, V, 1, 14). Probably he was marked out from the rest as *jātoksha* (V, 4, 77) and was not castrated. Even now the peasants pay special attention to calves whom they want to grow into stud bulls. A young bull was called *ukshā*, and when fully matured *mahoksha* (V, 4, 77), and in its old age *vṛiddhoksha* (V, 4, 77) or *ukshatara* (V, 3, 91).

The corresponding terms for the draught bull were *vatsa*, *damya* and *balīvarda* (Pat. on I, 1, 1; I, 42). At the age of two and a half years the young bull gains his first pair of teeth, and is called *dvidan*, a term which according to Pāṇini was indicative of age (*Vayasi dantasya datṛi*,[1] V, 4, 141). At the age of three years when the

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[1] Teething of young bulls and cows:

Age	*Number of teeth*
2–2½ years	2 teeth.
3 ,,	4 ,,
3½ ,,	6 ,,
4 ,,	8 ,,

The question of the number of teeth had its practical importance in judging the age of an animal at the time of sale and purchase. The prospective buyer examines the teeth to judge the age. The question is generally put by the buyer as to how many teeth a young bull has, and the answer is given by the seller that it has so many teeth, which conveys to the buyer an idea of the age of the animal. The number of teeth becomes four, the growing calf is called *chaturdan* (*Kāśikā* on V, 4, 141), and the young bull is ready for taking the nose-string (*nātha-hari*, III, 2, 25), and for being broken (*damya*) and castrated.

The *nāthahari*[1] or adolescent bull corresponds to the heifer which has become *upasaryā* after attaining the age of three years. The *Mahābhārata* refers to a cow attaining full maturity when she is three years old (Virāṭa, 16, 6, Poona edition, *māheyī trihāyanī*).

The draught bulls were classified according to the nature of work assigned to them, e.g. *rathya* (IV, 4, 76), one drawing a chariot; *yugya* (IV, 4, 76), one drawing a yoke; *prāsaṅgya* (IV, 4, 76), one drawing the yoke used for breaking bulls; *dhurya* and *dhaureya* (IV, 4, 77), one used for drawing cart loads; *śākata* (IV, 4, 80), one for drawing a small cart; and *hālika* or *sairika* (IV, 4, 81), one used for drawing the plough. An ox that could be yoked both on the right and left sides of the yoke was called *sarva-dhurīṇa* (IV, 4, 78) and one accustomed to be yoked only on one side of the cart was called *ekadhurīṇa*, the latter being inferior for sale purposes. In the current charioteer's language the *ekadhurīṇa* bull may be of two kinds, that which can be yoked on the right side only (*uparwāli*) and that which can be yoked on the left side only (*tarawāli*).

BREEDS

Pāṇini refers to the famous breed of bulls grown in the Sālva country and called *Sālvaka* (IV, 2, 136, *Goyavāgvoścha*). According to Pāṇini, Sālva was a large confederacy consisting of several member States, whose number according to the *Kāśikā* was six (IV, 1, 173). According to the *Mahābhāshya* Ajamīḍha, Ajakranda and Budha were amongst them (IV, 1, 170; II, 269). According to the *Mahābhārata* Mṛittikāvatī was a Sālva capital, which may be identified with Merta or Mairta in Marwar, about 30 miles south of Nāgaur. The region of Nāgaur is known all over North India for its famous breed of bulls. The *Kāśikā* gives Bhūliṅgas as a member of the Sālvas who may be the same as the Bolingai of Ptolemy living on the western slope of the Aravalli mountain (McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 163). In the *Gopatha* the Sālvas are

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growth of the horns is likewise a sign of age as referred to by Pāṇini in VI, 2, 115, *Śṛiṅgamavasthāyāṁ cha*. The stages of maturity were also expressed in terms of the development of the hump, e.g. the terms *akakut*, *pūrṇakakut* and *unnatakakut* (without hump, fully humped and high humped) denoted the three stages of infancy, youth and full maturity (V, 4, 146; cf. *Kāśikā*).

[1] Some Pāṇinian terms with their current Hindi forms are: *nāthahari* (= *naṭiyā*); *dhurya-dhaureya* (= *ḍhor*); *kaḍaṅgarīya* or *kaḍaṅgarya* (= *daṅgar*); *hālika* (= *harathi* in Bihar, *hariyā* in the U.P.); *upasaryā* (= *osar*); *dhenu* (= *dhen*); *bashkayaṇī* (= *bakhain, bākharī*); *vaśā* (= *bahila*).

coupled with the Matsyas. This would support the identification of the Sālva *janapada* with the vast territory stretching from Jodhpur to Alwar. The Sālvaka bulls of Pāṇini would thus refer to the superior breed of cattle reared in the jungle-covered tracts of Nāgaur in the Jodhpur State (Hunter, *Imp. Gazetteer*, X, 159). We are also indebted to Patañjali for the mention of the Vāhīka breed of bulls (*Bhāshya*, I, 354) and to the *Kāśikā* for two other famous breeds, viz. the *Kachchha* breed, cited as a counter-example to Pāṇini, IV, 2, 134, and the bulls of the Raṅku country (IV, 2, 100). The famous Kachcha breed is the same as that reared in the Kathiawar territory of which the bullocks are well-built powerful draught animals, while the cows are excellent milkers and supply most of Western India with milk cattle (Watts, *op. cit.*, V, 669). Watts also considers the Gujrat breed as 'decidedly the finest in North-West India'. The breed reared in the Raṅku *janapada* was called *Rāṅkava* and *Rāṅkavāyana*.

BRANDING OF COWS (*Lakshaṇa*)

Pāṇini deals with the practice of branding cows in the following two sūtras:—

(1) *Karṇo varṇa-lakshaṇāt* (VI, 2, 112);
(2) *Karṇelakshaṇasy-āvisht-āshṭa-pañcha-maṇi-bhinna-chhinna-chhidra-sruva-svastikasya* (VI, 3, 115).

The first rule states that *karṇa* standing as the second member of a *Bahuvrīhi* compound takes acute on the first syllable when preceded by a word denoting colour or mark. According to the second *sūtra* a *lakshaṇa*-denoting word before *karṇa* becomes elongated except in the case of *vishṭa, ashṭa, pañcha, maṇi, bhinna, chhinna, chhidra, sruva* and *svastika*. *Lakshaṇa* denotes the mark branded on cattle to distinguish ownership (*yat paśūnām svāmiviśesha-sambandha-jñāpanārthaṁ dātrākārādi kriyate tad-iha lakshaṇaṁ gṛihyate, Kāśikā*, VI, 3, 115).

The practice of branding cows goes back to the Vedic period. The *Atharvaveda* uses the word *lakshma* and refers to the *mithuna* mark (VI, 141, 2-3; XII, 4, 6). The *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* (IV, 2, 9) also throws interesting light on this ancient cattle rite, to which reference is also found in the *Mānava Śrauta Sūtra* (IX, 5, 1–3), and in the newly published *Gonāmika Pariśishṭa* attached to the *Vārāha Śrauta Sūtra* (Dr. Raghuvira, *Journal of Vedic Studies*, Jany., 1934, p. 16). The *Arthaśāstra* directs that the Superintendent of Cows shall 'register the branded marks, natural marks, colour and the spread of the horns of each of the cattle' as part of his duties termed *vrajaparyagra* (*Arth.*, Text, p. 129), which more or less corresponds to the functions of the *Ghoshayātrā* (King's Inspection Tour of the Cowpen) mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* comprising a programme of detailed census of the royal cattle (*smāraṇa*, Vanaparva, 239, 4) by marking and branding (*aṅka*, *laksha*, Vanaparva, 240, 4). The Edicts of Aśoka lay down a prohibition against branding of horses and bullocks on certain specified days (Pillar Edict, V).[1]

According to Patañjali the distinguishing mark (*liṅga*) was branded either on the ear or the rump of the cow (*goḥ sakthani karṇe vā kṛitaṁ liṅgam*, I, 289). He also calls the mark an *aṅka* (*aṅkitā gāva ityuchyate'nyebhyo gobhyaḥ prakāśyante*, III, 408; VIII, 2, 48).

MARKS

Pāṇini mentions the names of nine branding marks (VI, 3, 115), and his list can be supplemented from the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*, *Ṛiktantra*[2] and *Kāśikā* which add a few more names obviously derived from older tradition. The meaning of *vishṭa-karṇī* of Pāṇini is uncertain (cf. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, 46, leaving it unexplained), but the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* ascribes this mark to the cows of Agastya, those of Jamadagni having a lute and of Vasishṭha a stake. The *ashṭa-karṇī* of Pāṇini occurs in the *Ṛigveda* (X, 62, 7) where Grassmann's obvious rendering is 'having the sign for (the number) 8 marked on the ear' (*Vedic Index*, Vol. I, 46). Dr. Goldstücker affirms that the mention by Pāṇini of numerals 8 and 5 used as branding mark for cows offers a strong proof of his acquaintance with some form of writing (*Pāṇini, His Place in Sanskrit Literature*, p. 44).

The names of marks (*lakshaṇa*) have a practical significance in the study of Indian numismatics, as some of them can be identified amongst symbols stamped on punch-marked coins, e.g. *sruva* (ϙ), *svastika* (卐), *aṅkuśa* (λ), *kuṇḍala* (O), *plīhā* (∞), *bāṇa* (↑), *mithuna* (♀♀).[3] A table of ancient branding marks or symbols is appended below.

Source	*Name of Mark*	*Meaning*
Pāṇini (VI, 3, 115)	1. Vishṭa(-karṇī)	Uncertain meaning; also in *Mait. Sam.*
	2. Ashṭa	Numeral 8 marked on the ear.
	3. Pañcha	Numeral 5.
	4. Maṇi	Jewel.
	5. Bhinna	Cleft ears.
	6. Chhinna	Clipped ears.

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[1] See also A.S.B. Memoir, *Animals in the Inscriptions of Piyadasi*, p. 373, referring to it as an old custom, described in the *sūtra* literature, *Pāraskara*, iii, 10; *Śāṅkhāyana*, iii, 10; *Āśvalāyana Gr. Pariśishṭa*, iii, 18.

[2] *Karṇe plīh-āṅkuśa-kuṇḍal-oparishṭ-ādhy-askhata-bāṇānām*, *Ṛiktantra sūtra*, 217.

[3] Allan, *Ancient Indian Coins*, Index of Punch-marked Symbols, Index IV.

Source	*Name of Mark*	*Meaning*
	7. Chhidra	Bored ears; also *Mait. Sam.*
	8. Sruva	Ladle.
	9. Svastika	Svastika.
Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā (IV, 2, 9).	10. Sthūṇā	Stake.
	11. Karkarī	Lute.
	12. Puchhindyā	Uncertain.
	13. Dātra	Sickle; also in *Kāśikā*.
Atharvaveda (VI, 141, 2) ..	14. Mithuna	A human couple.
Ṛiktantra (*sūtra* 217) ..	15. Plīhā	Spleen.
	16. Aṅkuśa	Goad.
	17. Kuṇḍala	Orb.
	18. Uparishṭa	Twitched backwards.
	19. Adhi	Ears twitched inside.
	20. Akshata	Unhurt ears.
	21. Bāṇa	Arrow.
Kāśikā (VI, 2, 112; VI, 3, 115).	22. Śaṅku	Spike.
	23. Dviguṇa	—
	24. Triguṇa	—
	25. Dvyaṅgula	Two finger marks.
	26. Aṅgula	Single finger mark.

PARALOKASIDDHI

By G. N. Roerich

The following pages contain a translation of the short treatise by the ācārya Dharmottara, entitled Paralokasiddhi ('J̌ig-rten pha-rol grub-pa), contained in volume Že (foll. 246^{b}–249^{b}) of the sDe-dge edition of the bsTan-'gyur (No. 4251 of the Catalogue published by the Tōhoku Imperial University, Sendai, 1934). In it the author attempts to prove the continuity of the flow of consciousness and thus establish the existence of the World Beyond, a crucial problem which provoked heated debates between the Buddhist philosophic schools. The Sanskrit text of the original was translated into Tibetan by the Kashmirian paṇḍita Bhavyarāja and the well-known Tibetan lo-tsā-ba or translator Pa-tshab Ñi-ma grags (b. 1055 A.D.).

Salutation to Mañjughoṣakumāra!

'Some maintain that the World Beyond (paraloka, 'ǰig-rten pha-rol), which precedes birth and follows death, is a (state) characterized by the cessation of the continuum (santāna, rgyun) of consciousness (vijñāna, rnam-śes). This (statement) is not formulated properly, for they maintain that we can never conceive such a kind of consciousness which would be (materially) different from the gross elements (mahābhūta, 'byuṅ-ba-čhen-po) of the physical body (kāya, lus), and which would be devoid of nature which, could be perceived as being identical with them (i.e. the gross elements). If thought (bsam-pa) is not different from these (physical) bodies which are seen to possess a beginning and an end, how can then a continuum (of thought), the last momentary flash of which cannot be observed, have a lasting nature and flow without interruption? (Even) if (consciousness) were different (from the physical body), it may be argued that consciousness, having first originated from the four gross elements (of the physical body), is subsequently conditioned by the preceding moments of its continuum and lasts for a short duration only (i.e. during the span of physical life). (One may also argue) that the beginning (mukha, sgo), from which (the continuum) of consciousness had originated, must have always been consciousness. Similarly, (one may maintain) that the consciousness of a child had originated from that of the mother. (Thus) the existence of the World Beyond remains unproved.

To the above I (shall) reply as follows:

Well, the first statement that "consciousness is not different from the physical body which is a complex of the four gross elements", formulated by you with the intention of rejecting (the existence) of the World Beyond, is not valid, because (the five kinds of) sensations (indriya-vijñāna, dbaṅ-po'i rnam-par śes-pa), the existence of which is admitted by you, cannot have resulted from different sensations, such as pleasure (sukha, bde-ba) or pain (duḥkha, bsdug-bsñal), and because they are unable to grasp the various external objects (bāhya, phyi-rol), such as form (rūpa, gzugs), etc., as being of a pleasant or unpleasant nature. Why? Because the very nature of the perceptual judgment (adhyavasāya, žen-pa) which is at the base (rten) of (every) experience (ñams-su myoṅ-ba), and which cognizes external objects, can be established with the help of the memory left behind by past experiences. Hence we are able to establish (ṅes-pa) that pleasant and painful sensations, produced (in us) while contemplating (material) forms, etc., are different from them. Because forms, etc., which were felt (by us) as pleasant or painful, are not intrinsically pleasant or painful. Thus the sensation of pleasure, etc., which is distinct from the object (contemplated), can be defined as being a subjective element (produced) by memory (śes-pa) which follows on (past) experiences. Therefore this experience must be subjective, and therefore, as consciousness differs from that which appears to it, such as form, etc., so also the subjective (sensation) is different from the physical body. Thus when sensations (śes-pa) originate from sense organs (indriya, dbaṅ-po), as for instance when looking at (their own) palms (lag-mthil) people realize that they do not perceive (their own) hands as being pleasant or unpleasant by nature. On the contrary (the palm is felt) to be (something) different from these (sensations of pleasure or pain).[1] Therefore, when an individual sees his hand, he can through experience prove (to himself) that the visual sensation (of his eyes), which had definitely perceived (his palm) as pleasant or unpleasant, was (something) different from the object contemplated (i.e. his hand). Therefore the wrong statement that the physical body was the mind (buddhi, blo), or that consciousness (sems-pa-čan) was a function of the (four gross) elements, can be rejected with the help of direct (sense) perception (pratyakṣa, mṅon-sum), just as (the statement) that the intoxicating effect was a property of the wine. Again, some say that the first moment of a rising smoke must have originated from fire and that during subsequent moments it was produced from its own kind (i.e. from smoke), and that in a

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[1] The author wrote this passage in order to prove that the subjective and objective were different. He being aware of the difficulty of proving the distinct nature of the subject and object, when the object belongs to another individual, or is an external object, quotes the example of an individual looking at his own hand, for in this case the individual can easily perceive their distinct nature, as both subject and object are in him, and because the very thing which might have been seen as pleasant to his eyes, might have in reality been painful.

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similar manner a sensation (śes-pa) had first originated from the four gross elements, and that in subsequent moments (of the series) it continued to be produced from its own kind only. But this statement (also) cannot be accepted as valid, for (in that case) there would exist two kinds (rnam-pa) of effects (phala, 'bras-bu). The effects of the first kind must have first come into existence from the (primary) cause which had conditioned the continuum (santāna-hetu, rgyun-gyi rgyu, means here the cause which had conditioned the continuum, that is, the origin from which begins a series of its own kind. The continuum's primary cause must be of a different nature from that which is conditioned by it. The passage can also be translated: "some effects at first obtained their existence from an element distinct from them"). For a short duration their existence may depend on subsequent moments (in the continuum) of their own kind. For instance, smoke, etc. In the case of some causes, the effects last only for a moment and then the (effect) itself conditions the subsequent moments (of the series). Therefore, a particular cause can produce a (certain) effect which lasts for a short duration only (and which is not preceded by a momentary flash of its own kind). The second kind of effects are produced at every moment dependent on a complex (sāmagrī, tshogs) of their own kind. For instance, a lit lamp ('gron-me 'bar-ba), visual sensations, etc. In their case, the first moment (of a lit lamp) depends on fire and wick. (Visual sensation) depends on the eye, light (snaṅ-na) and mental action (yid-la byed-pa). The same (process) takes place during their subsequent moments. If any of the proximate causes were destroyed or underwent a change, the effects (of these causes) would also be either destroyed, or changed. Therefore, the lamp, visual sensation, etc., produced from a continuity of a complex of causes, depend at every moment on the presence, absence or change (of their primary causes), and are not produced from their own (preceding) continuum. Thus the substance of the effect, endowed with continuity, was at first produced from a different (substance), but during their subsequent moments they originate from elements of their own kind (but different from the primary cause). In the case of a momentary origination (of the effect), the cause which had conditioned the first moment (of the series of moments or continuum) produces also the subsequent moments. Therefore, if consciousness were at first produced from another (element), and later (i.e. in subsequent moments) from its (own) continuum, then one could suppose that at first it had been produced from the (four) gross elements (of the physical body), and later (i.e. in subsequent moments of the continuum) from consciousness. Then, how can these effects (such as lamp, visual sensation, etc.) be considered to be momentary flashes? As the five kinds of sensations were at first produced in dependence on a complex of causes, such as eye, etc., and as the contact (ñe-bar reg-pa) with the complexes which had conditioned each moment of consciousness, lasts a single moment only, the five kinds of sensations are unable to condition their continuum. (Not only that, but) we are able to establish that constructive thought (vikalpa, rnam-par rtog-pa) also does not last, but is produced momentarily. Why? In the same manner as a seed (vīja, sa-bon), sprout (aṅkuśa, myu-gu), and fruit, belonging to one continuum, depend on their continuum, notwithstanding the difference (existing) between them, so also constructive thought conceiving a patch of blue (sṅon-po snaṅ-ba), dependent on the conception of blue, sweet (mṅar-ba), shape (rūpa, gzugs), etc., depends on its own cause, because it possesses a continuum different from others. When investigating the cause (of constructive thought), we fail to discover even the smallest cause of that constructive thought which followed on the perception of a patch of blue, as we had found in the case of smoke, the continuum of which was conditioned by fire. The differentiation of the nature of the effects is often due to the primary causes of the continuums, as for instance in the case of a jar (bum-pa), the material of which comes from clay, its shape is due to the potter and its other characteristics from other elements. Similar is the case of the continuum of constructive thought, the peculiarities of which are due to the different nature of the (primary) causes which had conditioned this continuum. We cannot say that constructive thought, which follows on the perception of a patch of blue, had originated from consciousness only, for otherwise we would have to infer that all complexes of consciousness arise simultaneously, because being conditioned by consciousness only, they would not differ from each other. If one were to say that the subsequent perception of a patch of blue had originated from (the preceding moment) of the perception of a patch of blue, then consciousness, which was characterized by the (perception) of a patch of blue, etc., cannot be considered to have been the material cause (rgyu dṅos-po) of (a subsequent moment of the perception of a patch of blue). Because when we took it to be the material cause (of the subsequent moments of the perception of a patch of blue), we established the uncertainty (of the existence of a link between the perception of a patch of blue and the subsequent moments of perception). For instance, the state of mind which was characterized by a perception of blue and which had originated from a certain perception (ex. the perception of a patch of blue), was seen on another occasion to have originated from consciousness which was linked to another (moment) of perception. But in the case of primary causes of a continuum, we shall not discover the uncertainty (of the existence of a link between cause and effect). Because different kinds of effects, conditioned by various causes, are at the base of empirical experience (vyavahāra, tha-sñad). Therefore, the different kinds (of effects) which are differentiated in spite of the absence of different causes, or which are undifferentiated in spite of the presence of different causes, will be outside causation. Those (effects) which are not endowed with a different nature, conditioned by homogeneous and distinct (causes), are not linked to (their) causes. We have thus reached the absurd conclusion that outside (things) are causeless (rgyu-med-pa-čan). If so, we are compelled to accept that all things are either permanently existent, or non-existent. But (such a conclusion) was arrived at through sense-perception (pratyakṣa, mṅon-sum) and therefore the homogeneity and diversity of effects were conditioned by the homogeneity and diversity of causes. If so, sensations of different perceptions must have had different causes, but the established cause (ṅes-pa'i rgyu) (of the perception of a patch of blue) was not observed (by us). Therefore (the preceding moment of the perception of a patch of blue) cannot be considered to be the cause (of the subsequent moments of the perception of a patch of blue). If we were to accept (the view) that consciousness had originated from a matured former impression (vāsanā, bag-čhags) to become the cause (of the perception of a patch of blue), then in that case it must have been the momentary cause of the effect, because the essence of the force, the existence of which was proved while the effect was still unmanifested, is a matured former impression. Regarding this force we had established it to be the immediate cause preceding the perception of a patch of blue in the first moment (mtshuṅs-pa de-ma-thag-pa'i rkyen, consciousness which immediately precedes a subsequent moment of consciousness), we shall thus be able to understand the preceding moments of the perception of a patch of blue (to be the cause) of the subsequent moments of constructive thought which was linked to the perception of blue. For example, in the first moment the perception of (something) blue arises from a former impression (vāsanā) which is of the nature of a force generated by the experience of blue and precedes the effect. In the same manner, the subsequent moments (of the flow) of constructive thought, which are identical in the manner of (their) grasping of the object (contemplated), had originated from a proximate impression. Therefore (the flow) of constructive thought, which is conditioned at every moment by a matured (former) impression, arises momentarily and preserves its continuity in the manner of a lamp, visual sensation, etc. One could never prove that the mental (flow) which was conditioned by the force of former experiences could arise in subsequent moments without awakening (former) impressions (vāsanā) of (those former experiences) and that consciousness, the appearance of which was only possible on the awakening of the force of former experiences, was conditioned by that force (nus-pa). Therefore constructive thoughts, which depend on the causes which were produced by the force generated by a momentary perception, can be stated to last for a few moments only, and those which were independent of their continuum can be stated to represent momentary effects, as in the case of a lamp. Constructive thoughts are also independent of their primary causes (rgyun-gyi rgyu, santāna-hetu). Effects, which had originated from certain causes, cannot have been produced from causes other than those (causes). For example, a sa-lu (śāla, *Vatica robusta*) sprout produced from a sa-lu seed cannot have been produced from another (kind of seed). In the same manner, consciousness conditioned by (the preceding moments) of consciousness and characterized by the maturing of former impressions (vāsanā) cannot be produced from another (the four gross elements). In general, (it can be stated) that the effects which were produced from certain causes were governed by the law of causation (rgyu-daṅ-ldan-pa), and those which were conditioned by other causes, different from those observed, cannot be governed by the law of causation. (Thus) not being subject to the law of causation, they cannot originate from certain causes. Therefore the thing which was not present in the contrary case must have possessed a cause. The above reasoning amounts to admitting an incompatible concomitance. The statement that consciousness is preceded by consciousness, as in the case of the child's consciousness being produced from the consciousness of the mother, is not valid. Because the manifestation of wisdom (śes-rab) is conditioned by either the presence or the absence of preceding (moments) of consciousness. Thus we cannot maintain the existence of any cause other than consciousness (sems-pa). As in the case of two brothers born of one mother, both physically sound, but one more intelligent than the other. (Otherwise) they should have been endowed with the mental faculties (abhyāsa) of their mother (in an equal degree). Therefore, the mother's consciousness was not the cause which made them different, and therefore we can prove that in these two individuals exist different degrees (abhyāsa) of consciousness which were endowed with the faculty of developing intelligence, and therefore the causes (of their degree of intelligence) must have been different. Also because the consciousness of living beings (srog-čhags) belonging to the class of beings said to have been born of moisture and heat, etc., is not conditioned by the consciousness of a mother. Therefore, they possess their own continuum of consciousness.

The end of the Paralokasiddhi (J̌ig-rten pha-rol grub-pa) composed by the ācārya Dharmottara, and translated by the great Kashmirian paṇḍita Bhavyarāja (sKal-ldan rgyal-po) and the Tibetan translator Pa-tshab Ñi-ma grags in the vihāra of Ratnaraśmi in the great city of Anupama (dPe-med) in the reign of the Kashmirian king Śrī Harṣadeva (1089–1101 A.D.).

THE WORD *NAVAKARMIA* IN THE KANISHKA CASKET INSCRIPTION

By S. PARNAVITANA

In the course of the excavations carried out by Dr. Spooner in 1909 at the mound known as Shāh-jī-kī Ḍheri outside the Ganj gate of Peshawar, was discovered a relic-casket of copper bearing a Kharoshthi inscription which definitely establishes the identity of the mound with the famous *stūpa* of Kanishka described by Chinese pilgrims.[1]

The inscription, first read and published by Dr. Spooner, has been subsequently dealt with by Sir John Marshall[2] and is included as No. LXXII in Prof. Sten Konow's *Kharoshthi Inscriptions*. It is dated in the first year of Kanishka and states that the casket on which it is inscribed was a gift (*deya-dharma*) for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādin teachers in Mahāsena's *saṅghārāma* of the *vihāra* of Kanishka. Whether the donor was Kanishka himself is not clear, for the first line of the record is fragmentary. In the third line, however, occurs the name 'Agisala' to which has been added the epithet of *navakarmia*.[3]

This last word is interpreted by Dr. Spooner as 'overseer of works' and by Prof. Sten Konow as 'architect'. Both these interpretations are in accord with the meaning attached to Pali *navakammika* where it occurs in Buddhist canonical texts, and to the corresponding Prakrit forms occurring in early Buddhist inscriptions. For instance, the long inscription in the second apsidal temple at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa informs us that the work of building it was carried out under the guidance of three superintendents of works (*navakamikehi*), namely, the *thera* Chaṁdamukha, the *thera* Dhammanaṁdi and the *thera* Nāga.[4] Prof. Vogel, who has edited these inscriptions, has given references to the relevant passages in the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, in which the functions of *navakammikas* in a Buddhist monastic organization are referred to.[5]

In spite of the very good authority on which Dr. Spooner's and Prof. Sten Konow's interpretation of *navakarmia* is based, there are cogent reasons to question whether Agisala who had his name engraved on the Kanishka Casket was really an architect. It may very well be questioned why the architect who supervised the work of Kanishka's *stūpa* considered the relic-casket to be the appropriate place to have his name recorded. There would certainly have been more appropriate parts of the monument on which the architect's name could have been engraved, if his royal patron was disposed to accord him that honour. M. Foucher's supposition [1] that Agisala had been paid for a gold casket and substituted a gilded one of bronze and Prof. Sten Konow's inference therefrom that this may have been the reason for his attempting to acquire merit by having his name associated with the gift, are not, I believe, meant to be taken seriously. One does not, according to Buddhist ideas, gain merit by having one's name engraved on a religious monument or a relic-casket. The merit is gained by getting rid of the attachment to a part, or the whole of one's belongings by giving it to a worthy recipient. The inscription on the casket itself, being not destined for public exhibition, must have been meant to be scrutinized by eyes other than human—of those beings who take reckoning of the good and evil deeds of men. If Agisala was an architect who did not consider dishonesty to be unprofessional, there was reason for him to keep his name out of the inscription rather than to have it included therein.

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[1] *ASIAR.* for 1908-09, pp. 38–59.

[2] *JRAS.* for 1909, pp. 1056ff.

[3] Dr. Spooner's reading is *nava-karmi*.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 23.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

It can, of course, be argued that the ancients might not have reasoned on the same lines as we do now and that there may have been considerations not known to us why it was not inappropriate for the architect to have his name recorded on the handiwork of someone else rather than on his own. Even granting this, it is reasonable to assume that if the name of an artisan is found in a donatory inscription engraved on an object made of copper, the greater likelihood is for the artisan so honoured to be a worker in metal rather than one belonging to another trade or profession, unless the interpretation of the word used in the text to denote the class of artisan definitely excludes the former. In other words, it is more reasonable to assume that it is the name of the coppersmith who fashioned the relic-casket that is honoured by being included in the epigraph and not that of the architect who designed the *stūpa* in which the relic-casket was enshrined. In support of such a contention, it can also be stated that evidence is available in Sinhalese to prove that in one Indo-Aryan dialect at least, the word *nava-kammika* meant not only 'an architect', 'superintendent of works', etc., but also an 'artificer who worked in metal'. This evidence will be reviewed in brief in the following paragraphs.

In the Sinhalese social organization that is now breaking down at the impact of Western civilization, those communities which practised the trades of working in metal—the goldsmiths, the silversmiths, etc.—were known by the generic name of *navan-danno* or *navan-danna-minissu*. In these terms, *danno* means 'those who

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[1] *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra*, Tome II, p. 542.

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know' or 'those who are proficient in' and *danna-minissu* 'men who know' or 'men who are proficient in'. As the terms are applied to workers in metal, *navan*, the subject of their proficiency, must have some such connotation as 'working in metal'. Etymologically, however, *navan* (i.e. *navam*, the final *m* being changed to *n* due to the *d* in the first syllable of the word with which it is euphonically combined) can be traced back to P. *navakamma* by means of well-known phonetic laws operating in Sinhalese and through the intermediate stages of *nava-kama, navāma* and *navām.*

In Sinhalese literary works, too, there is found a word equivalent phonetically to P. *navakammika*, which has the connotation of 'worker in metal' or 'artificer'. In the *Saddharmmālaṅkāra* (*SL*) which dates from the fourteenth century and deals for the most part with the same material as the Pali *Rasavāhinī* (*RV*), the Sinhalese *nävǟmi* is the equivalent in meaning of P. *kammāra* (Skt. *karmāra*). In the story of Prince Sāli, for instance, the phrase *Tissa nam vū nävǟmiyek* of the *SL*[1] stands for *Tisso nām'eko kammāro* of the *RV*[2]. Similarly, *kammāra-dhītā* of *RV*[3] is *nävǟmiyā-gē dū* in the *SL*[4]. In both these instances, the Sinhalese *nävǟmi* has the same meaning as P. *kammāra*, which word, we know, connotes an 'artificer' or 'a worke in metal'. *Nävǟmi* is etymologically to be traced back to *navakammika* (*navakammika* > *navakamika* > **navaamia* > **navaamii* > **navāmī* > *nävǟmi*), the phonetical processes by which the form of earlier date has assumed its later garb, being the dropping of the intervocalic *k*, vowel-assimilation, the coalescing of the two homogeneous vowels thus brought together, the modification of *a* to *ä* due to the influence of the *i* in the subsequent syllable (the so-called umlaut of Geiger) and the dropping of one of the double consonants. These are processes exemplified by hundreds of words in the Sinhalese language. The literary word for barber in Sinhalese is *karanävǟmi*. Here the word *kara* (Skt. *kṣura*) 'razor' has been added to the generic term *nävǟmi*.

Navan or *navam*, in the compound *navan-danno*, and *nävǟmi* are not recent introductions into the Sinhalese language. They exhibit, as shown above, the characteristic phonetic changes through which Middle Indian forms assume their mediaeval and modern Sinhalese garb. These words, evidently, belong to the heritage with which the Sinhalese language started on its career in Ceylon, for a word denoting 'blacksmith', 'silversmith', etc., must have been essential in everyday speech. The prototypes of *nävǟmi* and *navan* must therefore have been current in that Middle Indian dialect which the immigrants from North India brought to Ceylon some five centuries before the beginning of the Christian era. In other words, *navakammika* or its variant meant 'artificer' or 'worker in metal' in that dialect.

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[1] Colombo Edition of 1934, p. 536.

[2] Colombo Edition of 1899, p. 114.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 542.

If this word had such a connotation in a North Indian dialect transplanted in Ceylon, it might have had the same meaning in other dialects which were spoken in North India. The etymology of *nava-karmika* has nothing to restrict its application to an architect. Literally, the compound means 'he who is engaged in new works' and a metal worker is as much engaged in new works as is an architect. It is therefore quite possible that, while the compound was specialized in its use to mean 'architect' in certain dialects, it assumed the meaning of 'artificer' in others. It is also not impossible that the word meant 'architect' as well as 'artificer' in one and the same dialect.

Forms slightly differing from *navakarmia* in the Kanishka Casket Inscription are found in other Kharoshthi documents. *Navakamika* occurs in the Taxila Copperplate of Patika,[1] *navakarmigena* in the Māṇikiāla Inscription[2] and *nava-karmiena* in the Hidda Inscription[3]. We do not know the exact position in which the Taxila copper-plate was discovered; from the document itself one cannot be quite certain whether the *navakammika* Rohiṇīmitra mentioned therein was an architect or an artificer. It is not impossible that he was the artificer who engraved the copperplate. The Māṇikiāla record was incised on the lower side of a stone slab which covered the relic-chamber of a *stūpa* and in the chamber were found a copper urn, a silver urn and a gold urn. The inscription records the depositing of relics in the *stūpa* and the *nava-karmiga* honoured by being mentioned in the document could possibly have been the artificer who fashioned the metal urns in which the relics were deposited, rather than the architect of the *stūpa*. The Hidda Inscription was 'written with a pen' on a jar. The jar itself is missing and no record is available of the material it was made of. Saṅghamitra, the *navakarmika* figuring in a record of that nature, might well have been an artificer. We may surmise that the *navakarmikas* (artificers) had to execute the work of fashioning the casket or the metal plate free of cost, as the case may be, for the honour of being mentioned by name in the inscription.

If, for the reasons given above, we interpret *navakarmia* of the Kanishka Casket Inscription to mean 'artificer' or 'coppersmith', it may not be without a bearing on the name Agisala by which the *navakarmika* has been referred to. Sir John Marshall, Dr. Spooner, M. Foucher, Prof. Sten Konow and other distinguished scholars had no doubt that *Agisala* is the same as the Greek 'Agesilaos'. Recently,

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[1] Sten Konow, *Kharoshthi Inscriptions*, No. XIII.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. LXXVI.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. LXXXII.

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however, Prof. T. Burrow, in an article contributed to the *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. XI, pp. 13–16, has given very good reasons for not accepting the equation of 'Agisala' with 'Agesilaos'. He equates *agi-sala* with Skt. *agni-śālā*, P. *aggisāla*, and does not see a proper name therein. He takes the word to mean 'the heated hall or refectory' of a Buddhist monastery. He also interprets that part of the record in which *Agisala* occurs as a reference to the re-building of the *agniśālā* in the *vihāra* of Kanishka. This interpretation, however, appears to be not possible from the context; it is also inexplicable why the re-building of an *agniśālā* is referred to in an inscription on a relic-casket.

If *nava-karmia* means 'worker in metal' or 'artificer', 'Agi-sala' might well be a proper name, though not of Greek origin. Metal workers have very much to do with fire (*agni*) and it may not be surprising to find the word meaning 'fire' as the first member of the compound forming the name borne by one who pursued that trade. *Sala* need not necessarily mean *śālā*, 'hall'.

REVIEWS

MADANARATNAPRADĪPA (VYAVAHĀRAVIVEKODDYOTA) edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M. ,D.Lit., in the Ganga Oriental Series No. 6 and published by the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, 1948.

The text under review is an extensive digest on *Dharmaśāstra* compiled under the patronage of king Madanasiṃha. The present critical edition of this text is based on three slightly incomplete manuscripts: (1) a paper manuscript in the possession of the editor; (2) the manuscript belonging to the Anup Sanskrit Library; and (3) the manuscript belonging to the Kasmir Durbar. Madanasiṃha entrusted the task of compiling an extensive digest to four learned men, viz., Ratnākaramiśra, Gopīnātha, Viśvanātha and Gaṅgādhara. In one of the manuscripts, no mention is made of the name of the author. This work is considered as a great authority on *Dharmaśāstra*. Really the *Vyavahāramayūkha* relies upon this text as often as on the *Mitākṣarā*. It seems that this digest was composed between the fourteenth and the fifteenth century A.D.

This work consists of seven parts or *uddyotas* on *samaya*, *ācāra*, *vyavahāra*, *prāyaścitta*, *dāna*, *śuddhi* and *śānti*. This digest is quoted or referred to by the *Vīramitrodaya* and the *Vyavahāramayūkha* in several places. It is placed on the same level with the *Mitākṣarā*, and Vijñāneśvara, the author of the *Mitākṣarā*, is held in high respect by the author of the *Madanaratnapradīpa*. It should be borne in mind that the author of the text under review had the occasion to differ from Vijñāneśvara and in some cases he went so far as to criticize him. The author was not only well acquainted with the *Dharmaśāstra* but also he was well posted in the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* system and in grammar, especially Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*. The learned editor has taken much pains to trace all the quotations from the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* system to their sources. The notes supplied by the editor are very valuable and helpful in understanding some difficult passages. They also indicate the various readings of several verses. The alphabetical list of quotations excluding those from the Vedas and Pāṇini's Sūtras, is very useful. The text has been critically edited with great care and caution. The names of authors and works mentioned in the text, excepting the Vedic texts, and the Bibliography greatly enhance its utility. It goes without saying that a student of Hindu law will be greatly benefited by reading this important digest. A serviceable index at the end is all that is wanting.

B. C. LAW.

BUDDHIST TEXTS AS RECOMMENDED BY AŚOKA with an English translation by Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1948.

Aśoka's Bhābru Edict otherwise known as Bairāt No. 2 is historically important. Vairāṭ or Vairāṭanagara was the capital of the Matsya country which comprises the modern territory of Jaipur. It is so called because it was a capital of Virāṭa, king of the Matsyas. Hiuen Tsang speaks of it as Vairāṭa and Cunningham points out that this kingdom was 3000 li or 500 miles in circuit. Virāṭanagara is, according to the *Mahābhārata*, occasionally called Matsyanagara and also sometimes Matsasyanagara.[1] It was the royal seat of the Epic king Virāṭa, the friend of the Pāṇḍavas.

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[1] *Māhābhārata*, IV, 13, 1; 14, 1.

It may have included the greater part of the present State of Jaipur. Its precise boundaries cannot be determined but they may be fixed approximately as extending on the north from Jhunjun to Kôt Kasim, 70 miles; on the west from Jhunjun to Ajmere 120 miles; on the south from Ajmere to the junction of the Banas and Chambal, 150 miles; and on the east from the junction to Kôt Kasim, 150 miles, or altogether 490 miles.[1] Bhandarkar is right in pointing out that the Bhābru Edict is discovered in the ruins of a hill monastery at Bairāṭ in the northern portion of the Jaipur State, Rajputana.[2] The Bhābru Edict is the only edict which is found inscribed on a *śilāphalaka* or stone slab. It conclusively proves the Buddhist faith of *Aśoka* and it is the solitary record in which Aśoka expressly recommended seven selections from a collection of Buddha's words, which was then known to him. The edict points out that all that is said by the Buddha, the gifted Master, is well said indeed. Aśoka referred to the seven discourses on the law, thinking—'thus verily the good faith will be long enduring.' All these seven discourses on the law should be constantly heard and borne in mind by the *Bhikkhus* and *Bhikkhuṇīs* and the *Upāsakas* and *Upāsikās*. Aśoka caused this to be recorded in order to make his intention known. It is certain that there was in Aśoka's time a well-known and authoritative collection of Buddha's teachings called *Dhammapariyāyas*. But we are not certain whether that collection had any well-defined divisions justifying the application of such an appellation as *Tripiṭaka* or *Pañcanikāya*. Aśoka adopted his own titles in most of the cases and followed a Prākrit spelling of the names in preference to that of the language in which the collection within his access was prevalent. A presumption may be raised against Pāli being the language of the Pre-Aśokan collection of Buddha's words on the ground of Aśoka's use of spelling of the titles of the select passages. This presumption cannot prove any case against the earlier development of Pāli idiom. To expose the unsoundness of the presumption as a proof against the antiquity of Pāli, the following argument is sufficient. In the commentaries of the fifth century A.D., the *sūtras* of Pāṇini have been quoted not in Sanskrit but in Pāli. It may be presumed that the rules of Pāṇini were not formulated in Sanskrit before the time of Buddhaghosa and other Pāli commentators, which seems to be absurd and historically incorrect. As the case stands, Aśoka was not bound by any rule either to adopt the titles of the *suttas* as these are found in the extant Pāli Canon or to retain the Pāli spelling if it was then current. He was at liberty to translate or suggest titles in *Sakanirutti*. The formal mode of addressing the *Saṃgha* and of making the members of the Order assured of Aśoka's faith in the *Triad*, the expression of veneration for the words of Buddha, the statement of the purpose of the selections and the general wording of the Edict go to support a presumption in favour of the antiquity of Pāli than against it. A few interesting parallels from the Pāli Canon may be cited here to make the point clear:

(i) *Bhābrū.*—Priyadasi lājā Māgadhe saṃghaṃ abhivādetūnaṃ āhā apābādhataṃ ca phāsu-vihālataṃ cā.

Dīgha Nikāya, II, p. 72.—Rājā bhante Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandati, appābādhaṃ appātaṅkaṃ lahuṭṭhānaṃ balaṃ phāsu-vihāraṃ pucchatīti.[3]

(ii) *Bhābrū.*—e keci bhaṃte bhagavatā budhena bhāsite sarve se subhāsite vā.

Majjhima-Nikāya, I, p. 219.—Sabbesaṃ vo Sāriputta subhāsitaṃ pariyāyena.

Sutta-Nipāta, *Subhāsitasutta.*—*Catūhi bhikkhave aṅgehi samannāgatā vācā subhāsitā hoti na dubbhāsitā anavajjā ca ananuvajjā ca viññūnaṃ.*

Sutta-Nipāta Commentary, p. 396.—*Subhāsitā hotīti suṭṭhu bhāsitā, ten' assā atthāvahanataṃ dīpeti.*

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[1] Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, pp. 344-5.

[2] *Aśoka*, 2nd Ed., p. 88.

[3] Quoted by B. M. Barua, *J.R.A.S.*, 1915.

(iii) *Bhābrū*.—'Hevaṃ sadhaṃme cila-ṭhitīke hosatī ti....etāni bhaṃte dhamma-paliyāyāni icchāmi kiṃti bahuke bhikhupāye cā bhikhuniye cā abhikhinaṃ suneyu cā upadhālayeyū cā.

Majjhima-Nikāya, I, p. 129, *Kakacūpama Sutta*.—Imañ ca tumhe bhikkhave kakacūpamaṃ ovādam abhikkhaṇaṃ manasikareyyātha, passatha no tumhe bhikkhave taṃ vacanapathaṃ anuṃ vā thūlaṃ vā yaṃ tumhe nādhivāseyyāthāti.[1] No h'etaṃ bhante—Tasmātiha bhikkhave imaṃ kakacūpamaṃ ovādaṃ abhikkhaṇaṃ manasikarotha, taṃ vo bhavissati dīgharattaṃ hitāya sukhāyāti.

Aśoka made use of the earlier nomenclature *Dhammapaliyāya* (*Dhammapariyāya*) which is often found in the *suttas* of the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima Nikāyas*. The term *Dhammapariyāya* is, according to Buddhaghosa, a logical form of discourse on the law (*sabbadhammamūlapariyāyanti sabbesaṃ dhammānaṃ kāraṇadesanaṃ-Papañcasūdanī*, p. 18). I brought all these points to the notice of the scholars in the pages of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Vol. XXII, No. 4) and the *Indian Culture* (*Importance of the Bhābrū Edict—I.C.*, Vol. I, pp. 130–3), as early as 1932 and 1934. All these scriptural texts, giving the fundamentals of Buddhism, were recommended by Aśoka to the *Saṃgha* for perusal and proper understanding.

MM. Pandit Vidhusekhar Sastri who has just brought out a popular volume, containing the Buddhist texts found in the Bhābrū Edict with their English translation, ought to have shown the importance of the Edict in his preface. In the preface to his book, he has given wrong references. In page xi verses should be 207–221 and not 206–220 of the Munigāthā in the *Sutta Nipāta*. In page xii he says that the texts collected here are mainly from the editions of the Pali Text Society and in the case of the Vinaya Text, Oldenberg's edition has been utilized. Let me examine the texts collected here by Pandit Sastri.

In page 3: para. 1—he has omitted *Katame dve*;

para. 4—it should be *dukkhasamudayaṃ* in place of *dukkhasamudayo*;

In page 4: para. 5—it should be *dukkhanirodhaṃ* in place of *dukkhanirodho*;

para. 7—line 4, after *cakkhuṃ udapādi* the author has omitted *ñāṇaṃ udapādi*;

para. 8—*dukkhasamudayaṃ* in place of *dukkhasamudayo*.

para. 9—*dukkhanirodhaṃ* in place of *dukkhanirodho*.

In page 5: para. 12—after *akuppā me* the author has used the word *vimutti* only but it should be *cetovimutti*;

para. 13—*attamanā* should go along with *pañcavaggiyā*, and *abhinandanti*, in place of *abhinandunti*, should be the correct form.

II, para. 1—*samavayasaṭṭhesano* or *samavayasaṭhesano* or *sañcavayasaṭhesano* should occur in place of *samavasaṭṭhesano*.

Paras. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, etc.—why the author has used full stop and not the note of interrogation after *hoti*?

In page 7: para. 2—*Adhipaññāya* should be *Adhipaññāye*.

In page 9: para. 5—*pana* and not *puna*.

In para 10: verse 8—*Ogahane* in place of *ogāhane*.

In page 11: para. 14—*pāṇine* in place of *pāṇīno*.

V.—After *manomoneyyaṃ* the author has omitted a sentence —*Katamañca bhikkhave kāyamoneyyaṃ*?

In page 12: —*Kho* in place of *bho* and *soceyyām* in place of *moneyyām*.

VI.—In the beginning after pubbe *iccayasmā Sāriputto* should occur.

In page 13: verse 9—*Sāriputtāti Bhagavā* omitted after *phāsi Upatisapasina* is also known as *Sāriputta sutta*, *Therapañha sutta* and *Sāriputtapanha sutta*.

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[1] Credit goes to Mr. S. N. Mitra, M.A., for finding out this parallel from Pāli.

In page 14: para. 5—*udakāvadhānaṃ* should be *udakādhānam*.
In page 15(top): para. 7—after *pacchimehi pi* the author has omitted *pādehi*. *ubbūḷhavābhijāto* is the correct form and not ubbūḷhāvābhijato.
para. 8—The author has followed the P.T.S. editions and therefore he should use *kattabbaṃ* and not *kātabbam*.
In page 17: para. 13, para. 15 —*Ahorattānusikkhī* and not *Ahorattānusikkho*.
In page 19: para. 16—He has used the right form *Ahorattānusikkhī*.

Pandit Sastri has translated the Pali texts into English. His translation is on the whole correct, although he has taken in some places the exact renderings made by previous translators without due acknowledgment (Vide *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Pt. III, *SBB.*, Vol. IV; and *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. I, *SBB*, Vol. V; *Book of the Gradual Sayings*, III (PTS), e.g., 'pole of a plough', 'put away', 'let go', 'illusion', 'like the slump of a palm-tree', 'non-existent and unable to grow, again in future', 'he attains to and abides in', 'attaining and realizing'). His English rendering of Māra is not comprehensive. I should invite readers' attention to my article on the *Buddhist Conception of Māra* published in the *Buddhistic Studies* (Ed. B. C. Law), Ch. X, pp. 257ff. In his preface (xiii) Pandit Sastri has failed to give the exact reference to the Samatapāsādikā. The passage quoted in the footnote is taken from the Samantapāsādikā, I, p. 13. He ought to have given the accurate reference. The book is replete with innumerable printing mistakes, although it has been published by the well-equipped press of the University of Calcutta. Some of them may here be pointed out: *pañca upadādakhandhā, saññu* (page 23, f.n. 1); *which open's* (p. 23); *Senert* (p. x); *refram* (p. 39).

Pandit Shastri has given the original text of the Edict of Aśoka but he has not given the different readings, e.g., *Māgadhaṃ* or *Māgadhe; abhivādanaṃ* or *abhivādetunaṃ*; *abhihetaṃ* or *abhipetaṃ*.

The book will be of some use to those desiring to have in one place Asokan texts with their English translation, which still require to be studied with great care and caution.

B. C. LAW.

HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE (Prose, Poetry and Drama) by Sushil Kumar De, M.A., D.Litt.; pp. 1–511; University of Calcutta, 1947.

Here we have, for the first time perhaps, a History of Sanskrit Literature, with emphasis on Literature rather than on Sanskrit. As the author says, 'Sanskrit literature need no longer be looked upon as a literary curiosity, deserving merely a descriptive, erudite, apologetic or condescending treatment,' 'it ranks legitimately as one of the great literatures of the world, to the appreciation of which broader historical and literary standards should be applied.' Yet its greatness is not of the brilliant and short-lived classical Greek literature. Its greatness is rather of the unending and monotonous mediaeval Latin literature, with erotics substituted for theology. Its soul is anonymous, its language is Esperanto. It was born old and conventionalized, so that its cradle could serve as its coffin. How far apart it stands from the line of pure literary art directly connecting Aeschylus with Synge, it is for art-critics to judge, and in the book under review we have the verdict on this point of one of the few Indian scholars dealing with the subject whose vision is not limited to Sanskrit alone. It is this that makes the book indispensable to students of Sanskrit literature. With rare felicity Dr. De gives exposés of the principal works coming under review, but it is a pity that not a single long passage of any work has been given either in original or translation, so that to ordinary readers

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like the present reviewer, familiar with only a part of the texts dealt with by the author, the treatment sometimes seems to lack realism. On *genres* of Sanskrit literature, his judgment is always incisive, though never without an effort to be lenient. Of individual authors, even the greatest Sanskrit poet gets no easy passage under his scrutiny: 'Kālidāsa would never regard his emotions as their own excuse for being, but would present them in the embalmed glamour of poetic realization, or in the brocaded garb of quintessenced rhetoric' (p. 153). It is curious indeed, as Dr. De points out, 'that the extreme and affected classicality of Sanskrit poetry and drama continued uninterrupted for a long stretch of centuries, and a true romantic reaction never set in' (p. 315).

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF APABHRAṂŚA by Ganesh Vasudev Tagare; Deccan College Dissertation Series 5; pp. xvii+454; Poona, 1948.

Soon after Mehendale's monumental work, the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, under the able guidance of Dr. S. M. Katre, has sprung on the public another surprise, though this time not such a pleasant one, in the shape of Tagare's 'Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa.' It is undoubtedly a work of merit, and the author deserves thanks from the scholarly world interested in Indian linguistics, not least for the elaborate index of over a hundred pages in which the source of every Apabhraṃśa word dealt with in the work has been given. Our author is not without his idiosyncrasies. Twice in the space of his short introduction he fulminates against poor old Grierson because he 'proposed a hypothetical Apabhraṃśa as preceding each NIA dialect.' As if it is a crime to suggest that every son was preceded by a father! It may very well be that 'that assumption is unsupported by documentary evidence discovered so far' by Mr. Tagare. But the question is, is there anything to suggest that this assumption can be wrong? Pischel too fares no better in the hands of our author (see for instance page 104, f.n. 2).—Let us say at once that it is no good making a fetish of 'chrono-regional perspective', of which our author is evidently enamoured. Everybody who knows the alphabets of linguistics knows also that laws of languages, not being universal, act over definite areas during definite periods. It is preposterous to suggest that Pischel was ignorant of this. Our author's assumptions are therefore not correct. His mode of execution too is not happy. Method of treatment suitable for inscriptional dialects cannot be suitable for Apabhraṃśa languages whose dialectology is largely determined by manuscript-tradition. Can we grant full credence to the grammar of an Apabhraṃśa text of western origin preserved in an eastern script? I am not sure that more correct results would not have been achieved if the author, in dealing with the dialects, had paid more attention to the scripts of manuscripts, than to their region of origin. Mr. Tagare is not afraid of attributing Apabhraṃśa composition even to Kālidāsa. But do we know when Kālidāsa lived? There is no decisive argument yet against placing Kālidāsa in the pre-Christian era. How to judge of the Apabhraṃśa portion of the Vikramorvaśīya I do not know. But I recall an incident that may suggest a way of solving the problem. Once in Germany I attended the performance of a Shakespearean drama in a famous theatre. Shakespeare puts in the drama a lady of Celtic origin, ignorant of English, who therefore has to maintain a poignant silence on the stage. In the German adaptation, however, I was surprised to hear this lady break out into a wailing song, not in English or German, but in Celtic! But none—not even a renowned Professor of Celtic philology present there—could make anything of it.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

INDO-ARYAN LOAN-WORDS IN MALAYALAM by K. Godavarma, pp. ix +252; 1946. Published by Ramavarma & Bros., Mavelikara; printed in Trivandrum at the A.R.V. Press.

It is a doctoral dissertation presented to the Faculty of Arts of the University of London in 1933, prepared under the guidance of Prof. Turner, whose words of warm approbation printed on the dust-cover, leave no doubt as to the value of this work. Of Sanskrit loans the author wisely takes into consideration particularly those words which are no longer felt to be alien. But all identified MIA and NIA words have been properly dealt with. The theme of the work is not such as would promise sensational results. But, all the same, the book deserves all the praise that is due to fruits of honest and useful labour.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

HINDU IDEAL OF LIFE by Batakrishna Ghosh, pp. viii+116; Bhāratī Mahāvidyālaya Publications, Social Science Series—No. 1, Calcutta, 1947; Published by Satis Chandra Seal, Honorary General Secretary, Bhāratī Mahāvidyālaya.

In six short chapters on the *Gṛhya-sūtras*, *Śrauta-sūtras*, *Dharmaśāstras*, *Artha-śāstra* and *Kāmasūtra* the author has tried to present to the public, in a popular garb, the ideals embodied in the texts concerned. Not to idealize the ideals is one of the chief concerns of the author, and as a result his judgment is sometimes harsh, but not unjust. The chief merit of the work lies in the sustained effort on the part of the author to discover the principles that actuated the ancient Indian writers to lay down prescriptive laws, which in reality were for the most part descriptive, just as we find them in the texts, inspite of other possible alternatives. Vedic religion was magic-ridden in the author's opinion, but out of this magic-ridden religion gradually arose the conception of law, which again took refuge under the wings of religion and magic when the Hindus lost their political supremacy. Caste-system has done for India what Feudalism did for Europe. It provided every individual with a profession at a time when there was no political authority to enact and enforce laws. The book on the whole is very interesting and useful.

B. C. LAW.

1. EARLY INDIAN CULTURE (pp. 32, No. 1)
2. ANCIENT INDIA (SIXTH CENTURY B.C.) (pp. 36, No. 2)

Written by Dr. Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt., F.R.A.S.B. and published by the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, in its Popular Series.

These two brochures add two valuable links to the chain of the many publications with which Dr. Bimala Churn Law has enriched the literature on Ancient Indian History in all its aspects, geographical, political, social, economic and cultural. Both these works condense and compress within the limits of a very short compass a vast and varied amount of material derived from the latest researches which make them so completely up-to-date. The first work is made up of 9 sections dealing with the bare facts of Indian Culture of different periods, Prehistoric, Vedic, Brahmanic, Pre-Maurya, Maurya-Śuṅga, Scythian, Gupta, Later Mediaeval, and Andhra and Dravidian. They present a valuable summary of the essential facts and features of the period dealt with.

The second brochure on Ancient India of sixth century B.C. is predominantly a picture of Buddhist India on the basis of its sources in Pali literature supplemented by the evidence from Jain and Brahmanical sources. It is a most useful handbook for the study of this unique period of Indian history associated with the two great religions of Jainism and Buddhism, which introduced to it several new factors by which Indian Culture was widened and made more National. The book is made up of five sections dealing with geographical background, which contains much new material not so known, kings and peoples, social and economic life, religion and culture (including education and learning).

These two works are Dr. Law's new essays in condensed writing, which has its own merits, not to be missed by readers, who are unable to undertake the study of specialized and extensive treatises on the subjects they present.

Radha Kumud Mookerji.

PHILOSOPHY OF PROGRESS by the late Dr. B. M. Barua, M.A., D.Litt. (Lond.) F.R.A.S.B., Tripiṭakācārya.

This treatise is a posthumous publication in an enlarged form of an article published in the *Calcutta Review* (1920) under the title 'Thoughts on Progress'. The author whom we now miss so much has fittingly dedicated it to the ever-inspiring memory of Mahatma Gandhi to whom the book in its earlier form was sent in 1933.

The book as it stands has been divided into several important sections, such as, Dean Inge's Ideal of Progress, Meaning of Progress, Tests of Progress, Condition of Progress and Modes of Progress. In these sections the author has given us his considered opinions as to the factors and forces, conducive to and subversive of human progress, material, intellectual, moral and religious. He has laid under contribution the teachings of the *Vedas*, the *Upaniṣads*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Gītā*, the Buddhist and Jaina scriptures, the *Bible* and the *Quoran* and has shown in his own way their bearings on his conception of Progress. He is not at all dogmatic in his views and is not unwilling to give revolution a necessary importance as a step to progress and reformation and even rebellion in the social and political structure of mankind the due share of motive force they contribute. He admits conflicts of purposes in the older and rising generations of men in India, as in the whole world, but he never despairs of ultimate harmony and unity when human mind is forced to believe in a corporate scheme of existence brought about by outstanding personal geniuses like Buddha, Christ, Hazarath Mahammad or even Alexander the Great. He however suggests that even unity cannot be judged to be the only ultimate goal of progress, for unity serves to impoverish the wealth hidden in the variety of types of creation by depriving men of the right of personal initiative. To him even beatitude achieved by highly spiritual geniuses does not offer the highest form of progress, if such spiritual geniuses fancy that they stood away from the realities of life, that they are above law and are to dictate their terms to humanity.

What then does the author exactly mean by Progress? Progress, according to him, is an advance of mankind 'in the sense of increased and increasing preparedness and possibility for taking certain definite steps, other such steps, and after them other ones, sufficing, as devised each time, to suit their manifold needs and to diversify and enrich the products of thought and art, not contradicting in essence the tradition of the past and not expecting any more than the consciousness of a felt advance'. Progress, in short, according to the author, is a reconstruction of the human species on its mental and material sides and is never of the nature of an abrupt revolution breaking link with the past. He appears to take Progress as a fact of History brought about from time to time by individual geniuses whom Carlyle calls 'heroes', who are individual potent forces effecting advancement in different aspects of life by their 'directive' and 'corrective' influences on the history of mankind.

The concept of Progress, as it appears in the philosophical literature of today, seems to have acquired a far more comprehensiveness which it is not possible, within the limits of a short treatise like the one under review, to bring out in all its details. It is now rich in content and varied in implications. To do justice to the Philosophy of Progress one has to solve the questions: If progress is a fact, is it continuous or *per saltum*, is it cyclic or spiral? Is it guided by any purpose or without it? If it is guided by a purpose, what is the nature of such a purpose? Does Progress as guided by purpose imply any scale of values which are gradually realized in the progression? If individual geniuses are responsible for progress in so far as they exert 'directive' and 'corrective' influences over it, as the late learned doctor supposes, these individual heroes must contribute to a common end or purpose, even if appearing at different periods of human history. Now what else will this common end or purpose imply than the absolute values of Truth, Goodness and Beauty, which act as the drawing forces, pulling the entire existence including these outstanding individual geniuses with their 'directive' and 'corrective' influences towards the fulfilment of a common purpose. This will certainly amount to a teleological interpretation of the world-movement, but will nevertheless be different from the traditional teleology of Religious Idealism according to which the world is supposed to be pushed from behind. We may take up an outstanding individual in any particular sphere of life and a group of his followers who may have worked out or would work out his ideal in that particular sphere. That would at best be a particularistic view of Progress which is bound to be limited and has the chance of being outbalanced by retrogression in another sphere of life. All such problems have not received due consideration in this little book.

Dr. Barua in his Appendix A has tried to analyze my view of Progress as laid down in one of my books 'Studies in Philosophy' published in 1938. He has substantially accepted my view that Progress is due to the genius of outstanding individuals. In his section on the 'modes' of progress, he has laid down 'meeting' of individual thoughtful men as a necessary mode of progress for that ensures cooperation amongst them and correction of each other's views on the matter, apparently meaning by such 'meeting' Buddhist 'Sangha' as we may infer from his Buddhist predilections. He should have rather called it one of the conditions of progress.

Dr. Barua has taken exception to my use of 'impulse' as it, he thinks, is suggestive of irrationality or absence of reflectiveness. Such impulse in some cases has been 'constructive', where its results have been beneficial and in some cases 'destructive', when they have proved detrimental to the lasting interests of men.

Death has snatched away from our midst such a candid, bold and original thinker to deprive us of many of his matured thoughts on such an important problem of mankind as that of human progress. We are now in great need of more thinkers of Dr. Barua's calibre with such boldness and originality of conception. The book under review is undoubtedly a useful and thoughtful treatise, which will provide the reading public with immense intellectual food.

HARIMOHAN BHATTACHARYYA.

THE CARIYĀPIṬAKA, edited in Devanāgarī character with an Introduction in English by Bimala Churn Law, D.Litt., Ph.D., M.A., B.L., second and revised edition, Bhandarkar Oriental Series No. 7, Poona, 1949. 49 pp.

It is very agreeable to be able to welcome this good, annotated and well printed edition of the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, to which Dr. Law has contributed an interesting Introduction. This includes a brief résumé of each of the thirty-five birth-stories of which the *Cariyāpiṭaka* consists, for Dr. Law decided not to incorporate an English translation in this volume, having already made one for the *Sacred Books of the Buddhists* although this work is now out of print. There is also a short discussion on the term *pāramitā* and the general way in which each one was fulfilled by the Bodhisatta. This term, here taken as 'perfection', 'completeness' or 'highest state', is thus translated by an abstraction as is usually the case. But another possible sense of this word, namely 'arrived at the Beyond', *pāram itā*, as suggested by Professor Bacot (*Le Bouddha*, Paris, 1947, p. 84), might profitably have been discussed. For then the 'main importance' of the term would lie not only 'in its bearing on the problem of evolution of personality' (p. 12) but the ultimate goal to which the evolving personality was aspiring would become more apparent. Dr. Law makes the suggestive statement, but without expanding it, that 'the *pāramitā* doctrine had its root in the age-old Indian conception of faith (*saddhā*) particularly as developed in a *sutta* of the *Majjhima-Nikāya*'.

Several interesting problems arise from a study of this Introduction. First, why is the *Cariyāpiṭaka's* treatment of the *pāramitās* incomplete? Why does it illustrate only seven out of the ten 'perfections of conduct'? Dr. Law does not make it quite clear that this is, in fact, the case. He says 'the last three *pāramitās* are not noticed in the *Cariyāpiṭaka* which gives a brief account of how the Bodhisatta fulfilled each *pāramitā*' (p. 11), while he also says that 'the first two *pāramitās*, namely *dāna* and *sīla*, are illustrated by ten stories each and the last fourteen refer to the other eight perfections, namely renunciation, wisdom, energy, forbearance, truth, resolution, amity and equanimity' (p. 1). But I find *khanti* and *viriya* (forbearance and energy) mentioned only in the concluding verses of the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, and *paññā*, wisdom, not at all. This work indeed contains no stories illustrating these three *pāramitās*. The question is: Why? Was the omission deliberate? Is the work incomplete intentionally or unintentionally? Has part been lost? Or was it never compiled? Richard Morris, fully alive to this state of affairs, writes in the Preface to his Pali Text Society edition: 'The *pāramitās* of *paññā*, *viriyaṃ*, and *khanti* are entirely passed over unnoticed . . . To a certain extent *paññā*, *viriyaṃ*, *khanti*, *adhiṭṭhānaṃ*, and *upekhā* are involved in the other *pāramitās*, and this may perhaps account for omission of the first three, and the slight treatment of the last two perfections.'

It is possible that hesitations concerning this work go back a long way. The *Majjhima-bhāṇakas* included it in their *Suttanta-piṭaka*, whereas the *Dīgha-bhāṇakas* did not do so (*Sumangalavilāsinī*, I. 15), a discrepancy which I should have liked Dr. Law to discuss.

The *Cariyā-piṭaka* is of course, with its thirty-five birth-stories, not to be compared in length with the *Jātakas*. But Dr. Law cites Dr. Morris as pointing out that 'the *Jātakamālā* also contains thirty-five birth-stories, ten of which have the same titles as those of the *Cariyāpiṭaka* tales'. This opens up a suggestive line for some future research, which might well be combined with an investigation of the whole treatment of the *pāramitās*, not only in the Mahāyāna Buddhist texts which 'are full of information regarding their fulfilment', but in their more scattered occurrences in other Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist texts to which Dr. Law draws our attention. Perhaps we might then learn whether the *pāramitās* are arranged in the order in which they usually appear for any recondite reason according to which their fulfilment has to take place of necessity in this particular sequence, so that there can be no undertaking of the next perfection until the preceding one has been fulfilled; or we might learn whether they can be completed simultaneously; or whether there is no thought-out plan governing their order, in which case the order of mastering them would be of little consequence.

Dr. Law sets out very clearly the sources to which the stories can be traced, thus clarifying Morris' work, and adding the three sources which the latter admitted he had failed to find. The curious thing is, that while thirty-four stories derive from *Jātaka* tales, one alone, the *Mahāgovinda*, is listed as deriving from the *Dīghanikāya*

One error in this Introduction should be corrected in any subsequent edition. The Bodhisatta was *not* 'born as Mahālomahaṃsa' (p. 11). This is not a personal name. The events of this 'hair-raising' time, recounted to illustrate the perfection of indifference or equanimity, took place, according to the *Lomahaṃsa Jātaka*, while the Bodhisatta was a Naked Ascetic (*Jātaka* I, p. 391). The *Jātakanidāna* (*Jātaka* I, p. 47), places the relevant verses in the *Dūrenidāna*. But according to the *Majjhima* (I. 79), part of whose prose description tallies verbally with the *Jātakanidāna's* and the *Cariyāpiṭaka's* verse, the events, so grisly that the *Mahāsīhanādasutta* could also be known as the *Lomahaṃsanapariyāya*, took place in the Bodhisatta's last life on earth before he gained full enlightenment.

There is no doubt that Dr. Law's suggestive and stimulating Introduction will promote further research into the whole field of the tremendously interesting subject of the *pāramitās* and the highly important topics to which they are related, and which here find sympathetic treatment.

I. B. Horner.

SIR WILLIAM JONES : Bicentenary of his birth commemoration volume (1746–1946). Published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1948, pp. 1–173.

The bicentenary of the birth of the late Sir William Jones, the founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (now Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal), was commemorated in 1946 when Dr. M. N. Shaha was the President of the Society. The major portion of the commemoration volume is devoted to messages received from important individuals and institutions of the world on the occasion. Besides there are some articles written by Drs. S. K. Chatterjee, B. S. Guha, R. C. Majumdar and Messrs. Paul Levy, Hamidullah, K. P. Chatterjee, P. Acharya, Desai, S. N. Ray, Priyaranjan Sen and R. K. Das Gupta. Dr. Chatterjee's note on Sir William Jones, though it seems to be dull and un-interesting in some places, is on the whole good. Dr. B. S. Guha's article is very interesting. Dr. Majumdar has tried to show Indian culture as a factor in world civilization. This subject needs a fuller and more systematic treatment than what the writer has here done. The coloured illustration of Sir William Jones in his boyhood, which forms the frontispiece and which has been reproduced from the original painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds, is very attractive. The messages and other matters should have been published in the Society's Year Book for 1946, and the big amount already spent in bringing out this volume might have been saved for printing some good books worthy of this learned Society.

S. C. Seal.

THE TIRUKKUṚAḶ OF TIRUVAḶḶUVAR transcribed in Roman character with English Translation by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A., with a foreword by Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar published by the Adyar Library, 1949, and included in the Adyar Library Series No. 67, pp. 271. Price Rs.3.

The Tirukkuṛaḷ, like the *Bhagavat Gītā* of the Hindus and the *Dhammapada* of the Buddhists, is well-respected by the lovers of Tamil. It consists of 3 parts the first dealing with *Aram*, the 2nd with *Poruḷ* and the last with *Kāma*. This Tamil classic which is dated the first or second century B.C. contains invaluable teachings like the *Gītā* and the *Dhammapada*. It treats of such topics as renunciation, *dharma*, wives, sons, loving-kindness, hospitality, sweet words, gratitude, equity, self-control, right conduct, politeness, envy, non-coveting, back-biting, evil deeds, decorum, liberality, compassion, penance, improper conduct, truth, absence of anger, non-killing, true knowledge, destruction of desire, destiny, learning, non-learning knowledge, association with elders, avoiding the company of the ignoble, tyranny,

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kindliness, exertion, perseverance, courage, good speech, resoluteness, acquisition of wealth, true friendship, stupidity, ignorance, discord, enmity, non-taking of wine, medicine, greatness, courtesy, modesty, poverty, begging, meanness, reading of love's signs, ecstasy of love's union, secret love, wedded love, recollecting the pleasures of love, dreams of love, and loss of modesty. Some other minor topics are dealt with here. Prof. Dikshitar, who is a great Tamil scholar, has ably translated this book in a clear language. He has really made it most interesting and instructive. This book should be in the hands of every Indian and should be read and re-read like other precious gems of Indian literature.

B. C. LAW.

VAIŚĀLĪ-ABHINANDAN-GRANTHA (Homage to Vaiśālī). Edited by J. C. Mathur, I.C.S., and Yogendra Mishra, M.A., and published by the Vaiśālī Saṅgha. Price Rs.12 per copy. Pp. 1–194.

This volume prefaced by Dr. Rajendra Prasad contains some interesting articles written by Drs. B. C. Law, R. C. Majumdar, R. K. Mookerjee, S. C. Sarkar and others. It will be of some use to orientalists. Some of the articles are written for the general public. We believe the volume, as it stands, will be welcome by the Indologists as well as by the general reader.

S. K. MITRA.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY AND ETHNOGRAPHY OF GUJARAT (Deccan College Monograph Series No. 3), by H. D. Sankalia, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., published by the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, 1949, pp. 245.

In Lecture I the author has dealt with the nature of the subjects and sources in the form of small notes which seem to be scrappy. The Lecture II on Historical Geography is interesting. The Lectures III and IV treat of Cultural Geography and Historical and Cultural Ethnography. The most useful portion is the Appendix giving a list of place names from Caulukya inscriptions and their identifications. The book is on the whole a useful publication.

B. C. LAW.

SOME JAINA CANONICAL SŪTRAS—by Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt., Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society Monograph No. 2, 1949. Pages XV+213.

Dr. B. C. Law, well-known as the author and patron of many studies in Indology, has placed scholars once more under a deep debt of gratitude to him by producing this very well-documented and comprehensive account of the Jaina canon. The comparisons with the texts of the Buddhist canon which are scattered throughout the work greatly enhance the value of the study and raises many interesting questions not only of the relation between the two canons, but in the wider field of the development of Indian religious thought and literature. After a brief description of the extant Jaina canon in Chapter I, Dr. Law devotes the following twenty-four chapters to a critical account of the principal Jaina canonical texts in the light of his comparative study of both Buddhist and Jaina texts. There is an appendix on *Vividha-tīrtha kalpa* of great value for ancient Indian Geography and another on the principles of Jainism chiefly based on the texts studied in the volume. As Dr. E. J. Thomas rightly observes in his brief Introduction to the book: 'the calmness and impartiality of Dr. Law's method will be a great aid to the clearness of treatment required in order to reach assured conclusions' on the whole subject of Jainism its history and relations with the rest of Indian religious thought and experience which is as yet but imperfectly comprehended. Jainism in fact shows a much greater development on the literary side than Buddhism, and as Bühler pointed out long ago the Jains did not stop with expounding their own religious doctrines, but devoted themselves actively to the secular services of the Brahmans and to the cultivation of many popular languages including Kannaḍa, Tamil and Telugu. Dr. Law has earned the thanks of all Indologists by his striking contribution to the sacred literature of Jainism which has meant so much for the development of Indian culture.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

A MANUAL OF BUDDHISM, by Nārada Thera. Published by the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd., Lake House, Colombo.

This short book which is intended for students, contains some important problems relating to Buddhism. It treats of Buddha's birth, enlightenment, preaching of Dharma, sending of missionaries, etc. The author has given a brief account of the Buddhist monks and nuns. His exposition of the four noble truths, *Nibbāna, Karma*, etc., is quite enough for the students for whom it is written. He ought to have given a clear account of the Buddha and the contemporary Indian kings and princes. His notes on Aśoka and his *Dharma* are very scrappy. The book, which is well printed and nicely got up, will be welcome by the students.

B. C. LAW.

BĀṄGĀLĀY BAUDDHADHARMA, by Nalininath Das Gupta. Published by A. Mukherjee & Co., Calcutta. 268 pp. Price Rs.4-8-0.

Mr. Das Gupta has made an attempt for the first time in this book to give a connected and comparative account of Buddhism in Bengal in seven sections. He has given a very readable account of Buddhist images in the Pāla period and later. His section on Buddhist *vihāras* in Bengal is interesting but in some places there are inaccuracies. He has tried to explain *Bodhicitta* and has dealt with *Mahāyāna, Vajrayāna, Tantrism* and such other cults which prevailed in Bengal. He has given a short history of the Buddhist sects. His account of Buddhism in the Asokan age as well as in the Gupta period and later deserves special mention. He has also traced the history of Buddhism in Bengal under the Pālas.

In the Introduction (p. 13) we are astounded to find his wrong statement that no systematic account of Buddhist philosophy is found in the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*. He has quoted Malalasekera's *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* in this connection. If Mr. Das Gupta cares to read the following books of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*: *Dhammasaṅgaṇi, Vibhaṅga, Kathāvatthu, Puggalapaññatti, Yamaka* and *Paṭṭhāna*, he will have no other alternative than to amend his own statement. A rich store of Buddhist philosophy, psychology, metaphysics, and ethics, is found in all these Abhidhamma texts. Many intricate problems of Buddhist psychological ethics such as intellection, aggregate of sensation, consciousness, concentration of mind, meditation, the two senses, object of recollection, etc., are treated systematically in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*. The *Kathāvatthu* may easily be consulted by him in its English rendering known as the *Points of Controversy*, if he does not know Pali. It is a very important Buddhist book of debate on matters of philosophy and theology. The *Puggalapaññatti* deals with *puggala* or individuality. Such topics as these—whether a person is related or absolute, conditioned or unconditioned, eternal or temporal, etc.,—have been sufficiently dealt with in this book. The *Yamaka* deals with the *āyatanas*, noble truths, three *saṃkhāras*, ignorance, passion for existence, etc. The *Paṭṭhāna* which is another important Abhidhamma book has good discussions

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on causal relation, co-nascence, action, result, meditation, consequence, controlling faculty, etc. Mr. Das Gupta is specially requested to read these books before making any such mis-statement.

In pages 14 and 15 of his book he has made a confusion between Sanskrit and Pali words. He has failed to state correctly the titles of texts, e.g., *Dīrghanikāya, Thera* or *Therāgāthā, Piṭṭhānapakaraṇa, Dharmasaṅgaṇi*. The correct titles are the following: *Dīghanikāya, Thera-Therīgāthā, Paṭṭhānapakaraṇa*, and *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*. The Cariyāpiṭaka is not the Buddhacarita as Mr. Das Gupta has written. It means a basket of conduct or daily duties. *Cariyā* means conduct or daily duties performed by a Bodhisatta to fulfil the ten perfections (*pāramitās*) which are absolutely necessary for the attainment of *bodhi*. This text shows the effectiveness of the good conduct of the Teacher in his former births. *Piṭaka* is used in the sense of division according to the commentator (*Bhājanattho pi hi Piṭaka-saddo niddiṭṭho*). The *Cariyāpiṭaka* contains verses on the Buddha perfections. Some have translated it as a collection of Buddha's meritorious acts. In page 14 Mr. Das Gupta has said nothing about *Niddesa*. He seems to be ignorant about it. Under the *Niddesa* we have the *Mahā* and *Culla*. The *Mahāniddesa* contains references to many miscellaneous matters, e.g., four kinds of slaves, four kinds of friends, various diseases, classification of men, various doctrines and various religious beliefs (for details, vide my *History of Pali Literature*, I, 280 ff.). The *Cullaniddesa* deals in the first place with all the sections of the Pārāyaṇavagga of the *Suttanipāta*, and in the second place with the *Khaggavisāṇasutta* of the *Uragavagga* of the *Suttanipāta*. The *Niddesa* consists chiefly in the interpretation of each word, e.g. *muni, kāma, sikkhā, bhikkhu, ogha, kusala, loka*, etc. This interpretation is repeated at every place where the word is found in the text, and is literally the same throughout. (For further details vide my *History of Pali Literature*, I, 278 ff.). The *Paṭisaṃbhidāmagga* has been wrongly described by Mr. Das Gupta. It is a book dealing with the powers of intuitive insight possessed by Buddhist *arhats*, as rightly pointed out by T. W. Rhys Davids in his book on *Buddhism* (new and revised edition, p. 19). In my *History of Pali Literature*, I have said that in essence the book is wholly Abhidhammistic, and it describes how an analytical knowledge can be acquired by a saint (*arahat*). The treatment of the various subjects is essentially scholastic in character. In page 14 Mr. Das Gupta has written that the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* is a collection of various *sūtras*. As a matter of fact almost all the *nikāyas* are the collections of *suttas*. The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* is a collection characterized by numerous groupings of *Dhammas* arranged serially in an ascending order. It applies on a comprehensive scale to the numerical scheme of mnemonics as enunciated in the *Kumārapañha*. This art has also been tried in the *Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā*. All the *suttas* grouped in the successive numerical sections have bearings on a twofold Vinaya, namely, the *Bhikkhu Vinaya* and the *Gahapati Vinaya*. (For a fuller discussion, vide my *History of Pali Literature*, I, 191 ff.). Mr. Das Gupta ought to have taken much care in disclosing the '*Svarūpa*' of Pali Tripiṭaka.

In page 32 Mr. Das Gupta says that there is a reference to Lāḷha or West Bengal in one of the Jātakas (Jāt. I, p. 447). There is no such reference in the said Jātaka in which occurs the word *lālamāṇavo* meaning a dull young Brahmin. I must invite the attention of the learned author to the serious mistake committed by him. Can he find out any reference to Lāḷha in the whole Jātaka book? He will surely be disappointed.

In page 53 he has wrongly quoted the verse from Yamakami's *Systems of Buddhistic Thought*, p. 16. Mr. Das Gupta has drawn his materials regarding Candragomin without due acknowledgement, from Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa's *History of Indian Logic*, pp. 334-35. He has rendered into Bengali some of the passages of Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa. This will be evident if we care to read the pages 334–35 of Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's work and pp. 59–64 of Mr. Das Gupta's book. Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa differs from Mr. Das Gupta in pointing out that there was another

Candragomin, called Candragomin the senior, who went to Ceylon and on his way back found in Southern India in the house of Vararuci Patañjali's Bhāṣya on Pāṇini's grammar (*History of Indian Logic*, p. 334).

Regarding the date of Candragomim Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa says that he must have lived in 700 A.D., which date does not tally with that given by Mr. Das Gupta in page 64. Mr. Das Gupta ought to have consulted a very interesting article entitled '*La Date de Candragomin*,' Hanoi, 1903, p. 25 (S. Levi, *Notes Chinoises sur l'inde*, No. III). Eliot points out that Candragomin founded the Buddhist school of Logic in Bengal which lasted almost until the Mahommedan conquest (*Hinduism and Buddhism*, II, 95). In page 89 of the book under review Mr. Das Gupta seems to have made an erroneous statement regarding the conception of Śiva Buddha in Java. Eliot distinctly points out that this conception was popular in Java (*Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, 181). Mr. Das Gupta's use of the word *nyūnādhika* in this connection is misleading.

In page 237 of Mr. Das Gupta's book we find that Sir Charles Eliot (*Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. II, p. 113, referred to by Mr. Das Gupta) has given 1450 A.D. as the date of Caṅgalarāja and not 1448 A.D. as stated by Mr. Das Gupta. In the same page he has quoted Kern's *Manual of Buddhism*, page 134 in support of his statement that the old and dilapidated monasteries of Bodh Gaya were repaired and rebuilt. Kern does not exactly write this in his book. He mentions the ruined monasteries and the terrace of the Bodhi tree at Bodh Gaya, the latter portion being omitted by Mr. Das Gupta.

In page 195 of Mr. Das Gupta's book we are not prepared to accept the view expressed by him regarding the Middle Path. Just to avoid the two extremes the Buddha preferred the Middle Path. The two extremes were: (1) The method of attaining salvation by thoughtless indulgence in the affairs of lust (*Kāmesukāmasukhallikānuyoga*) and (2) the method of attaining salvation by the rigorous practice of self-mortification (*attakilamathānuyoga*). The thoughtless indulgence in the affairs of lust is the way of the common run of men, and the rigorous practice of self-mortification is the traditional way of the extreme type of ascetics. The first kind of life is illustrated in the *Ariyapariyesana sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikaya*, I, p. 160, by the life lived by the Bodhisatta as prince Siddhārtha. The second kind of life is exemplified in the *Mahāsīhanāda sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, pp. 68 ff. by the life lived by the *Bodhisatta* as an Acelaka or Ājīvika after he had renounced the world. For further details vide my *Concepts of Buddhism*, Ch. V. The Buddha was never an extremist and he advised his disciples to accept *majjhimāpaṭipadā* to get rid of suffering.

As regards the explanation of *Aḍḍhayoga* (p. 196) it would have been better for the author to refer to P.T.S. Dictionary, p. 17, where it is distinctly written that the interpretation, 'a gold-coloured Bengal house', is not correct. '*Suvaṇṇa Vaṅgageham*' should be read as '*supaṇṇa vaṅkagehaṃ*' like a Garuḷa bird's crooked wing, i.e. when the roof is bent on one side. Mr. Das Gupta has used the word *Addhayoga* several times, which is wrong. It should be *Aḍḍhayoga*. Mr. Das Gupta writes in page 197 that a Vihāra means a particular room for a particular *bhikkhu* and he has quoted in support of his statement the *Vinaya-Mahāvagga* (I, 25, 14) and the *Vinaya-Cullavagga* (II, 1, 2). This meaning is not at all found in these texts. I must request Mr. Das Gupta to verify once again the references quoted by him and correct himself.

This book will be welcome, if the author takes particular care in correcting all these errors in the second edition. He has given a list of *errata* at the end but there are many more mistakes which have escaped his notice. As for example, Ch. XXIII of the *Divyāvadāna* in page 36 (F.N.) should be chap. XXVIII. In page 7 *Vesālikā Vajjiputtakā bhikkhave* is correct but not *Vesalikā Vajjiputtakā bhikkha* as erroneously stated by Mr. Das Gupta. In page 8 *Ācariyavāda* is correct but not *Acariyavāda*. The book contains some good illustrations and a serviceable index. The list of *errata* is incomplete.

B. C. LAW.

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BHĀRATIYA VIDYĀ, Volume IX, 1948. Published by the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, 1949. Price Rupees Fifteen only.

The issue of the learned journal before us forms the first part of the Diamond Jubilee Volume in honour of Śrī K. M. Munshi, a prominent politician, scholar and educationist of our time, and one of the creators of the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan. It comprises thirty articles in all, which cover a wide range of subjects, namely, religion, mythology, philosophy, art, literature, science, epigraphy, history and politics. To enter into the merit of each and every article, coming from the pen of a specialist, is obviously beyond the capacity of a single reviewer. A perusal of the articles shows that many of them are interesting and some are informative as well. Attention may be drawn to the dissertations of Dr. V. M. Apte (Is Diti in the Ṛg Veda a mere reflex of Aditi?), Prof. H. C. Bhayani (Abdala Rahamāna's Saṁdeśarāsaka [the first known Muslim contribution to Indian literature] and Jayasi's Padumāvatī), Dr. E. G. Carpani (Psychology of Dream-Phenomena of Vedic Philosophy), Dr. S. K. De (The Curtain in Ancient Indian Theatre), Prof. M. Eliade (Sapta Padāni Kramati—a highly interesting study), Prof. P. G. Dumont (A Note on Mahābhārata, I, 224. 12), Prof. Jagan Nath (Epigraphic Notes), MM. P. V. Kane (The Problem of the Introduction of Rāśis in Indian Astronomy and Astrology. The last date for Skandagupta, A.D. 480 [p. 311] is clearly wrong), Dr. B. C. Law (Slavery as known to Early Buddhists), and Dr. G. P. Majumdar (Genesis of the Science of Medicine in Ancient India). The attempt of Śrī S. L. Katre (Harisvāmin, the Commentator of the Śatapatha Brāhmana: A Protégè of Vikramāditya, the great, of tradition: His date—c. 54 B.C.) to prove the existence of a historical Vikramāditya on the basis of a date found in the colophon of a very late copy of Harisvāmin's commentary on the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, which itself admits of different interpretation, can hardly be regarded as conclusive or even satisfactory. Sardar M. V. Kibe's theory (The Historical Facts of the Personality and Reign of Vikramāditya) that Skandagupta flourished in 58 B.C. and was identical with the traditional Vikramāditya is based on unwarrantable evidence, and is absolutely absurd. The attention of Śrī A. S. Gadre (The Kaṭacchuris in Western India) may be drawn to the fact that Bhogavardhana of inscriptions has been identified with Bhokardan, in the Aurangabad District, Nizam's Dominions.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI.

HISTORY OF SRI VIJAYA, by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A. Published by the University of Madras, 1949. Price not stated.

This book is a collection of lectures delivered by the author under the Sir William Meyer Foundation (attached to the University of Madras) for the year 1946-47. Śrījukta Śāstrī's contributions in the domain of South Indian History is well known. His own countrymen in days past took a preponderating share in the colonial and commercial activities of the Indians in the Far East; it is therefore quite in the fitness of things that he should have selected a topic for his lectures which has an abiding interest for his modern compatriots. The material for the reconstruction of the History of Śrī Vijaya is indeed scanty, and its correct interpretation is far from easy. As a consequence most diverse opinions have been expressed on certain points of major interest relating to this subject, e.g. the original location of Śrī Vijaya, the course of events leading to its rise, its relation with Java and Sumatra, the nature of Śailendra occupation of Śrī Vijaya, etc. Śrījukta Śāstrī has pieced together every bit of information that has been made available up to date, subjected it to detailed examination, and has tried to reconstruct a coherent story of the rise and fall of this famous kingdom founded by the Indians in the Malaysian world. Sound judgment and balanced conclusion characterize the researches of Śrījukta Śāstri, and he has applied these qualities to a high degree in this new venture of his. Differences of opinion on controversial points are bound to remain. For example, one may not still agree with the author's contention (pp. 29-30) that the Kedukan Bukit inscription of A.D. 683 refers to a military expedition against Malāyu itself. The fact that only one-eighth of the army (2,312+200=2,512 souls) out of a total of 20,000 men accompanied the king to that place, taken together with the absence of any reference to a major victory in course of the journey, lends colour to the view of Coedès that the record simply commemorates a pilgrimage to a sacred spot undertaken to ensure success for the people of Śrī Vijaya on the eve of a military enterprise (*Śrīvijaya jayasiddhayātrā*). But throughout the book the author has thrown out many thought-provoking suggestions. Attention may be drawn in this connection to his discussions of the problem of the original seat of Śrī Vijaya (31 ff.), the origin of the Śailendras (46 ff.), their relation with Sumatra (50 ff.), and finally the relation of the Cholas with Śrī Vijaya (Sec. V). The Note on the New Finds in Sambas (110 ff.) is highly interesting, and scholars of Indian history should note the view of Sir Rolland Braddell (quoted by our author), that 'the island of Malaysia which Fahien visited on his voyage from India was not Java as is usually believed, but Borneo' (110). A few mistakes have unfortunately crept in into the book—apparently due to oversight, e.g. Gauḍadvīpa for Gauḍidvīpa (pp. 45, 57). For the correct reading see p. 124. Both the terms are of course taken to refer to the same region and *c.* 949 A.D. as the date for the Nalanda C.P. Inscription of the time of Devapāla (the correct date will be found on p. 55). The main story has been prefaced with an excellent background of the beginnings of Indian colonization in the Far East. The Appendix dealing with relevant epigraphic records, a detailed bibliography, the index, illustrations and maps have greatly contributed to the value of the book. We welcome it as an addition to our collection of not too many books on the subject of Indian colonization written in English.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI.

A HISTORY OF MAITHILI LITERATURE, Vol. I (Early and Middle Periods), by Dr. Jayakanta Mishra, Lecturer, Allahabad University, Allahabad, 1949. Pages 472.

It is a laudable attempt on the part of the author to deal with Maithili literature. Maithili is undoubtedly one of the important Indian languages. In the first part of his book he has written chapters on *Mithilā* and her people, and the Maithili language and scripts. The second part is devoted to early Maithili literature. The author has ably dealt with the antiquity of Maithili literature, the date of the celebrated poet Vidyāpati, and the contemporaries and successors of Vidyāpati (*circa* 1400 to *circa* 1700 A.D.). The third part treats of Middle Maithili literature. His chapters on Maithili dramas of Nepal and the Kīrtaniya drama of Mithilā are well written. Equally interesting are his chapters on Maithili drama in Assam and the mediaeval Maithili prose and poetry. The author has taken great care and caution to tackle the subject intelligently and conscientiously. We welcome the book under review as a pioneer work, which, I believe, will be well received by scholars interested in Indian languages and literature. The only drawback is that there is no useful index which, we hope, will be supplied in the second edition.

B. C. LAW.

OBITUARY

We are sorry to record here the death news of one of the ablest Indologists of Europe, **Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham,** who was very much interested in the history and geography of Ancient India. His valuable researches in this field will long be remembered by us. He was an Editor of the *Indian Antiquary* for several years. As an useful member of the Indian Civil Service he after retirement did enough for Indological studies. Even in his old age he never severed his connection with the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, which was greatly indebted to him in manifold ways. He died at the age of eighty.

We are equally sorry to lose one of our co-editors, **Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh,** whose premature death at the age of forty-five is a great loss to linguistic studies, and especially to the *Indian Culture*. His valuable researches will bear ample evidence of his sound knowledge and critical judgment.

We pray for the peace of both the departed souls.

D. R. Bhandarkar

While this volume is in course of printing, we are shocked to hear that our co-editor, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, is no more in this world. *Indian Culture* will no doubt receive a great setback in his death. A few months back another co-editor, Dr. Bata Krishna Ghosh, met with the same fate. Dr. Bhandarkar was the Founder-editor of this Journal and he was closely connected with it up to the end of his mortal existence and helped it in various ways.

Dr. Bhandarkar was born on the 19th November, 1875, in a cultured family of Mahārāṣtra, being one of the sons of the veteran orientalist Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. He was educated at the Deccan College, Poona. He was the Bhagwandas Purushottam Das Sanskrit Scholar of the University of Bombay in the year 1900. He served the University of Bombay as the Pundit Bhagwanlal Indraji Lecturer for 1903; the Benares Hindu University as the Manindra Chandra Nundy Lecturer for 1925; the Madras University as Sir William Meyer Lecturer for 1938-39; and the University of Calcutta as the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture from 1917 to 1935. He was an Honorary Correspondent of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India and a corresponding Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission. He was a member of the Senate of the University of Calcutta for some time. He won the most coveted Sir James Campbell Gold Medal in 1911 from the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch, and the Dr. B. C. Law Gold Medal from the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Before he joined the University of Calcutta as the Carmichael Professor, he was attached to the Archaeological Survey of India from 1911 to 1917. From 1917 to 1920, he was the Officer-in-charge of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. He was a member of the Board of Trustees of the Indian Museum since 1917. He was an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. He was elected President of the Indian History Congress held at Allahabad in 1938. He was the Joint Editor of the *Indian Antiquary* since 1911.

He was undoubtedly a great scholar and a successful teacher. As an administrator, his reputation was very great and he used to manage his Department with great skill.

Among his important publications the following may be mentioned:

Carmichael Lectures, 1918; *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921; *Asoka; Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity; Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture; Origin of the Śaka era; Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population* and the *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Western Circle. He was engaged in bringing out the Second Edition of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III. Besides, he contributed many thoughtful papers to numerous well-known journals. He was in the habit of welcoming honest criticisms of his publications and he was never angry with the critics, if their criticisms were just and found acceptable.

Although he was vastly learned, he never made a parade of his learning. He was amiable in his disposition and was free from self-conceit. He was ever ready to help and encourage young and energetic workers with his valuable guidance and suggestions. *Indian Culture* has now lost for ever his invaluable advice and assistance, which he rendered from time to time even in his failing health. We pray to God for the peace of the departed soul.

B. C. Law.

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Announcements

A few Complete Sets of the Indian Culture from Vol I, are still available. Those desirous of obtaining the Sets, which are like mines of Indological Researches and Studies, may refer immediately to the Secretary of the Indian Research Institute.

The Publication Department of the Indian Research Institute is trying to supply to customers rare and valuable books on Indology. The manager of the Publication Department may be referred to.

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LĀṚI DIALECT AND BENGALI

By

Sudhibhushan Bhattacharya, M.A.

Sindhi dialects have been roughly classified by Grierson under three heads: (i) dialects of Upper Sindh i.e. Siro, (ii) dialects of Central Sindh, i.e. Vicholo or Standard Sindhi. (iii) The third type of Sindhi dialect is called Lāṛi, spoken by nearly 40,000 people in the small area known as Lāṛu, in Lower Sindh, south of Vicholo, extended from near Hyderabad to the sea.

This Lāṛi dialect differs from the Standard or Northern dialects in several particulars, and is considered to be an 'impure form of language'. 'So much is it looked down upon,' adds Grierson, 'that there is a Sindhi proverb— "Lāṛa-jo paṛhyō, Sirē-jo dhaggō"— a learned man of the Lāṛu and an ox of the Siro (are one and the same).'

The dislike the proper Sindhis bear for these Lāṛu people is probably due to certain linguistic and cultural differences existing between them. Anthropological investigations might show how far the Lāṛu people are different ethnically from the rest of their countrymen But we are not here concerned with that. The object of this paper is to discuss some of the linguistic peculiarities of the dialect with a view to examine whether they bear any affinity with the Bengali language.

The Lāṛi dialect belongs to the Sindhi group of NIA speeches. But this can not be denied that the dialect under consideration possesses vocables, forms and speech-habits which are of non-Sindhi nature. It is true that no language is free from elements originally not belonging to it. No race or language can now be found in a pure form on account of mixture of races and diffusion of culture. Sometimes the contact between the two people leading to such intermingling is quite obivious. As for example, all NIA languages bear more or less Śāurasenī traits. This is because Śāurasenī Prakrit was cultivated all over India as the *lingua franca* from ancient times. Similarly the reason for the inclusion of Perso-Arabic and English words and formations in our languages is quite apparent. But the non-Sindhi features of the Lāṛi dialect have not yet been satisfactorily traced or explained.

'Lāṛi dialect'. writes Grierson, 'preserves ancient peculiarities that do not appear in the Standard dialect. The most important of these are the dis-aspiration of sonant aspirates and the frequent changes of cerebral ṛ to dental r. In both these particulars Lāṛi shows its relationship with the Dardic languages of the North West Frontiers.

But it must be mentioned here that both the traits are also to be found in Bengali. The North Indian languages from the Punjab to the border of Bengal, especially in the Gangetic plain, preserve aspiration as well as intervocal -h-. Bengali which is more used to the loss of aspirate sounds, differs remarkably in this respect from her sisters and cousins of the West.[1] Deaspiration of the sonant aspirates is a salient feature of the East and North Bengali dialects, and is also sufficiently noticed in the Standard Bengali ; e.g. madhya> mājh> maj, mejo ; Vyāghra> bāgh> bāg ; vyāghra-tati (=tiger coast—mentioned in the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla, *c.* 800 A.G.)> bāgri=the delta of Bengal ; bandh—> bā̃dh> bā̃d ; ardha+la>ādhlā>ādlā ; bujhite>bujte ; sādhu>sāudh (dialectal) ; mahārghya>māggi (also Hindi, mahangā) ; bhalla>ballam ; śuddha>śudā ; gharghar>ghāgar ; āuṣadh>osud ; bandhuli>bānduli etc. The initial sonant aspirates gh, bh>g, b, is a common feature of the Sylhet dialect,[2] which is also commonly found in the Boḍo dialect.[3]

Similarly change of cerebral ṛ to dental r is a charactersistic feature of the East, North and West Bengali dialects ; e.g. jāṛul>jārul ; beṛāl>berāl ; tukṛā (cf. Hindi)>tukrā, tukrō ; lābṛā>lāphrā ;

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[1] S K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of Beng. Lang.* I,p. 444

[2] Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India,* V, I, p. 224.

[3] Hodson, *Essays,* Vol. I, 'Boḍu dialect.'

karcā>karcā (cf. Hindi Kṛkhā=war song) besides innumerable dialectal forms like bāṛi> bāri ; sāṛi>sāri ; maṛā>marā.

There is another non-Sindhi feature of the Lāṛi dialect. namely, the contraction of words through haplology or dropping of the medial syllable, which also we must take into account. Thus Standard Sindhi bāhare=Lari, bār (outside, cf. H. bāhar) ; khianu=khen pawanu=pun (to fall) etc. Haplology is also a common characteristic of the Bengali language ; e.g. pādok for pāda+udaka ; narun for nakha—haraṇikā (nail cutter) ; māsi for mātṛ-svasā (maternal aunt) ; bhāśur for bhrātṛ-śvasura (husband's elder brother).

Moreover, there is a strong tendency in Lāṛi as it is in Bengali to drop final short vowels (excepting the short final -a in Lāṛi). Both these peculiarities, namely, the dropping of the medial and the final sounds, at once indicate the presence of strong initial stress which is a distinct characteristic of the standard Bengali speech.

The vocabulary of the Lāṛi dialect also consists of a number of non-Sindhi words. Grierson has given an additional list of such peculiar words. Curiously enough some of them are peculiarly Bengali vocables. Another comparative vocabulary of the different Sindhi dialects was published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society[4] which also provides us with a numeber of Lāṛi words still commonly used in Bengali, though slightly changed in form and meaning. Besides the innumerable *tadbhava* words found commonly in Bengali and Lāṛi, the following Lāṛi words at once remind us of their corresponding forms in Bengali :

Gābhur (babe), bār (outside), chāyi (ash), pusi (cat), aṭho (impure=Bengali ēṭō, dialectal=āiṭē), āṭo (dispute=Bengali ā̃ṭā) etc. The Lāṛi word 'loi' (a term of affection used in addressing a female friend) has its cognate form in Bengali 'lo', both the forms being derived from Prakrit 'halā' through dropping of the initial ha-.

Bengal and Sindh are like two wings of India, distant from each other by several hundreds of miles. Very little is known about any contact in the past between the people of these two countries,[5] But the linguistic affinities we have just mentioned can not be altogether ignored. It is, therefore, to be admitted that either the two people had some sort of culture contact between them in the past, or the linguistic phenomena working in both the languages were derived from some common source.

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[4] J. R. A. S., 1843, I.

The Lāṛi word 'gābhur' which is also a middle Bengali word very often uesd in the Gorakṣa literature, reminds us of the Nātha mendicants who carried and popularized the legends of Gorakṣanātha and also the Gopichandra-Mayanāmati saga all over N. India. But that a group of Bengali Nātha-yogis settled in Lower Sindh and reshaped the local dialect in a few hundred years, lacks credulity.

The tale of Vijaya Sinha who founded a dynasty in Ceylon in the hoary past, might be recalled in this connection. A Sinhalese folk-tale[6] narrates : a king of Vanga who had married the daughter of a king of Kalinga, had a daughter who joined a caravan proceeding towards Magadha. On the way she was carried away by, or she herself joined, Sinha, a member of the caravan. They settled down in a wild country named 'Lāḷa.' One of their sons, Vijaya, was exiled on account of his law-less behaviour. He accompained by a party of men and women embarked at Bharukaccha (Baroach), in the W. Coast and proceeded to Ceylon to found a dynasty in that island. The well-known Dipa-vamsa and Mahā-vamśa also give us a similar, if not an identical, story.

The identity of the place called Lāḷa which was developed into a kingdom by Vijay's father, has from long been a moot question. Some took it to be W. Bengal still called Rāṛha. But in that case it becomes inexplicable why Vijaya chose to embark at Baroach on the W. coast. Scholars, therefore, have been inclined to identify Lāḷa with

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[5] It reminds us of the similarity between the Bengalis and the Gujratis pointed out by Dr. Bhandarkar (Indian Antiquary. 1911) and endorsed by Dr. B. S. Guha on anthropological grounds (Acharya Prafulla Chandra Roy, Commemoration Volume).

[6] Parker, *Folk Tale Of Ceylon, Vol.* 1.

Lāṛu in Lower Sindh.[7] If there is any truth in the legend which says that Vijaya Sinha's parents hailed from E. India and settled in the wild tracts of Lower Sindh known as Lāṛu, it might to some extent account for the traits found in the languages of the two countries.

It should be noted here that the linguistic peculiarities found to be common in both the languages, namely, deaspiration of the sonant aspirates and the change of cerebral ṛ to dental r which have been characterized by Grierson as 'ancient peculiarities' borrowed from the Dardic', are undoubtedly of non-Aryan origin. These traits found sporadically in all the NIA speeches, are predominant in languages greatly influenced by non-Aryan substratum. Similarly the initial stress, although not absent from the pen-ultimate stress area of W. Hindi, are to be found predominantly not only in Bengali, but also in the Kāmrūpi dialect of Assam,[8] in some of the Kolarian dialects like Sōrā,[9] in the Marathi language[10] and also in the Lāṛi dialect.

There is another phonetic peculiarity found common to the entire Sindhi language and the E. Bengali dialect, namely, certain stops pronounced with simultaneous glottal closure.[11] This is a prominent feature also of the Kolarian dialects spoken in the intervening regions below the Gangetic plains. All these tend to show a continuity of certain linguistic traits in the regions extending from east to west below the midland area.

It reminds us of the theory postulated by Hoernle and endorsed by Grierson and Ramaprasad Chanda, of the advent into India of two separate and antagonistic groups of Aryan speakers. This theory of the 'Inner' and the 'Outer' Aryans has been criticised by later linguists.[12] That linguistic affinities exist among the languages of the

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[7] S. K. Chatterji, *op cit.* p. 72.

[8] B. K. Katoi, *Formation and Development of Assamese Language*, p. 69.

[9] Grierson, *op. cit.* Vol. IV, Munda dialects.

[10] Turner, *Indo-Germanic Accent in Marathi*, J. R. A. S. 1916.

[11] S. K. Chatterji, *op. cit.* p. XXX, phonetic transcription of 'g' sound, also p. 8.

[12] S. K. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

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so called 'outer' region, and also of the so called 'inner' region, in contradistinction to the other linguistic group, can not be altogether denied. But to explain this, one need not divide the Vedic invaders into two antagonistic groups coming one after another. It is more probable that, after the occupation of the midland region by the Vedic invaders, a portion of the pre-occupants, called pre-Aryan, preferred to serve the victors, while the major portion of them retired to the surrounding countries thus forming an out-ward belt round the midland area. the Āryāvarta. This pre-Āryan population of the 'outer' region later on yielded to and accepted the language and culture of the midland Vedic people. (Compare the Bhils of Central India, who ethnically belong to a pre-Aryan stock, but now speak an IA tongue.)

Consequently, the midland IA dialects developed more on orthodox lines than the dialects in the outer region where the inherited pre-Aryan linguistic tendencies were more at work. The Lāṛi dialect and Bengali thus seem to have been influenced by some common pre-Aryan dialect spoken in the outer regions Aryanized later on The Lāṛas and the Bengalis although now very much distant and distinct from each other, thus afford scope for further investigations.

THE REACTION OF THE MINOR HINDU STATES TO THE POLITICAL CHANGES IN THE MUSLIM PERIOD :

The Case Of Chambā (Punjāb Himālaya)

By H. GOETZ, BARODA.

Generally we tend to regard the history of minor states as merely of local interest and concentrate our attention almost solely on the focal centres of power and cultural progress. But although such an attitude is justified at least in the first stages of research, it must in the long run prove misleading. The actual power of a political centre depends not only on its own particular organization and efficiency, but also on the standards prevailing in the territories opposed or subject to it. The success and character of Muslim or British rule in India, for instance, depended not only on the military or administrative efficiency of those conquerors, but not less on the capacity or incapacity of the already existing Indian governments to compete with them. Likewise is the civilization of a capital not identical with the general cultural standard of the country. The court of Lord Curzon, or Shāhjahān, or Muhammad Tughluq, of Bhoja of Dhār or of any earlier ruler has never been representative for the whole of India, though in the course of time the model set by them has transformed much of Indian civilization. The cultural history of a country or of a nation can be understood only when envisaged as a whole, as a hierarchy of superimposed cultural levels which, on the average, go parallel with the stratification of social influence. In this perspective, however, the history of minor political and cultural centres, such as e.g., the Rājput states, assumes considerable importance, not so much in their individual local capacity, but as test cases of the general process of cultural infiltration and political adaptation. And just the history of out-of-the way states becomes valuable, not only because in such places tradition and historical evidence generally are better preserved and less complicated than in areas with a more agitated past, but also because they represent, so to say, the terminus of the process of politico-

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cultural infiltration, in so far as it developed on the governmental and court level.

An excellent test case of this type is Chambā State which until its recent merger into Himāchal Pradesh has preserved its individuality and tradition fairly well for over ca. thirteen hundred years.[1] Historical events have been comparatively simple, documentation is rather satisfactory,[2] archaeological evidence little disturbed[3] so that we can reconstruct its political and cultural history fairly in detail, as also most controversial problems can be clarified when we take in account the general political and cultural picture which the surrounding territories offer, perhaps not so clearly, but with greater variety and linked up with the history of the Panjāb plains.[4] In setting aside whatever in the political and cultural history Chambā is merely of local interest, let us find out what it has to tell us of the political and cultural progress in the Indian provinces during the period of Muslim rule.

The conquest of the Panjāb by the Ghaznavids seems to have made hardly any impression on Chambā. The capture of Kāngrā Fort[5] by sultān Mahmūd A. D. 1009 and again by Hashtagīn Hājib A. D. 1051 seems in Chambā rather to have been felt as a relief from the pressure of the stronger kingdom of Trigarta. The frontier wars between the Ghaznavids and Chauhāns drove part of the trade into the neutral and well-protected Sivalik hills.[6] The political troubles

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[1] J. Ph. Vogel, Antiquities of Chambā State, 1, Calcutta 1911; J. Ph. Vogel, Inscriptions of Chambā State, (Arch. Survey of India, Annual Report 1902-03, p. 239 ff.); J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, History of the Panjab Hill States, Lahore 1933.

[2] From A. D. 1330 it is continuous, between ca. A. D. 920-1200 it is known in the general outlines; ca. A. D. 680-700 is the earliest documented period.

[3] In the 8th century Brahmor was invaded by "Kīrātas", between ca. A. D. 1200 and 1330 quite a number of temples were looted, but apparently not desecrated. The Nūrpur war seems to have caused some damage; Chambā town was burnt down A. D. 1735 and partly 1937.

[4] The various state traditions prove reliable, though their chronology is often very vague; however, on a closer comparative study, most dates can be ascertained by means of synchronisms.

[5] Hutchison-Vogel, History of the Panjab Hill States, 1930. I, p. 117 ff.

[6] There is no direct evidence. But the exceptional building activity in those very times can hardly be explained otherwise.

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with which it had to cope, were mainly an echo of the contemporary dynastic and constitutional struggles in Kashmīr.

However, with the battle of Tarāin A. D. 1192[7] those happy days came to an end. All local traditions agree that after the disaster the Western Himālaya was overrun by hordes of refugee Rājputs and and brāhmins.[8] Though there exists no direct epigraphic evidence,[9] the historical events known corroborate this revolution. The last rājā of Chambā, Vijayavarman (A. D. 1170—?), started on extraordinary military expeditions against Kashmīr, Ladakh and even the Ghorī territories. And immediately thereafter Chambā disappears from the historical scene. Trigarta survives longer,[10] likewise to vanish into obscurity soon after ; and when in A. D. 1330 Chambā reemerges, the state has disintegrated into innumerable, de facto independent petty principalities. Only one explanation can co-ordinate these few facts. We know how in Rājputānā and Central India the defeated Rājputs founded new principalities. Likewise we must assume that the rājās of the Himālaya could not help giving refuge to those well armed immigrants, that they tried to rein their desperate energy and to provide fiefs for them by sending them on military expeditions (the same method as that much later tried by the Peshwās, or by the successors of Ranjīt Singh in order to cope with the unruly Khālsā) ; that Trigarta, as the greatest already existing state, participant in the battle of Tarāin and nearest to the plains, absorbed most of these mercenaries and came out of the struggle victoriously, but that in the longer run a conflict between the old aristocracy and the newcomers was unavoidable and ended in a general chaos. The flourishing civilization of the preceding centuries disappeared completely. But it was probably not destroyed by the Muslims,[11] as in the plains. It must rather have withered away in a time of lawlessness between Hindus and Hindus ; though in the last instance this chaos was likewise a result of the Musilm victories.

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[7] M. A. Cheena, The Site of the Battle of Tarāin, (Proceedings 4th Indian History Congress. Lahore 1940, p. 227 ff.) This location near Patiala easily explains both the participation of the rulers of Trigarta and the mass flight into the Western Himālaya, facts which are most difficult to account for, if Tarāin is identified with Tarāorī.

[8] Mian Durga Singh and H. A. Rose, A Report on the Panjab Hill Tribes, (Indian Antiquary 36, p. 264 ff., 1907) ; Chamba Gazetteer,

[9] But Vogel, Antiquities, I, p. 101. mentions a grant to a brāhmin who must have been a refugee from Mahmūd of Ghaznī's invasions.

[10] Baijnāth inscription A. D. 1204.

A comparative observation reveals that for almost two centuries historical and cultural tradition was interrupted in the whole Western Himālaya.[12] What survived was an atomized feudal society relapsed to a barbarian cultural level. Since the second quarter of the 14th century, however, a recovery set in. Its circumstances are not exactly known. It seems that the invasion of Tātār Khān into the Beās Valley in ca. A. D. 1325|30 that of Muhammad Taghlug into "China" in A. D. 1337 and the capture of Kangrā Fort by Firoz Shah A. D. 1351 broke the control of Kāngra over the surrounding states.[13] From the hints of the Muslim chronicles and local circumstances it is evident that the failure of those expeditions was the result of a guerilla war making use of the advantages of the broken hill country. But guerilla wars which demand a considerable independence of the fighting units, tend to disrupt also the political organization of the victorious party.[14] A second factor may have been a parital return of the Western trade route into the hills during the Mongol and Tīmūrid invasions and the subsequent disorganization in the Panjāb.[15] Both factors, however, would have been of no avail if the hills had not been left unmolested most of the time.

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11. A careful examination proves that in those years mainly gold and silver, occasionally also copper objects—including idols—were looted from the temples, whereas stone and brass idols were not damaged at all.

12. Balor : early 13th—early 15th century ; Nūrpur : 11th—early 14th century ; Chambā. ca. 1200-1330 ; Kāngrā early 13th century to ca. 1360 ; Kumāon 1223-1297 ; in Kashmīr, Kulū and Nepal there is no interruption of the tradition, but the historical evidence records revolutions and civil wars.

13. Hutchison-Vogel, History of the Panjab Hill States, 1930, I, p. 126 ; 219 ff., there are reasons to place the first invasion already before A. D. 1330.

14. For instance Akbar's final victory over Mārwār A. D. 1581 had been the result of a growing disintegration. The same happened in the Marātha kingdom after the death of Śivājī.

15. Cp. the sudden appearance of a Kāngrā coinage ca. A. D. 1345-1420, B. B. Bidyabinod, Suppl. Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. 1923, p. 70 ff.

The first inscriptions, after the dark period, by Vairisimhavarman A. D. 1330,[16] and Mānikyavarman, ca. A. D. 1370 (?),[17] show us the Chambā kingdom reduced to the territory round the capital and even the life of the rājās threatened by the unruly aristocracy.[18] Under Bhotavarman (A. D. 1396-1442) and Sangrāmavarman (A. D. 1442-ca. 1475) the state expands again up the Rāvi Valley, over the Dhaulā Dhar and into Lower Churāh.[19] Under Ānandavarman (A. D. ca. 1475-1513) it is at last acknowledged as equal by Trigarta, after this ruler had helped Suvīra Chand of Kāngrā back to the throne.[20] It is under the same prince that we find the first, very modeset beginnings of a cultural revival, temple repairs (probably in wood), grants to learned brāhmins,[21] Tāntric practices, and under his successor Ganeśavarman (A. D. 1513-1566) even pilgrimages as far as Badrīnāth,[22] Kedārnāth and Hardwār.

And these latter inaugurated the next phase in the political and cultural recovery of the state. During these pilgrimages apparently Ganeśavarman made the acquaintance of a learned Bengalī pandit from Benares, Surānanda, and in A. D. 1558 brought him to Chambā as his guru and adviser.[23] With the family of Surānanda Śarman the more progressive ideas of the Hindus of the Ganges plains found their way into the long-forgotten valleys of the Himālaya. What had Surānanda induced to accept the call, we do not know; possibly he was, like many others after him, a refugee glad to leave the zone of the war between the Mughals and Afghāns. In Chambā he introduced himself as a Tāntric sorcerer, exercizing the spirits of an old burial ground by means of a sort of big replica of a Lamaistic Phurbu, the so-called "Dumukh" still to be seen in front of the Lakshmī-Nārāyan Temple. His son Ramāpati (in office since A. D. 1559) introduced a new policy in the last years of Ganeśavarman, under Pratāpa simhavarmaṇ (A. D. 1566-682).[24] Vīrabhānu (A. D. 1682-89) and Balabhadra-varman (A. D. 1689-1641). aiming at a restoration of the royal power and of the ancient territory of the state. The policy was made possible by the strong religious inclinations of all these rulers in so far as they were prepared to support the brāhmin party without reservation, but likewise handicapped because this same mentality necessitated a series of regencies during the later years of all the rājās and during the whole region of Vīrbhānu.[25] It provoked a revolt of the old aristocracy in A. D. 1575-79,[26] and at last degenerated into a dissipation of public funds in presents to the brāhmins, underming the royal authority. But in its heyday it brought forth a renaissance in every direction. Chambā state was restored by the reconquest of the whole of Churāh, Brahmor and the Chandrabhāga (upper Chenāb) Valley,[27] an alliance A. D. 1559 with Bahādur Singh of Kulū,[28] and a victorious war (about A. D. 1565) against Gūler and Kāngrā in the Beās Valley.[29] These conquests did not change the feudal structure of

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[16] J. Ph. Vogel, Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum, Calcutta 1909, p. 8; B. 7.

[17] He is only mentioned in the grants of Bhotavarman.

[18] A curious grant mentions the appointment of a permanent bodyguard "for rendering assistance in danger". Though the grant is a forgery of the 17th century, it seems to replace an earlier grant lost during the Nūrpur War or a tradition then accepted as genine.

[19] J. Ph. Vogel, Bhuri Singh Museum Catalogue, P. 8 f: B. 8-11.

[20] The chronology of Trigarta at that period is uncertain. However, Ānandavarman's queen Prayāgdevī was the sister of Prayāgchand and daughter of Suvīrachand who had for some time fled to "poona" (Prayāg)

[21] J. Ph. Vogel, Bhuri Singh Museum Catalogue, p. 9: B. 12.

[22] ibid B. 14.

[23] His son Ramāpati turns up first as composer of the grant B. 14, the language of which reveals a new, higher standard of education.

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[24] Prof. J. Ph. Vogel gives as dates of his reign A.D. 1559-86. The years here mentioned are revised on the basis of material kindly provided by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra with whom I have visited Chambā in 1939.

[25] Regency of Prayāg Devi A. D. 1513—ca. 1519; of Pratāp-Singh-Varman A. D. 1558-1566; of Balabhadravarman A. D. 1579-1589, of Janārdan A. D. 1613-1623.

[26] Unpublished grant reinstating Pandit Ramāpati A. D. 1579, cp. Hutchison-Vogel I, p. 299.

[27] Markulā Devi image inscription, A. D. 1569|70 (sic!). Cp. Vogel, Antiquities, p. 249 ff. As the idol replaced a Vajravārāhī image, its installation was apparently the result of a transfer of suzerainty from Ladakh to Chambā.

[28] J. Ph. Vogel, copperplate Grant of Bahādur Singh of Kullū, (Arch. Survey of India, Annual Report 1903-04, p. 261). The implications of the grant become intelligible only in connection with Pratāpsinghvarman's and Bahādur Singh's policy vis-a-vis the local rānās Ladakh, and with the Chamba-Kāngrā war.

[29] In the Vamśāvalī this war is placed later than Pratāpsinghvarman's temple restorations; however, it preceded them. The revolt of Bhavānīdās

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the state, but simply intensified the royal control over the nobles, possibly with the help of a Gaddī bodyguard. The Kāngrā campaign was cut short by the interference of the Grand Mughal A. D. 1572, to whom already Pratāpasinghvarman (as regent) had been forced to pay allegiance in A.D. 1557, and the creation of the imperial demesne round Kāngrā by Akbār's by minister Todar Mall A,D, 1573. The royal prestige was saved from this reverse by the discovery of the coppermines of Hol,[30] and a policy of temple repair and construction, still crude under Pratāpasimhavarman.[31] but under Balabhadra already rivalling with the glory of the shrines and sculptures of the 10th—12th centuries.[32] A careful study proves that this renaissance was effected with the help of artisans from Nepāl, the U. P. and even Southern India.[33] It flourished until the early years (ca. A. D. 1645) of Prithvī Singh when it was superseded by Rājput art. Parallel went an attempt at a literary revival, the study of the Bhāgavata and Devī-Māhātmya,[34] the issue of copperplate grants now made no more by blacksmiths or coppersmiths, but by goldsmiths,[35] and a reconstruction of Chambā history in the Vamśāvalī.[36] However, even the best Sanskrit in Chambā continued to be defective and was mixed with vernacular additions.

A.D. 1575 had been the local reaction to the failure of this war ; the revelation of the mines by Lakshmī-Nārāyan himself and the temple reconstructions formed a propagandist countermove.

[30] A grant of A. D. 1582 refers to copper payments from the Loh-Tikrī mandala, not far from Hol.

[31] Lakshmī-Nārāyan (reconsecrated A. D. 1582), Trimukh and Vajreśvarī Temples in Chambā, and Temple of Khajiār.

[32] Vamsī-Gopāl Temple (Grant A. D. 1595) Śivālaya of Ghumsal cp. Vogel, Antiquities, I, p. 247, fig, 28 ; Sarol Garden (Grant A. D. 1599), cp. Bhuri Singh Mus. Catalogue p. 10 ; B. 22, Haṛsar image, Vogel, Antiquities, I, p. 251, pl. 39.

[33] The activities of sculptors apparently from Mysore can be traced also in Kumāon, e. g. at Katārmal and Jageśvar, whereas at Champāvat and Dwārahāt masons from Gujarāt were employed about A. D. 1390-1430.

[34] Referred to in several grants.

[35] Between A. D. 1557 and 1645, 71 grants were issued, against 10 between A. D. 1330 and 1557, and four after A. D. 1645.

[36] The vamśāvalī was originally composed by Pandit Ramāpati under Balabhadravarman, and reconstructed by Pandit Lakshmīkāntha after the Nūrpur War.

The dissipation of royal treasures to the brāhmins since ca. A. D. 1600[37] prepared the ground for the next cultural revolution. Already under Balabhadravarman Mughal gold coins,[38] Rājput titles and some contemporary administrative terms had infiltrated, and probably also the Vamśāvalī had been modelled on similar historical reconstructions undertaken by the great Rājput princes of Akbar's court.[39] Now Chambā fell into the hands of the first hill state to copy the policy and culture of the Mughal court, of Amber, Bīkāner and Jodhpur: Nūrpur.[40] The Tomār (Pathāniā) rājās of Dhameri and Pathānkot had been drawn into Muslim politics already under Salīm and Sikandar Shāh Sūr. Rājā Bakhat-Mal (A. D. 1513–58) was executed as rebel against the Mughals, and three other princes of the house tried unsuccessfully to revolt. But each time they learnt to adapt themselves more to contemporary Mughal and Rājput technique, administration and art. Bāsu-Dev (A. D. 1580–1613) fortified Dhameri and built the beautiful Krishṇa Temple in the Kachhwāha style (now destroyed)[41] Sūraj-Mal (A. D. 1613–18) and Jagat Singh (A. D. 1618-46) under whom Dhameri was named Nūrpur were Mughal generals and governors. Following the example of Bīr Singh Deo of Orchchā they tried to build up, as Mughal officials, an enlarged power before starting on another effort to assert their independence. During Shāhjahān's rebellion A. D. 1623 Jagat Singh defeated the Chambyālīs with the help of Mughal troops and slew the regent Janārdan; later, in A. D. 1629,[42] he restored Balabhadravarman under a sort of protectorate A. D. 1625 he constructed the strong fort Tārāgarh[43] on Chambā territory. Janārdan's son Prithvi Singh (A. D. 1641-64), grown up in Kulū and Mandī,[44] was thus forced to seek closer relations with the imperial power in order to regain his kingdom. With the support of Mandī, Basohlī and Gūler he was the most active champion of the Mughal cause when in the summer of A. D. 1641 Jagat Singh and his son Rājrūp (ruler A. D. 1646-61) again rose in rebellion, long before the Mughal punitive expedition arrived, and played a decisive role in the siege of Tārāgarh A. D. 1641-42.[45] In consequence he became a welcome person at Shāhjahān's court,[46] and was well acquainted with contemporary Mughal and Rājput culture.[47] And the plight of his country after the Nūrpur occupation permitted him to introduce decisive reforms which were completed under his successors Chhattar Singh (A. D. 1664-90) and Udai Singh (A. D. 1690-1720).

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[37] A crisis seems to have arisen as early as A. D. 1599, after 1607 things seem to have become serious.

[38] Grant for Pandit Ramāpati A. D. 1579.

[39] L. P. Tessitori, Progress Report 1917 in connection with the Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputana, (J. A. S. B., n. s., 15, pt. 1, 1919).

[40] Hutchison-Vogel, History of the Panjab Hill States, 1, p. 213 ff., esp. 232 ff.

[41] Hirananda Sastri, Ruined Temple in the Nūrpur Fort, (Arch. Survey of India, Annual Report for 1904-50, p. 110 ff.); India Antiqua, Leyden 1947, pl. XIIe.

[42] A. D. 1629 Balabhadravarman resumed issuing copperplate grants. The ascension of Shāhjahān A. D. 1628, and the return of Jagat Singh's enemy Bhūpatpal of Basohlī A. D. 1627 must have induced Jagat Singh to a more conciliatory attitude.

Conquests were hardly possible. Only the Chandrabhāga Valley was reoccupied which during the Nūrpur occupation of Chambā had fallen into Tibetan hands,[48] and this reconquest was enlarged by the addition of Pādar[49] A. D. 1667-68 to the older provinces of Pāngī and Lāhul. But the administration was modernized, the nobility deprived of political power, royal kothīs erected in every province, paper used for administrative purposes,[50] the issue of

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[43] The fort is situated 7 m. east of the hill station Bakloh, on the Pathānkot-Dalhousie Road, on an isolated cone.

[44] J. Ph. Vogel, Antiquities, 1, p. 95; Hutchison-Vogel, 1. p. 303, cp. also II, p. 382 f.

[45] Prithvī Singh reconquered his kingdom already before the arrival of the Mughal armies. The capture of the impregnable fort by means of a clever exploitation of climatic conditions after the failure of the Mughal attack must be ascribed to his advice, as the only commander sufficiently acquainted with these circumstances.

[46] The chronicle claims that Prithvi Singh was admitted even to the imperial ladies.

[47] Until 1937 the palace treasury preserved a collection of beautiful and costly Mughal arms of Shāhjahān's and Aurangzeb's time. Cp. G. Watt & B. Grown, Indian Art at Delhi 1903, p. 463, p.1 68 (described as "Jaipur" work).

[48] Deldan Namgyal of Ladakh had reconquered the territory lost by Tsewang Namgyal I; after Deldan's death it was again lost by Delegs Namgyal.

[49] On the Chenāb above Kashtwār, now part of Kashmīr.

[50] J. Ph. Vogel, Bhuri Singh Museum Catalogue, p. 11 ff.

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copperplate grants reduced to an occasional religious ceremony,[51] fire-arms,[52] Mughal-Rājput costumes,[53] waterbubbles,[54] etc. introduced, the revivalist Hindu art superseded by the Rājput style in architecture, sculpture and painting and the chronicle continued in the Folk dialect. This new Rājput taste was an offshoot of the art which had developed at Amber,[56] especially under the great Mān Singh (A. D. 1592-1614). and came via Nūrpur and Basohlī. Its chief remnants in Chambā are the Brahmor Kothī[56] and part of the Mehlā temple. But already under Chhattar Singh a degeneration set in, due to the conflict with the Mughal Empire aroused by Aurangzēb's bigotry (ca. A. D. 1670), and then the progressing decline of the Mughal power which again isolated the hill states.

Another revolution was caused by the invasions of Nādir Shah A. D. 1738, and of Ahmed Shāh Durrānī (since A. D. 1748), and the Sikh insurrection. It was to some degree comparable to the situation after the battle of Tarāin. But most of the refugees now arriving were not warriors coming from a frontier province, but cultured people, especially artisans who had lost their livelihood with the collapse of Mughal rule after two centuries of peace.[57] And likewise was the Western trade again diverted into the hills by the lawlessness reigning supreme during most of Afghān "rule". As in the years about A. D. 1200 a struggle for supremacy had set in, now a triangular contest developed between Kāngrā (Tira-Sujānpur), Chambā and Jammū-

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[51] One each by Chhattar Singh A. D. 1678, Umēd Singh A. D. 1748, Rāj Singh A. D. 1788, Srī Singh A. D. 1857.

[52] The first mentions of rifles are in the reign of rājā Udai Singh A. D. 1720 and Ugar Singh A. D. 1735, but they prove that riffes then had already come into general use, and we may thus associate also their introduction with the reforms of Prithvi Singh.

[53] J. Ph. Vogel, Bhuri Singh Museum Catalogue, p. 28 : D. I. Cp. also G. Watt & P. Brown, Indian Art at Delhi 1903, p. 333, 352, 370, 483. Kamarbands given by Jahāngīr to prince-regent Janārdan and his brother Bishambar A. D. 1622.

[54] J. Ph. Vogel, ibid., p. 28, D. II.

[55] H Goetz, Art and Architecture of Bikaner; Oxford 1950.

[56] J. Ph. Vogel, Bhuri Singh Museum Catalogue, p. 34 ff. F. 1-3.

[57] The early costume fashions of Mughal and Mughal-Rājput miniatures from Gūler, 'Ālampur, etc. are those of the plains in ca. A. D. 1735-40.

Basohlī. Chambā under Umēd Singh (A. D. 1748-64) expanded into Bangāhal (between Kulū and Mandī) and its own former territories in the Mughal demesne, clashed over the latter with Kángrā, was driven into an alliance with and, after the death of Umēd Singh, into subordination to Jammū. But when Rāj Singh (A. D. 1764-94) had grown up (A. D. 1773|4), Chambā recovered, as both Jammū and Kángrā were hard pressed by the Sikhs. Protected by a truce with Kāngrā A. D. 1788,[58] he took Basohlī A. D. 1782,[59] conquered Bhadrawāh and Kashtwār State and had much influence in Jammū, until the latter was swallowed by the Sikhs. But in the final showdown with Kāngrā he was killed in an ambush.[60] Under Jīt Singh (A. D. 1794-1808) Chambā was one of the hill states allied with the Gurkhas against Sansār Chand,II[61] but later had to submit to Ranjīt Singh of Lahore, the victor over both the Gurkhas and the Kāngrā ruler. Under Charhat Singh (A. D. 1808-1844) and Śrī Singh (A. D. 1844-1870) it had desperately to defend its existence against the ambitions of the rising Jammū-Kashmir dynasty, various Sikh nobles and even British annexation, and achieved this by the sacrifice of all its conquests, Kashtwār, Bhadrawāh, Pādar and Rihlū. Now also Chambā State proper has been merged into the Himāchal Pradesh province.

The rise of Chambā under Umēd and Raj Singh was due to two factors : the pressure of the Sikhs on the exterior hill states and an immigration of refugees from the plains who brought the knowledge of contemporary Mughal administrative methods, Mughal architecture (the later Pakkī Chaukī,[62] the Khanchandī, the Rangmahal,

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[58] J. Ph. Vogel, Bhuri Singh Mus. Cat., p. 11, B. 36 ; Hutchison-Vogel, I, p. 318.

[59] Hutchison-Vogel, I, p. 316 ; II, p. 609 ff. Parts of the booty are still in Chambā, cp. Vogel, Bhuri Singh Museum Catalogue, p. 36, F. 7, 8, 9 ; p. 39, G. 59-60.

[60] At Nertā, Shāhpur District.

[61] See J. Ph. Vogel, Bhuri Singh Museum Catalogue, p. 73 ff., C. 52, 57,

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[62] Pulled down by Rāja Śyām Singh, but described by E. V. Ujfalvy. Aus dem Westlichen Himalaya, Leipzig 1884,, p. 95 f.

Rājnagar Palace[63] and Temples,[64] the Mehlā Shrine),[65] sculpture (the Chāmundā Temple at Chambā, the Devī-rī Kothī Temple, the extension of the Brahmor Kothī)[66] and painting.[67] Under Rāj Singh these Mughal influences had already been absorbed and, instead, the rising Kāngrā taste[68] began to infiltrate from Tira-Sujānpur, Guler and Basohlī.[69] Under Charhat Singh this "Kāngrā" influence reached its apogee thanks to another wave of refugees now emigrated from the humiliated and impoverished court of Sansār Chand II and from the Guler and Nūrpur States annexed by the Sikhs. These refugees not only transformed Kāngrā art from an imported fashionable luxury into a local school of painting,[70] but also imported the technique of the "Chambā" rumāls.[71] The late Mughal architecture style of Tira-Sujānpur[72] and Nadāun was hardly ever practised (only some boys in the Rang Mahal), but a later variety of the Mughal-influenced temple style known already under Umēd Singh (Mehlā shrine), apparently coming from Gūler-Haripur,[73] found its last monument in the Krishna Temple of Rānī Śāradā A. D. 1825.

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[63] At the bend of the Rāvi, on the Churāh road; only the entrance gate survives as the palace had been burnt down in A. D. 1775, see India Antiqua, Leyden 1947, pl. XIb.

[64] Traditional "Hindu" architecture, with Rājput slab roofs and semi-Mughal columns, cp. H. Goetz, The Coming of Muslim Cultural Influence in the Panjab Himālaya, (India Antiqua, Leyden 1947, p. 156 ff., pl. XII f.

[65] Traditional "Hindu" architecture decorated with Muslim star designs India Antiqua, p. 163.

[66] J. Ph. Vogel, Bhuri Singh Museum Catalogue, p. 36, F. 4-6, pl. VI.

[67] J. Ph. Vogel, ibid., D. 10-23, 25-32, 67-98, 104-113.

[68] J. Ph. Vogel, ibid. D. VI Ujfalvy, Aus dem Westlichen Himalaya, 1884, pl. V and VII; M. I. Stchoukine, Miniatures Indiennes au Musée du Louvre, Paris 1929, pl. 20.

[69] J. Ph. Vogel, ibid., footnote p. 36, F. 7.

[70] J. Ph. Vogel, ibid ; ; J. C. French, Himalayan Art, London 1931.

[71] H. Goetz, An Early Basohlī-Chambā Rumāl, (Bulletin of the Baroda State Museum, III. pt. 1, p. 35 ff. 1947).

[72] H. Goetz, The Coming of Muslim Cultural Influence, (India Antiqua, Leyden 1947, p. 164, pl. XI, c-d, XII, h).

[73] Govardhan Chand's Temple at Bathu, Bānsīvāla-kā Thākurdwāra and Naun of Jawālī, cp. Arch. Survey, Panjab and U. P. Report 1904-05, p. 6.

But in the administrative and military field Chambā had not gone with the times. If Sansār Chand II had too late tried to introduce well-drilled, disciplined troops, Chambā had not gone even so far and could oppose to the Sikh battalions only irregular feudal levées; and it survived only because, in its lonely valleys, it was sandwiched, as a contested and thus neutral territory, between the Jammū Dogrās pressing from the North-West and North, and other Sikh, later British interests pressing from the South and East. Nevertheless Chambā might at last have succumbed. But the same reasons which induced the British to hand over Kashmīr and Ladakh to Gulāb Singh, persuaded them also to tolerate Chambā. Now the hill state again changed its role, and during the 3rd quarter of the 19th century it became a harbour of decling Sikh culture.[74] Śyām Sing (A. D. 1873-1904) first introduced modern reforms, under Bhūrī Singh (A. D. 1904-1919) the Panjābī style of life began to infiltrate, and with the construction of the first motor road in A. D. 1947 the upper Rāvi Valley was first thrown open to the modern world.

In the course of this historical outline we can observe several interesting phenomena: (1) The history of the Panjāb hill states depended on conditions in the plains. To a strong power in the plains they were subject; a weak power favoured their independence and particularism; war and chaos in the plains strengthened them economically and inspired the foundation of hill empires enriched by the revenues from the diverted international trade and refugees. 2) Cultural innovations were introduced in times of subjection by way of imitating the overlords, or the most successful hill princes in their service; and in time of chaos in the plains through refugees; this latter process was the much more effective one. 3) The successive cultural revolutions came in intervals of ca. hundred years, i. e., since ca. 1330, 1475, 1560, 1645, 1760, 1850, 1947·4) These innovations reached Chambā comparatively late, on the average with a time lag of ca, 100-150 years. The innovations of ca. 1560-1645 can be traced in the North Indian plains about 1390-1480, in the exterior Himālaya about 1420—1450; those since 1645, in Rājputānā since end of the 15th century, in the exterior hills since ca. 1590-1630; those of 1760, since ca. 1680, resp. 1700-1738; those of 1850 since 1800, resp. 1812; those of 1917 since ca. 1850-1920. But they always reveal an integration earlier or later with the evolution in the focal centres of Indian political and cultural life.

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[74] See the paintings in the Khanchandi palace, Chambā; the Kāngrā-Sikh costume is still worn by old-fashioned ladies; and palanquins in the same taste had been in use only a few years ago (now gone to the lumber yard).

LIVING INDIA AND THE INDOLOGY.

(*An Inaugural Address*)

By PROFESSOR ARMAND MINARD.

It is an astonishing paradox that an indologist who has devoted half his life to the study of the Vedic language, should first set foot upon Indian soil when he is over forty years of age. But you will easily understand that for him this is a unique experience, about which he never ceased to speculate. Let him try to explain this seeming paradox to you.

Western indology was born in India, and it could not be otherwise. A Bible of fascinating antiquity, but jealously guarded by the Brahmins ; a huge literature, but without translations, and almost exclusively in manuscript ; a marvellous language, but exceptionally arduous, which, besides, is deprived of any accessible grammars or dictionaries : all these impediments forbade the access of Sanskrit to anyone who was bereaved of the help of native scholars. They alone could break the treble seal protecting this universe. And great as was the ardour of Wilkins, the talent of Jones, the genius of Colebrooke, the patience of Wilson, they would not have accomplished their task without the Paṇḍits.

So, the first generation of indologists grew in the very soil of India : the second one never went there, and, never had even, a longing to go there. How can one explain this change ? There are several reasons.

First of all, the new science passed into the hands of German scholars. This does not mean that Great Britain had lost her interest in it. Nevertheless, the fact is that the great men we have just mentioned could not find, for a long while, any successors of their size. Their disappearance coincided also with a new era : the age of pioneers was making room for the age of organizers. After the amateurs of genius, experts, apt to consecrate all their strength to the immense task awaiting them, were required. However, the archaic structure of the British Universities was scarcely fit for such a renewal. And so the substitution took place upon the continent. Science profited by this but, knowledge of man was lost there as contact with living India was interrupted. The British indologists had been the Civil servants of Bengal or of the East India Company, called by their very service to travel across the country, whose ancient history they deciphered : the German indologists were professors, naturally confined in their libraries, because in a country still partitioned into a number of states, the Universities were too poor to finance such remote journeys.

This is the first reason. But there exists another, a deeper one and more lasting. As long as they were satisfied to initiate the European scholars in a world of thoughts and beauties, the existence of which they did not even surmise, the aesthetic knowledge of Sanskrit, so to speak, could suffice. But from now on there was a problem of scientific work ; critical publications with collation of manuscripts and comparing of various readings, rigorous translations, circumstantial annotations, detailed analyses, exhaustive recording of words, forms, senses, uses. Although India possessed excellent Paṇḍits, she had no true scholars. The Western philologists, obliged to assume this enormous task, alone, thus acquired the habit of relying on themselves.

This is still not everything. India, though lacking in real scientific contributions, could bring them the help of her commentaries for the most difficult texts. This help was not neglected, as it was soon realized to be indispensable in certain special fields, such as rhetoric, grammar, philosophy, music, astronomy. The year 1846 inaugurated Vedic studies ; and it was in this domain that during the years to come, the principal efforts of Roth, Benfey, Max Müller, Weber, Whitney were to be concentrated. But, here a preliminary question arises : should one follow the native interpretation—let us say, the name being taken as a symbol : should one follow Sāyaṇa ?

No, replies Roth. And, what value can be accredited to a commentary, posterior by some 3000 years to the text which it pretends to clarify? It is sufficient to record its hesitations, its inconsequences, the accommodation with which it multiplies the senses of a word, including the parallel items, and identical formulae, to realize that it advanced in a groping manner. But there is something still more grave. Let us admit that medley conceals some genuine fragments of very ancient exegetes. Are we much more advanced for that? Not at all. The obvious mistakes which are made by the Brāhmaṇas when they give glossaries to mantras are enough to show that in those days (eight or ten centuries B.C.) their key had been lost already. Thus, it is not from India that the solution of the Vedic problem should be expected; but rather from the most modern methods, from the combined resources of linguistics, sociology, and comparative mythology. And Bergaignp, more radical, was to declare later on : The Ṛk Saṃhitā is a closed world : it is from the inside that is should be approached, it is by itself that it should be explained.

This uncompromising doctrine found in Germany itself its most impetuous contradictors. But, in spite of the violence of their attacks, they did not succeed in shaking it. On the contrary, their final defeat has shown the impossibility of proceeding otherwise. Two unequal names summarize this quarrel : that of Haug, and of Pischel.

Fortified by his ten years' sojourn in India at the school of Paṇḍits and vaidikas, Haug attacked Weber in his capacity of the bookworm scholar, and he directed his efforts toward the ritual, on one side, and on accentuation, on the other. This double offensive resulted in a double failure. His commented edition-translation of the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa was based, in a number of places, on the direct experience of the liturgy acquired by him thanks to the sacrifices accomplished under his eyes by some Brahmin friends. But Weber had no difficulty in proving that, his information though being more concrete, was not for this more certain ; that there were numerous errors, and that the best way to understand a Brāhmaṇa, is still to question the neighbouring Brāhmaṇas.

The domain of the Vedic accent was not more favourable to this blundering champion of modern India. In the *udātta*, the *anudātta*.

the *svarita* the description of the Prātiśākhyas is so clear that it is impossible, Weber argued rightly, to trust a tradition, possibly ancient, but in every point contradicted by their testimony. In particular, the Bhāṣika-Sūtra, published by Kielhorn, shows to what curious mistakes the accent graphics of the Śatapatha could lead the chanters.

Thirty years later, the unsuccessful vetnure of Haug was resumed by Pischel, but with a deep erudition and with an argumentative power ten times stronger. He pretended to recover classical India in the Vedas complete, with her tigers and her elephants, her courtesans, her nautch-girls, her passion for gambling and her taste for gold. Of this enormous effort the criticisms by Oldenberg have left but very little. The most definite sign of this defeat is the gradual falling off of Geldner, co-author of the Vedische Studien. In the translation of 1923 almost nothing remains from the aggressive claims of 1889 ; and, if the name of Sāyaṇa still appears in the foot-notes, this seems to be rather by deference than by conviction.

Thus, in spite of Haug and Pischel, despite of Goldstücker and Ludwig, Vedic philology has grown apart from the Indian tradition. If the giants who have built it never tried to see India, you now understand that this was not a mere chance. It is told that the astronomer Leverrier, after having proved the existence of the planet Neptune by calculus only, and determined its position in the sky, always refused to look in the telescope, willing to point out in so doing that he had no need of such a verification. Being moved by a similar feeling, the vedists of the heroic age (with the exception of Pischel, who died symbolically on landing at Madras) refused to go to seek on the spot what they obviously found in the incorruptible texts and thus to taint the purity of their deductions by the commonplace exotic colouring.

Now, it was in the Vedic domain that Indology won its first and for a long while its most prominent successes ; this was the way which led a number of philologists to its study ; it is Vedic which is of primary interest to comparative grammar ; and it is by the way of comparative grammar that the knowledge of Sanskrit commanded the attention of all the experts on the Indo-European language. Linguistis by calling, vedists by obligation, indologists by opportunity : thus the attitude and marked itinerary of several among them can be defined. One can see that such a frame of mind was scarcely favourable for contact with living India.

However, some deep transformations were gradually taking place. And first of all, the example of Haug was not lost. Following his example, a number of Germans entered the British Civil Service, and, by this expedient, made long sojourns in India. Bühler and Kielhorn are the most eminent of them, but there were many more : amongst whom it will be sufficient to mention Jolly, Thibaut, Garbe. And as, meanwhile, curiosity did not cease to spread, it appeared that India was not reduced to Vedas and that she was infinitely richer and more varied than was first considered. But, if there could be doubts as to the value of the native exegetes as far as the Saṁhitās were concerned, it was so splendid in other domains, that no one would have thought to contradict it. Moreover, the only reserve which could be formulated became purposeless. India was gradually conforming to the exigencies of the scientific method ; she possessed, in addition to the incomparable Paṇḍits, some genuine great scholars, whose number did not cease (and has never ceased since) to increase.

The calls from abroad has corresponded to this internal evolution. The opening of the Suez canal, coinciding with the progress of steam navigation, reduced the duration of a six months' journey to a few weeks. Orientalism in its entirety thus was quickened. But indology itself received an unexpected returnschock. Trusting the Indians themselves, one had considered India until then as a solid continent, closed to every breath from outside, jealously coiled up on itself, absorbed in the contemplation of its own splendour. Now, contradictions of this legend were arriving from everywhere. To tell the truth, one had suspected for a long time that India owed much to her neighbours. But one suddenly discovered that she had given them still more. Tibet, China, Japan, Indochina, Indonesia : everywhere, in in the texts, in the cult, in the architecture, even in the sciences, were found the majestic traces of Hindu culture ; in the heart of Yannan or of

Cambodia, of Java or of Borneo, one discovered Sanskrit inscriptions. Thus, Sanskrit was not exclusively a gem for the scholar, a rarity for the grammarian, an indispensable tool for the linguist. It had been, not so very long ago, the official tongue of great empires. And it remained, particularly, the spiritual tie of an enormous country, divided by history and by the crumbling away of her dialects of the present time.

In spite of a swift transformation of the world, this last point remains true. What is most striking for the indologists discovering living India, is to see to what extent the ancient past intermingles with the present. Certainly, it is helpful for a latinist, for a hellenist, to go and breathe the air of Italy or of Greece, to travel among this scenery, every landscape of which evokes the verses of an ancient poet, to visit the cities where those whose thought has given nourishment to ours, had dwelt. Nevertheless, however majestic or moving these worlds, they belong to the past. The very land which has borne them cannot pretend to-day to represent them better than others do. Their inheritance has become the common property of the West: Paris and Berlin, London and New York have as much right as Athens or Rome, to declare themselves connected with them.

Here, on the contrary, there is no breach. Every instant of the past remains for ever alive. Sanskrit, which, we were told, has been dead for two thousands years, is heard on thousands of lips. Thirty centuries of thought, blended under our eyes in a dazzling anachronism, make us feel doubtful of history and time itself, so foreign to this closed universe the notion of change seems to be. It is not we ongoing European statesmen to say they do not concern themselves much about Homer and Vergil, or in any case they do not derive their political outlook from that of Aristotle or Plato; but the simplest words of Mahātmā Gāndhī or Pandit Nehru attest a knowledge of the Upaniṣads and Bhāgavad Gītā so intimate as to have become unconscious.

Besides, it would be wrong here to impeach Western materialism. The origins of this opposition are more distant, as we shall soon see. But, whatever the causes, one fact remains, which strikes the new-

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comer : the amazing vitality of tradition. For one who has been accustomed, during twenty years, to an anemic Sanskrit in the shade of libraries, it is astounding to see it live and to hear it chanted, even spoken as in the days when a simple sūta (coachman) argued with a grammarian, according to Patañjali. To-day, when Calcutta is only two days' journey from Paris, it would be paradoxical to continue to treat it as a dead language, as thousands of scholars employ it as the most natural medium of thought and expression. In order to enliven our indology, the first step to take is to enable our young scholars to remain in India for a considerable time.

This measure is all the more urgent, as the future of Sanskrit is very uncertain. I know how ticklish this problem is. And I do not forget that it does not suit a foreigner to take part in a debate, the implications of which are numerous and the political aspects particularly delicate. Although, if he must not venture even to advise, he may at least be allowed to formulate a wish.

In a world where no political independence exists without economic independence, India needs to become a great industrial power. She has the will to do so, she will soon have the means. However, the difficulty does not lie there. The difficulty is for her to change and remain true to herself, to find the strength to survive without abdicating her reason for existence, to train technicians, without ceasing to form men, to build factories, preserving one's soul in the mean time. This problem is far from being new. It has been known to Europe for the past 60 years and more. And, if Europe has not definitely solved it (it is not in the nature of this problem to be solved), she has at least protected until now, the essential part of her spiritual patrimony against the encroachments of industrialism.

How could she accomplish it ? By sticking obstinately to the educative disciplines which have moulded our fathers. And, if India chooses to save herself by the same method, her road will be much easier than ours has been. The complexity of European civilisation is due to the fact that it is tributary to three traditions : it owes to Greece the foundation of its philosophy and of its science ; to Rome its political and legal framework ; the canons of its literature and its art to both of them, as well as the vocabulary of its abstract thought; to Christianity, finally, it owes its religious beliefs and the principles of its ethics. Thus, there exists if not an opposition, at least a perceptible duality, between her culture and her ethics: the artist, the scholar look towards Athens and Rome, the believer towards Jerusalem. India does not know anything similar. The same language has yielded, during three thousand years, to every demand of her thought, the same tongue has served her rishis and her classics, the same language is at once the implement of her humanism and the interpreter of her religion. And while, in order to be able to understand himself, the European is bound to embrace two ancient literatures and three or four modern ones, an Indian is certain to gather the most precious of his fathers' inheritance by studying Sanskrit.

This is, of course, an ungrateful study, even for the Indian, prepared as he is for this long apprenticeship by the practice of Devanāgarī, the reciting of the ritual and the manipulation of the numberless *tatsamas*. The educators will find here the same problem as posed by Latin in the West: how to reconcile this disinterested culture of archaic appearance with the requirements of the modern world, that is to say, assimilation of sciences, every day more complicated? An insoluble problem, which has still to be solved at any cost. Thirty centuries of glory form a crown one does not lay aside so easily. The land of Vālmīki and of Kālidāsa, of Śaṅkara and of Rāmānuja cannot suddenly limit her ambition to the manufacture of businessmen and engineers.

Besides, the more solid the link with the past will be, the steadier the ballast of tradition your ship will be with the morefelile, also, the contact of the West will be. And this contact is a necessity. Without renouncing an iota of its inheritance, this nation of four hundred million inhabitants must prepare itself to play the decisive role it must shortly undertake. A heavy task, but it is not above her strength. Foreign domination has given her an enormous advantage: the knowledge of English. Thanks to English, India, divided as she is by the variety of her vernaculars, possesses a common tongue, until the moment when it can be replaced by Hindī. Owing to her knowledge of English language, India finds the gates of American civilisation, upon which half of the world of to-day models its existence (and perhaps the whole world of to-morrow), wide open to her.

But India would be particularly untrue to her past and to her mission, if she did not see in this contact anything more than a chance of political combinations, of technical improvements or of commercial exchanges. The West is quite a different thing from machinery and efficiency, speed and comfort. The West is, before anything else, a certain conception of the world and of man. Now, notwithstanding the centuries flown, in spite of the tremendous turmoils which have marked these last years, despite a prodigious ebullition of new ideas, the Greek-Latin humanism remains the most profound and the most steady components of this thought.

What! you will say, do we need to add two more languages—and two dead languages! to the heavy curriculum of studies which is already ours?—This is not essential, and here is the reason. An American Professor one day said to his students: "To learn French, is to save the learning of two tongues: Greek and Latin. French has lived for such a long time and still lives with them in such close intimacy that it has kept the best of what they had. Learn, therefore French: it will be a sound business to do so. Do not believe this to be an ingenious compliment addressed to a too much adulated beauty. No! This is but the pungent expression of an indisputable fact: Western humanism—the complement and counterbalance of Hindu humanism—has found its land of election in French. To learn French, this is, really, to discover Europe by the most agreeable and the shortest way. This is the same idea, that one of your diplomatic officers, who has lived on the shores of Seine for a long time, expressed a few months ago: "India had until now just a single window opened on the world: English. From now She will need a second one: French".

Far from pretending to substitute myself for the high authorities having the charge of education in both our countries, may I be allowed to emphasize, briefly, what everyone of us can wish: that the teaching of French be developed in your Universities by the increase of the number of profeessors and that of lecturers ; that long sojourn in France be provided for your students ; in a word, that the circulation and the exchanges of books, ideas and people be facilitated.

There is a point, however, I believe I should insist upon. For the last seven hundred years, one of the finest titles of glory of the Paris University is to have been attended by a great number of foreign students. But, as you know, the cost of living in large cities is high, life is often tiresome and unhealthy. To remedy these inconveniences, the Cité Universitaire has been created. At the gates of Paris, but at a ten minutes' distance from the Sorbonne by the underground electric train, in the middle of a great park, where flowers and trees alternate with greens and sport grounds, stand the hostels built by fifty nations. There, the students of the various countries find everything they need : rooms, restaurants, libraries, meeting halls, music studios, stadium and swimming pool. You can imagine, what a spiritual benefit they may get from such a sojourn, in a place which is at the same time in the heart of France and the cross-road of the world. Everyone has understood it so well, that even the smallest nations wanted to be present at this rendez-vous of young minds. Now, the student of Bombay or of Calcutta is reduced to ask for hospitality from a foreign country, because, if the Republic of Cuba herself possesses a hostel, India has got any.

I am sure that this regrettable absence will be shortly remedied. I feel confident that our two countries, better informed about the affinities of their cultures, will take steps, without delay, in order to facilitate their drawing closer. This is the aim towards which we ought to work, despite the skepticism of some, notwithstanding the indifference of many, in spite of the pressure of everyday affairs which constantly distract the attention of men to matters which they deem more urgent. I know that I can count on you for the defence of a cause which is equally dear to us. You should know that there are many of us in France who are fighting for what has been ingeniously called an enlarged humanism. They are many who reserve a place of honour for India in the shrine of their innermost beings. Since I am fortunate enough to be their messenger, I have the pleasure of bringing you their devoted friendship and cordial greetings.

FOREIGN ELEMENTS IN HINDU RITUAL AND PRACTICE

By ADRIS BANERJI

The so-called Vedic Aryans entered the Ganges Valley from the north, along with their faith. Before their advent, there were undoubtedly people inhabiting these tracts, who had their own creeds and rituals. In my Bengali book *Śāśvat Bhārat,* I had attempted to give an account of the original inhabitants of India and their identity, though it was undoubtedly not a pioneer effort. The first scholar, who tried to draw a picture of Pre-Vedic Indians, was the late Raibahadur Ramprasad Chanda. He was followed by Dr. B. S. Guha, now Director General of Anthropological Survey of India. He was followed by R. D. Banerji. Recently an endeavour has been made by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Dr. P. C. Bagchi at assessing the so-called aboriginal elements in religion and linguistics. The earliest people who themselves were not *ab-original,* and who inhabited this sub-continent were a negroid people, called Negritoes, whose descendants, even now live in the Andamans and the Mekran desert. Their chief food was fish, and may be identical with the *Minavars* of the Tamil epics and *Ichthyophagoi* of the historians of Alenxander's invasion. They were followed by an Austric speaking people, in two separate batches, remarkable for their skill in archery, and may be the same as *Villavars* of the Tamil epics. According to one authority, these Austric speaking people were a branch of the great Mediterranean race. These in their turn were followed by the Dravidians, who either came from the North-west, as the islands left by them amongst Brahuis in Pakistan, indicate, or migrated from India to Iran and Sumer as H. R. Hall suggested with considerable force. Be it as is may be, the culture complex in ancient India is undoubted. What Dr. S. C. Sarkar of Patna, calls tribal civilisation is indeed this racial admixture and culture complex—the panoroma of adoption and assimilation of traditions, rituals and customs by the so-called ' Aryan ' from the original inhabitants of *Bhāratavarsha.*

A proper assessment of the Pre-Aryan (?) culture of India, and its legacy on the subsequent civilisation and society has become imperative. Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, Khaira Professor of Comparative Linguistics have correctly pointed out that; "But there has taken place in both upper India and Bengal a commingling of cults, in both their ideals and theories and their practices and rituals, among Puranic Brahminism (including Tantricism), Buddhism in its numerous later phases, and Jainism; and this has led to a tangle with those of Pre-Aryan origin particularly by the interaction of the Puranic cults of Brahminism on the one hand and various forms of later Buddhism on the other in Bengal, which it is well nigh impossible to unite. And the matter has been further complicated by a third and independent group of cults and rituals entering this tangle—those of Pre-Aryan origin, which obtained amongst the Dravidians, Austric, Tibeto-Burman and other peoples of Bengal, recent and pre-prehistoric, who formed the original inhabitants of Bengal; upon whom upper Gangetic Aryan speech and Hindu (*i.e.*; Brahminical, Vedic, Purāṇic, and Tantric as well as Buddhist and Jain) religion and culture were imposed, transforming them into Aryan, speaking Hindu people by the end of the first millenium A.D".[1]

It is now almost impossible at the present day, with the existing material at our disposal, to assess the character of the elements contributed by the early inhabitants of India. It is inherent in every ancient civilisation, whether it be Hellenic and not Hellenistic, Cretan, Sumerian, Babylonian, Egyptian—pre-dynastic Iranian or Urartaen cultures. Unfortunately however, no Ramsay Petric, Evans or Wooley has attempted to disentangle the skein. Nevertheless, an effort, however elementary it might be, is likely to reward any investigator. The greatest evidence is furnished by the ellipsoid stones, washed down either by riverine action, or worn smooth by lying in shallow streams, almost like polished neoliths. The present writer collected several such specimens in the branch of the Tāmra-nālā in Taxila, immediately at the foot of the ramparts of the Kushaṇa city of Sir-Sukh. They are great favourites with the villagers. Ghee, milk, water and other offerings are made to them either as the symbol of

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[1] Dr. B. C. Law Presentation Vol. Pt. I. p. 75.

Viṣṇu or as *liṅgams* of Śiva. Here lies the paradox. The stone is more suggestive of the inanimate, yet Indian practice gathers around stones myriads of ideas which infuse them with power, vitality, and one might say personality. When solemn affirmation is necessary, a stone supposed to be representing *Nārāyaṇa* is sufficient. High caste Bengali marries his children before this identical class of stones, taken to be divine witnesses of the nuptials.

To the Muhammedan, the stone is pure, representing all forms of uncleanliness, and he prays to God. As far as possible, therefore, the graves are made of stone, or stones are placed over graves, so that there might be unbroken prayers to God. By sitting on stone, a learned man's prayers are most effective ; and the holy prophet of Arabia, set an example by saying prayers by holding pebbles in his hand, a custom which is still followed. Stones are placed on the graves of the saints by suppliants, with the hope of gratifying the saint through the prayers of the stones. In Sind, there is a custom by which several men take up the pebbles, and utter prayers over them with a view to induce the rain clouds burst. There is a belief that the fairies may be brought to this earth to do a man's bidding by taking 41 stones and reading the verses of the *Koran* over them.

The phallic emblem of Śiva, one of the forms in which the stones are worshipped, itself seems to have been alien to original Vedic ritual. The legend of King Puṇḍarika as found in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*[2]. is an illuminating example of the non-Aryan origin of the cult. The King of Banaras had arrogated to himself all the insignias of Śrī Kṛṣṇa who admittedly belonged to Mathura and to whom the *Mahābhārata* gives the credit of transferring the Yadus to the western coast with their capital at Dwārakā with disastrous results. All warnings by Kṛṣṇa having failed Kṛṣṇa invaded Banaras and killed the King. The latter's son worshipped Mahādeva and obtained a *Kṛityā,* which was despatched by the vengeful son to destroy Dwārakā. But, the *Kṛityā* was driven away and persued, by Kṛṣṇa's *śudarsana-chakra,* which only returned, when the whole city of Banaras with its inhabitants were burnt by it. This *legend,* indicates, that it was based on a substratum of historical facts. That there were several conflicts between the so-called Aryan tribes of Yadus and others from Bramhāvartta, and the non-Aryan worshippers of Mahādeva in the area immediately beyond the Doab between the Ganges and the Yamuna, is undoubted. Mahādeva, according to the *paurānic* traditions, was originally a non-Aryan God, as we shall have occasion to determine in a subsequent paragraph.

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[2] *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,* Book V, Chap. 34.

If these stones were emblems of phallus worship we have enough data to assume that it was Pre-Aryan in origin, and long struggle had taken place before it was admitted into the Brahminical faith. The excavations at Mohenjodaro have established, that the worship of both the male and female organs singly or jointly (modern *liṅgams* and *Yonipaṭṭas*) was one of the main traits of the Indus or the Harappa culture.[3] As the present writer belongs to the school of thought, which believes that Harappa culture was 'Pre-Aryan' and probably Dravidian, therefore the worship of the phallus seems to be Pre-Aryan. The next evidence is furnished by the *Ṛg-Veda*. There are two references (VII. 21. 5) which Śāyaṇa explains as *śiśnena dīvyanti Krīḍanta iti śiśnadevaḥ abrahma-charyāḥ ityarthaḥ*;[4] and the second is (X. 99. 3) which is also explained by Śāyaṇa as '*śiśna Devāna Bramhacāryānśatavāreshu etc.*'[5] Our inferences therefore have to be based upon the interpretation of the term *śiśṇadeva*. This term has been explained by Mc-Donnel as "phallus worshippers" or people who have phallus as their deity.[6] Recently Dr. A. P. Karmarkar has suggested a different interpretation. According to him *śiśṇadevah* means those gods who possessed a *śiśṇa*.[7] This is quite possible, but not probable. The citations of nude divinities in the Mohenjodaro and Sumerian seals are perfectly correct, but there is no evidence for believing that their nudity was being emphasised. It is also impossible to presume in the absence of any definite evidence that those gods which were not represented as nude were supposed to be without *śiśnas.* Therefore the explanation of Mc-Donnel still stands; and we must take the uncontrolled abuse in the *Vedas* as contempt felt towards the phallus-worshippers.

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[3] Sir J. Marshall–*Mohenjodaro and Indus Valley civilisation* Vol. I, pp. 39. ff., and Plates.

[4] *Vedic Saṁshodhak Mandal* edition, Poona, p. 323.

[5] Max Muller's edition Vol. VI, p. 306. I am indebted for these two references to Prof. M. M. Patkar of the Deccan College Post graduate and Research Institute, Poona.

[6] Mc. Donel– *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 382.

[7] *B. C. Law Volume*, Pt. I, p. 459.

We have ample data in the *Purāṇas* regarding the non-Aryan origin of the *liṅga* worship ; and the serious struggle after which it was admitted in the Brahminical pantheon. The legend about King Divodāsa states that, he was a virtuous king of Banaras, who had banished all the gods from the city. The present text of the *Purāṇas* certainly include Mahādeva in it, but, as the sequence will show, it was a later concoction. Though worship of Brahminical gods were forbidden the *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*[8] admits that a high state of morality and piety existed. Ultimately by a trick Divodāsa was persuaded to leave the city, but at the time of his departure he left a *liṅgam.* Why this special regard for a *liṅgam*, and why a *liṅgam* was in the city of Banaras, when all the other gods had been banished, unless Divodāsa was a devotee of *liṅgaṃ* or a phallus-worshipper ? The story historically interpreted, implies one of the various stages by which the upper Indian gods and goddesses found acceptance not only with the 'Proto-Austroloid' masses but also with the ruling classes of *Pre-Vedic* India. The story of Dakṣa and his daughter Satī and her death, clearly testifies that Mahādeva whose forte was Banaras was originally a non-Vedic god. For this, a reference may be made to the 87th chapter of the *Kāśī Khaṅḍam* of the *Skanda Purāṇa.* To make a long story short, we may briefy restate the salient features of the traditions :

1. Satī, married Mahādeva.
2. Menā, the mother of Satī, and queen of Dakṣa, could not stand the religious practices of Mahādeva and his followers : and her remarks offended Satī so much that along with her consort she leaves for Banaras (*Sk. Pur.*, Chap. 12, verse 29-32).

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[8] *Skanda Purāṇa,* Kāśī Khanda, Chap. 62-84 ; Chap. 58-78 ; Chap. 43 To these as well as others cited in this paper my attention was drawn by the late Dr. K. P. Jayswal, from whom I received the earliest encouragement on research along with Śrī Kedarnath Chatterjee and Dr. P. C. Bagchi. They have also been utilised by Dr. A. S. Altekar in his *History of Banaras.*

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3. Dakṣa later on decided to perform a sacrifice (a *Vedic* custom) but he decided to exclude Mahādeva. The *Purāṇas* as in the case of Divodāsa, tries to gloss over the matter by saying that Mahādeva had offended Dakṣa.
4. The reasons put forward by Dakṣa makes our task easier.
   (*a*) He, Mahādeva did not accept the *Varṇaśrama dharma.*
   (*b*) His family, *gotra* and country were unknown.
   (*c*) He did not know the *Vedas,* so he was not Brahmin.
   (*d*) He was neither a *Kṣattriya* nor a *Vaiśya* nor a *Sudra* (*Vāyu pur*-Chap, 88. verses 25-33).

Historically interepreted the story seems to indicate that Mahādeva was a 'Pre Vedic' divinity. The Ṛg-Veda knows Rudra but not Mahādeva. He did not perform sacrifices and destroyed sacrificial fires.

In a previous paragraph I have dealt with Muslim veneration for stones. To Hindu mind, though the stone was an inanimate object it possessed all the powers of good and evil. It possesed the power of solemnity. Images of divinities were therefore fashioned out of stone and even unto unfashioned stones the power of god is invoked. In Maratha villages *Khāṇḍobā* is represented by a pile of stones. Small stones, which the illiterate minds invest with divine power, are placed in cattle sheds, to drive away evil spirits, or buried in fields, court-yards or gardens as a protection against evils. Any stone thus fashioned or unfashioned gains sanctity in the eyes of the villagers whom, they must adore in times of prosperity, must invoke in years of draught, or when any epidemic breaks out in the neighbourhood.

At Sarnath, in the district of Banaras, not far away from the Archæological Museum, under a *neem*-tree (Melia Azhadirichta), near an well, many travellers will find a stone on an elevated platform, faced with bricks. Locally it is called *Charāiyā Māi.* In fact, it happens to be the capital of a later Gupta column, taken away from the adjoining ruins, to satisfy the piety of the Hindu peasantry. This cult of village godlings, is widely prevalent throughout U. P., and they serve several functions. This particular (erstwhile column) divinity is worshipped on the completion of autumn harvest, by the peasant women, on the morning of *khichuri,* after remaining on a diet of *siṅgārā* or *panifal* pulp the previous day, with flower, water and rice. and they dance before it. It is not unusual to find an admittedly Buddhist image being worshipped by local villagers. On the south-eastern corner of the Chaukhandi *Stupa,* we find a much defaced torso of a Bodhisattva, which is worshipped by two local villages and an alleged *homa* is offered to it by orthodox (Proto-Austroloid) Koiris to avert epidemics and draught.[9] Both the divinities have been identified by illiterate Brahmins with the Hindu goddess, Chandi. At the southern extremity of the village of Barahipur, near Sarnath, is another image of Bodhisattva, which receives veneration of a predominantly Brahmin village. At Ramnagar village, in the Bareilly district of U. P., near the ancient ruins of the city of Ahichhatrā, there is a redsandstone image of Maitreya, in the local zamindar's *chhaoni* (*Kachhari of* Bengal), which is worshipped as *Viṣṇu.* At Nalanda, tha most scandalising instance is that of the large blue schist image of Buddha in the earth-touching attitude, being worshipped by local Hindus, at the instance of a Sanskrit-knowing Brahmin named Gauri Sankar Sharma, who was a teacher in the local High School, as Kāla Bhairon (Kāla Bhairava). The other instance is the largest known stele depicting the eight great miracles of Gautama's life within the village lands of Jagdishpur, in pargana Besbak, subdivision Bihar, Dt. Patna, as Rukmini Dei.[10] The worst example is that of Sarilchak where mediæval Buddhist *stupas* have been utilised as Śiva *liṅgam,* while the door leaves of the sanctum have been carved with the names of Rāma, who is regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

The Dhamek at Sarnath is one of the loftiest towers in India. It was a structure originally raised in Mauryan times, probably to commemorate the spot, where Gautama met the future Buddha

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[9] These are Ganj and Sheodinpur, in revenue pargana Sheopur, tashil Banaras, district Banaras. Parenthetically, it might be noted, that the name Sheodinpur belongs to the hamlet nestling at the foot of the Chaukhandi Stupa. But this name has now gone out of use and it is now popularly designated 'Ganj' as it is within the mauzah.

[10] R. D. Banerji—*Eastern Indian School of Mediæval Sculptures—plate*,

Maitreya. Whenever any marriage takes place amongst the Koiris and Bhars the bridegroom or bride worships the Dhamek. The ritual consists of offering rice, water and flowers to a typical Buddhist monument, by people, who consider themselves better than Brahmins, and do not touch food cooked by them. On 8th May, 1946, a party of Bhars came to do the same thing with their newly married son. These Bhars were originally a Dravidian tribe, whom modern research scholars are trying to identify with Bhāraśivas of ancient history. If it[11] was a common custom with the Bhars and Koiris we would have expected such nupital ceremonies every where. But when the present writer witnessed a Bhar marriage in Rasra tahsil of Balliya district, the worship of *tumulis,* stone or images did not take place there. Then this attachment for a Buddhist *Stūpa* amongst the Bhars, Koiris, Kunbis, Ahirs in the locality has to be explained. Possibly they prove the truth of the principle enunciated by Sir William Ramsay regarding 'persistence of worship'.[12]

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[11] For Koiris and Bhars consult: Buxton—*People of Asia* where their Proto-Austroloid character has been discussed. Also Crooke—*Tribe and Castes of North Western Provinces.*

[12] Regarding persistence of worship E. Herzfeld draws our attention to a peculiar custom of nomads of Iran coming into the plains of Passargadæ. They go around the tomb of Cyrus thrice with their flock and annoint the stones.

E. Herzfeld—*An Archæological History of Iran.* London, 1935, p. 28.

GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS IN THE AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ

By V. S. AGARWALA

Krīḍā. Paṇini refers to the diversion of the People seeking pleasure and amusement through a variety of games and sports such as wrestling, jousts, hunting, dicing, garden sports and musical entertainments. Sports were generally called *krīḍā* (VI. 2. 74; IV. 2. 57), a player or sportsman was known as *ākrīḍī* (III. 2. 142) and the various items of play were expressed by the forms of the root *krīḍ.* preceded by *anu, sam, pari* and *āṅ* (I. 3.21).

Samajyā. Pāṇini derives *samajyā* as a noun-word (*saṁjñā,* III. 3. 99) which Kātyāyana and Patañjali explain as a place where people flock together (*samajanti tasyām samajyā, Bhaṣya II.* 152). We are indebted to the Jātakas for information that the *samajjās* were special gathering 'where crowds of men, women, and children gathered together and witnessed various kinds of shows and performances, dancing and music, ballad-recitations (*ākkhānam*), and pantomimes, combats of elephants, horses and rams, bouts at quarter-staff (*daṇḍehi yuddham* and wrestling', (*Pre-Buddhist India* by R. L. Mehta, p. 355). The *Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka* refers to *samajyā* gatherings of men and women and seats arranged in tiers upto tiers (*mañchātimañche, Jat.* VI. 277). It appears that the *samajyā* gatherings formed a regular feature of social life in the *Mahājanapada* period.

Pāṇini also refers to assemblies under the general name of *samavāya* (IV. 4. 43) which the commentators take as including the *samāja* where according to the *Kāmasūtra* the *nāgarakas* assembled on some particular day of the month or fortnight to witness the performances of dancers and actors etc. (I. 4. 27). Pāṇini refers to a gathering of cattle as *samaja* in *Sūtra* (III. 3. 69) where the opposite word *samāja* must be understood by implication. Pāṇini countenances a two-fold meaning of the word *samājika,* viz. One who attended a *samāja* as its member to witness the games etc., and also the man who convened it (IV. 4. 43 and IV 4. 33. *rakṣati* of the latter being taken as aiding a *samāja* by organizing it). *Samāja* and *samajyā* appear to be of kindred meaning, the first one perhaps of wider meaning including religious gatherings also. Aśoka interdicted *samāja* for its baneful effects.

Wrestling. Pāṇini refers to the technical word *saṅgrāha* meaning fist-seizure' in the vocabulary of wrestlers (*sami muṣṭau,* III. 3. 9). The *Jātakas* refer to a wrestler as *muṭṭhika* (*Jāt.* VI. 277). *Kātyāyana* replying to some critics remarked that *saṅgrāha* was not to be taken in the sense of a measure to denote as much as was held in a fist. Patañjali supplied the proper illustrations as *mallasya saṅgraha* and *muṣtikasya saṇgrāha.* Wrestling implies a reciprocal action (*karma-vyati-hāra*) and may have begun with a challenge (*āhvāna* I. 3. 31 ; *mallo mallam-āhvayate*).

Jousts. Combats at a tournament for sport are referred to as *praharaṇakrīdā*. The *Sūtra, Tadasyām parharaṇamiti Kriḍāyām ṇaḥ* (VI. 2. 57) teaches that the name of the game is derived from the name of the weapon used in the play. The commentators cite boxing (*mauṣṭā*) and use of quarter-staff (*dāṇḍā*) but for a graphic description of an archer's exhibition of skill before spectators we may refer to the *Sarbhaṇga Jātaka* where Jotipala gives a most amazing demonstration of archery feats as the arrow-stick, the arrow-rope, the arrow-plait, the arrow-pavillion, the arrow-wall, the arrow-stair, the arrow-tank, and the arrow-lotus *etc.* (*Jat.* V. 130, *saralaṭṭhi, sararajju. etc*).

The Eastern Sports. The *Sūtra Prācām krīḍāyām* (VI. 2. 74) refers to the sports of the eastern people. Pāṇini says in rule II. 2. 17 that the sport-denoting words form a *nitya* compound, and again prescribes the *ṇvul* suffix to denote a derivative noun-word which the commentators uniformly illustrate with names of eastern sports as *Uddālaka-puṣpa-bhañikā* and *Vīraṇa-puṣpa-pracāika, sāla-bhanjikā* and *Tāla-bhanjikā* (See *Kasikā* on VI. 2. 74, III. 3. 109 and II. 2. 17). Rule VI. 2. 74 relates to accentuation in compound words indicating sports in eastern India. Dr. Thieme takes pains to explain away how Pāṇini who belonged to the north-west could become acquainted with such a minute peculiarity of pronunciation in the east of India. He thinks that the game may have wandered from the East to the North. (*Pāṇini* and the *Veda* by Paul Thieme, p. 78) To say the least, it is unwarranted to take such a narrow view of Pāṇini's geographical knowledge, and it seems but fair to credit him with an eastern peregrination in view of the numerous references to his connections with the court of Pāṭaliputra.

The Nature of Eastern Sports. It is possible to know something about the nature of *prācya krīḍās* from the evidence of ancient Indian art. Dr. Vogel pursuing the study of the *Śāla-bhañjikā* motif which is one of the names of the eastern sports cited in Pāṇinian literature writes as follows :—

"Although no accounts of these games are available, the compounds by which they are indicated clearly show that in each instance the essential thing is the plucking of flowers. It is interesting that these games are said to be peculiar to Eastern India, as this tallies with mention of the *Śala bhāñjikā* festival in Buddhist literature. It is evidently Magadha, the cradle of Buddhism, and the neighbouring countries, that may be taken to have been its home". (*The Woman and Tree* or *Sālabhañjikā in Indian Literature and Art*, By Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Leiden, *Acta Orientalia,* Vol. VII. pp. 203-204).

Apart from the suggestion of its geographical distribution we are indebted to Dr. Vogel for presenting a graphic account of the popular festival of plucking flowers from the Buddhist literature. He quotes from the 53rd story of the *Avadānaśataka*: "Once the Lord Buddha dwelt at Śrāvasti in the Jetavana, the garden of Anāthapiṇḍaka. Now at that very time the festival called *śālabhañjikā* was being celebrated at Śrāvasti. Several hundred-thousands of beings assembled there and, having gathered *sal blossoms* thousands of being assembled there and, having gathered *sal* blossoms they played, made merry and roamed about". (*ibid.* p. 201). And again quoting from the Nidānakathā (*Jāt.* 1. 52) the description of the *śalabhañjikā* festival celebrated in the Lumbini garden: "Now between the two towns (Kapilavatthu and Devadaha) there is an auspicious grove of *sal* trees belonging to the people of both cities, and called Lumbini Grove. At that time from the roots to the topmost branches it was one mass of full-blown flowers; and amidst the branches swarms of five-coloured bees, and flocks of birds of different kinds, roamed, warbling sweetly. The whole of Lumbini Grove was like a wood of variegated creepers, or the well decorated banqueting hall of some mighty king. The Queen beholding it was filled with desire of disporting herself in the *sal* grove (*sālavanakīlam kīlitukāmatā*); and the attendants entered the wood with the Queen. When she came to the root of an auspicious *sal* tree, she wanted to take hold of a branch of it. The branch, bending down, like a reed heated by steam (?), approached within reach of her hand. Stretching out her hand she took hold of the branch, and then her pains came upon her. (Cf. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, London, 1880, Vol. I. p. 66).

The motif of the woman plucking flowers from a distended bough is met with on the *toraṇas* at Bharhut and Sanchi in the Śuṅga period and is continued on the railing pillars of Mathura during the Kushāṇa period. It also appears in a limited number of examples in Gandhāra art of the Kushāṇa age but the insipid treatment of the subject there betrays its having been imported from the East. We have in the *Kāśikā* an example of a game played by people of the North known as *Jīva-putra-pracāyika.*[1] Vātsyāyana in the *Kāmasūtra* mentions as examples of *deśya krīḍās* (local sports) similar names ending in *aka* suffix, *e.g. Sahakara-bhanjika, Abhyūsha-khādikā* (cited by *Kāśikā* on III. 3. 109), *Udaka-kshvedika*[2] *Bisa-khādikā, Aśokottaṁsikā, Puṣpavacāyikā Cūta-latikā, Damana-bhañjikā, Ikṣhu-bhañjikā* etc.

It was also a feature of all sports played by gathering of fruits or plucking flowers, that plucking should be done by hand (*hastādāne cerasteye,* III. 3. 40). According to this rule the form *puṣpa pracāya* would not be regular unless the plucking was done by hand.

Hunting. Hunting is referred to as *lubdha-yoga* (V. 4. 126), and a hunter was called *mārgika,* 'one who shoots *mṛgas*' and a bird-trapper *pākṣika* or *śākunika* (IV. 4. 35).[3] Among *mṛgas* the *Kāśikā* would include not only deer, but also big game-animals like the boar. The fowlers are said to have derived their epithets from the names of particular birds usually trapped by them. as *māyurika, taittirika.* Game-shooting was done with arrows provided with barbs (*patra*), and barbed arrows are noted by Pāṇini to have caused extreme pain (*ativyathana,* V. 4. 61). He refers to two words in connection with shooting barbed shafts. viz. *saptrā* when the arrow with the barbed end got stuck inside the body of the animal, and *niṣpatrā* when the barbed end pierced the body from one side with such force as to emerge on the other (V. 4. 61). Wounding an animal in the right flank was specially noted in the hunters' slang, *dakṣiṇermā lubdhayoge* (V. 4. 126), probably from the fact that the right side wound was considered not fatal, thus making it possible for the game so wounded to escape into the jungle. Pāṇini also notices the naming of big game-animals by the time of their stirring out of the lair or yelling, in the first part or the second part of the night (*Vyaharati. mṛgaḥ* IV. 3. 51). Hunters in the track of game seem to have used such epithets as *prādoṣika* and *naiśika.* The hunters moved with a pack of hounds : *Śva-gaṇena carati* (IV. 4. 11). Paṇini's *śvagaṇika* or *śvāgaṇika* corresponds to the *śvagaṇin* hunters mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* who were employed by the State in keeping the pasturages clear of wild animals and thieves (*lubdhaka-śvagaṇibhiḥ,* Text, p. 130). In a Bharhut scene we actually find a hunter attacking his game with the hounds (Barua's *Barhut,* Vol. III fig. 146).

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[1] *Iyam-Udīcām krīdā. Kāśikā.* VI. 2. 74.

[2] Played in Madhya-deśa according to *Jayamaṅgalā.* It is depicted in the Sigiriya paintings of Ceylon, also called *Śringa-krīḍā.*

[3] *Pakṣi-matsya-mṛgān-hanti,* IV. 4. 35.

The fisherman (mātsyika or mainika) is also referred to IV. 4 35 He was using a net or trap called *jāla* or *ānāya* (III. 3. 124).

Dicing (*Akṣa-Dyūta*). Dicing is mentioned as an Indian game from the time of the *Ṛgveda* onwards. It is referred to as *Akṣa-Dyūta;* (IV. 4. 19) or simply *Dyūta* (III. 3. 37) in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī.* Pāṇini records a grammatical idiom according to which the words denoting the objects with which the game was played were connected with the verb *div* either by the instrumental or accusative case (I. 4. 4. *Divaḥ Karma ca*). For example, *akṣān divyati* and *akṣair divyati'* (he plays with dice) were both used, probably from the fact that the game and its accessories of play were both called *akṣa.*

According to Pāṇini a dicer was called ākṣika (*Tena-ḍivyati*, IV. 4. 2.). Patañjali says that *kitava* and *dhūrta* formed part of the *Saunḍadi* group (II. 1. 40) and he refers to an expert, deceitful, gambler as *akṣa-kitava*, or *akṣa-dhūrta* (*Bhāṣya* I. 390). *Kitava* meaning 'gambler' had been an old Vedic word (*Vedic Index*. I. 156-7) and used in the Buddhist literature (*cf*. *asippa dhuttaka* and *sikkhita kitava*, *Jāt*. VI. 228; also *Dhammapada*, verse 252) and the *Māhābhārata* (*Sabhāparvan*, 58-9).[4]

Accessories of play.. Pāṇini refers to two distinct methods of the game i.e. one played with *akṣas* and the other played with *śalākās* (II. 1. 10). A player with the former was called *ākṣika* and with the latter *śalākika* (cf. *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini IV. 4. 2). The *Arthaśāstra* also refers to both of these saying that the superintendent of Dicing shall supply *akṣa* and *śalākā* to the players (*Artha. Text* p. 198). The *akṣas* seem to have been cubical bits and *śalākās* oblong pieces marked on the sides with numbers. In the representation of the gambling scene at Bharhut the *akṣas* are showen as little cubes (Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, plate XLV).

The number of dice used is a matter of much speculation. The manner in which the game was played in olden days must have differred from that current today; At present only two pieces are used. But in ancient times the number of dice was five, at least so in the Brāhmaṇa period. In the *Tattirīya Brāhmaṇa* it is said that he 'hands to the king five dice; for these are all the dice' (*Tait. Brah*. I. 7. 10). These pieces were called Akṣarāja Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali (*Vedic Index*, I. 3). The game as it was known to Pāṇini must have been played with five dice pieces as the form chatushpari 'an unlucky throw by four' (II. 1. 10) shows. The *Kāśikā Kāras*, Chandra and Kaiyaṭa agree that the game implied in *Sūtra* II. 1. 10 was *pañcikā dyūta*.

Method of play. Dr. Shamasastri treats of the Vedic evidence on dice play at some length in the *Gavām Ayana* (pp. 68 74) quoting

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[4] kitava is used here in the usual sense of "gambler" without any special pejorative meaning. K. de Vreese, "The game of Dice in Ancient India (The Vibhitaka Game)", Orient alia neerlaudica, Lieden (1948), p. 252. The interpretation of Kitava by "Cheat" does not suit the context.

Eggeling who had summarised the information in a note to his translation of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (Vol. IV, p. 107), and who held that the allusions to the game in early literature are not sufficiently definite to enable us to form a clear idea as to the manner in which the game was played.[5]

So far as Pāṇini is concerned the following *Sūtra* affords the best aid to understand the game:

Akṣa-śalākā-saṁkhyāḥ pariṇā (II. 1. 10).

The words *akṣa* and *śalākā* and the numerals (up to four) are compounded with *pari* to form an *Avyayībhāva,* when, as observed by Katyāyana, the resultant words denoted gambler's throws (*kitava-vyavahāra, Vārt.* on II. 1. 10). Thus we have the following forms:

1. *Akṣa-pari* :
2. *Śalākā-pari* :
3. *Eka-pari.*
4. *Dvi-pari* :
5. *Tri-pari* .
6. *Catuṣ-pari.*

The forms were used to indicate a deviation from the winning throw. *Pañcikā* game was played with five dice or five ivory pieces. When all these five pieces fall with faces turned upward, or all with faces turned down, then the thrower wins the game. But when the fall is otherwise, he loses (*Kāśikā* on II. 1. 10). For example, when four pieces fall alike and one is different, the dicer regretfully exclaims; *Akṣapari* : *Salākāpari* : *Ekapari i.e.,* amiss by a single *akṣa* or by a single *śalakā.* The expression *Ekapari* was synoymous with *Akṣapari* and *Śalākāpari* as indicated in the *Karika* cited in the *Bhāṣya* (*ekatve kṣa-śalākayoh,* I. 379). If the uniformity in the throw was 'less by two', it was called *dvipari* ; if 'less by three', *tripari,* and if 'less by four', *catuṣpari.* When all the five pieces fell uniform the throw was called a winning throw of which the technical name was *Kṛita.* The name for the defective throw was *Kali.* According to *Dhammapada* a deceitful player (*kitavosaṭho*) tries to conceal his losing or *Kali* throw (verse 252). In the *Bhūridatta-Jātaka-Vatthu Kali* and *Krita* are contrasted as in the line *Kalī hi dhīrānam Katam mugānam,* 'Loss to the wise, a gain to the fool' (J. R. A. S. 1892, p. 127, also *Jat.* VI. 228). In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (IV. 1. 4.) *Kṛita* is the winning throw. In the Sabhā-parvan (58. 13) Śakuni is described by Vidura as *Kṛita-hasta i.e.* one who takes a winning throw. Fortunately Pāṇini also refers to these two kinds of throws :

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[5] Dr. Luders has made a detailed study of the game of dice in India in his treatise *Das Würfelspiel im atten Indian,* 1907, reviewed in J. R. A. S, 1907 p. 1078. This book was not available to me. See however, Dr. Keith's note, "The Game of Dice," in J. R. A. S., 1908, pp. 823-828. discussing Patāñjali's *Kārikā* on Pāṇini II. 1. 0.

Kṛitaṁ gṛihṇāti=Kṛtayati
Kaliṁ gṛihṇāti=Kalayati[6]. III. 1. 21.

These must have been current expressions used during the progress of the game when a player scored a victorious or a losing throw. In the *Vidhurapaṇḍita Jatāka* (545) a graphic description of the gambling scene between the Kuru king and the Yakkha Puṇṇaka is given and there an expression identical with that of Pāṇini is used :—

'*rājā kaliṁ vicinam aggahesi,*
katam aggahī Puṇṇako pi yakkho'.

'The king played the losing throw and the Yakkha Puṇṇaka the winning throw'. (Jāt. Text, VI. 282 ; Trans. VI. 138). It is stated there that the king was reshuffling with his miraculous powers such dice as were falling against him. The *bhassamāna pāsaka* of the *Jātaka* would correspond to Pāṇini's *Ekapari* etc. It also appears that so long as a player was taking the *Kṛita* throw he went on having repeated chances. But as soon as the *Kali* throw fell, it being unfavourable to him the right of throwing the dice went to the other player. When once Śakuni and Puṇṇaka begin to win deceitfully they continue up to the end of the game.

Wager (Glaha). Śakuni opined that dicing was a noble game was maligned only because of its association with a stake (*akṣa-glaha,* Sabhā, 59. 8). According to Pāṇini *glaha* is irregularly derived when it relates to the vocabulary of dicing (*Akṣeṣu glahah,* II. 1. 3. 70). According to the authors of the *Vedic Index, glaha* was a later form

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6. The *Sūtra* deliberately reads *Kala* instead of *Kalī,* as shown by *Kātyayana's* varttika '*Kali kalyoratva nipātanam* etc. (*Bāhṣya* II. 28), which says that there can be no desiderative form from *kalayati* as no one would himself desire to have a losing throw.

used in the *Atharva Veda* for *grābha* of the *Ṛgveda* meaning a 'throw' at dice (1. 248). Thus may be its original meaning but in classical Sanskrit *glaha* always denotes the stake and not throw (Cf. *Yājñ. Smṛti*, II. 199 as rendered by *Mitākṣarā, kitava-parikalpit; paṇa*; also Ṣabhāparvan Dyūta Section where it invariably means a wager). This meaning also seems to have applied in Pāṇini. There are a few other *Sūtras* referring to wager or stake-money, e.g., *śatasya vyavaharti, śatasya paṇati* (II. 3. 57), *śatasya dīvyati* (III. 3. 58), *Śatasya Pratidīvyati* (III. 3. 59)—all denoting 'he stakes a hundred *rupees' in dyūta.*[7]

The unanimous testimony of the Vedic literature, *Jātakas, Mahābhārat* (Sabhā Parva) and Kautilya makes dicing a game played in a *sabhā*. The *Arthaśāstra* also prescribes 5 p.c. as Govt. fee to be realised on the amount of wager (*Arth.* p. 198). This would correspond to *pañcaka āya* cited to illustrate *Sūtra* V. 1. 47.

Another Board Game. Pāṇini also refers to a game resembling draughts or the Indian *Chaupar* which must have been played on a board divided into squares (*ākarśa*, V. 2. 64), and in which the essential thing was the movement of the gamesmen from square to square in accordance with the results of the throw of the rival players. The gamesmen were known as *śāra* and the movement of the pieces as *parināya* (*pari+nāya* in the sense of *dyūta*, III. 3. 37), *pariṇāyena hanti śārān* (example on Pāṇini III. 3. 37), *i.e.* he hits the rival gamesmen by an encircling movement of his own pieces.

The main word of interest is *ayānayīna* taught in *Sūtra* V. 2. 9. denoting a gamesman fit to be moved to a square of safety. Patañjali's explanation of this word is lucid : By giving the sense as 'that which is to be carried to *ayānaya*' the meaning is not made quite clear as to which is *naya* and which is *anaya*. (To this we reply). The right hand move is *aya* and left hand move *anaya*. (The pieces move both right and left with reference to the rival players seated opposite to each other). That point is therefore called *ayānaya* in which pieces either coming from right or left (which virtually means the gamesmen of both the players) are not attacked by their rivals. The gamesman that is desired to be moved to such an immune square is spoken of as *ayānayīna.* (*Bhāṣya,* II. 373). On each side of the board there are such checkered or hachured squares where rival gamesmen may rest in safety. This description holds good in the case of *Chaupar* which thus appears to be an old game.

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[7] Another sense of all these sentences is : he deals in sale and purchase worth one hundred rupees (*Kraya-vikraya-vyāvahāra*).

SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIAL LIFE IN KUṢĀṆA PERIOD

By

BAIJ NATH PURI

Despite the paucity of evidence, one can depict the social life of the Kuṣāṇa period from the inscriptions, sculptures and the famous Romantic Kāvya Saundarānanda of Aśvaghoṣa who is considered according to the tradition to be a contemporary of King Kaṇiṣka. The data taken from one source may very well corroborate the evidence from the other source and as such we may be able to throw some light on some aspects of the social life of that period. Such a study based on these important pieces of evidence should in no way produce an imaginary picture but would just indicate how far the tastes of the people were refined and cultured in that period. On one side there was the proselytising activity of Hinduism, which had already absorbed the self-complacent Greeks, the proud Parthians and the heroic Śakas, for assimilating the Kuṣāṇa monarchs, as is evident from the name Vāsudeva, and on the other side, the society was flourishing and its life was of a high order. We will leave aside the first aspect namely the proselytising activity of Hinduism here, and shall confine ourselves only to certain phases of social life *e.g.* Dress and ornaments, Family life, Food, Pastimes and Recreations, Toilet and Treatment of Hair, Position of women and *parda* system.

Dress And Ornaments—The social status is generally judged from the outward appearance. It is therefore necessary to consider this topic first. It can be considered under different headings e.g. dress of the Kuṣāṇa monarchs, dress of Buddha and Bodhisattva as evidenced from the sculptures of that period, dress of soldiers and warriors and lastly the dress of the ordinary people. Here we shall confine ourselves only to the dress of the ordinary people, men and women including aristrocrats like Sundarī and Nanda of Aśvaghoṣa's Kāvya. The dress of the ordinary people in Gāndhara[1] consisted of a dhoti and a scarf.

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[1] A. S. I. An. Rep. 1912-13. p, 22 pl. 7

People put on a number of ornaments. Women on the other hand clad themselves in skirt (Lahṅgā) and bodice (staṅāṁ suka) and they put on many ornaments. The Mathurā School of sculptures represent people in different kinds of dresses. Thus in a sculpture[2] the worshippers of Buddha both men and lads are clad in long tunics with a belt above the hips. In a Bacchanalian group[3] at Mathurā a woman is clad in a long sleeved jacket and her skirt falls on her feet. She puts on plump shoes and has heavy ornaments on her body. On the other side of the group a female is dressed in Greek costume with a male on his left wearing a mantle fastened to the neck and hanging down from the shoulders in folds which are suggestive as Vogel pointed out 'of late Greek designs'. In another image which is of a Nāga the person is clad in a dhotī and the scraft is tied round the loins. In a statue[5] with an inscription on Huviṣka on it, one notices a female figure with a short petticoat and a loose garment hanging down her left arm. There is however, a very important sculpture[6] in the British Museum with an inscription of the time of Kaṇiṣka which throws much light on the social life, and depicts the dress of the people at that time in particular. It shows a man and a woman sitting on a bench, the woman on the left wears a loincloth and a girdle and the usual ornaments round the neck, the wrist, the anklets and in the ears. The male to whom the lady faces wears a necklace, bracelts, eardrops and a dhotī covering the knees. This is a clear representation of the dress of the people in that period. It may also appear worthwhile noticing the dress of the foreigners.

In a sculpture from Sāñchī[7] described by Sir John Marshall, the donors, women and children all wear the peculiar barbarian dress and it appears that as foreigners they belonged to North-West India. The dress consisted of boots, breaches and belted cassocks of the men and the characteristic jacktes of the women which hardly leaves any room for doubt regarding their foreign origin. The dress of an Iranian female figure cut on a panel[8] in the Lucnow Museum may also be described here. Her head is covered with long sleeved bodice and the lower garment is a skirt (lahṅgā). The dress is covered with printed patterns which give picturesque effect to the composition.

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[2] Sahni : Cat. Sar. Mus. No. A 83

[3] Vogel Cat. Mat. Mus. No. C. 2 p. 83

[4] Ibid No. C-13 p. 88

[5] Ibid No. F. 20 p. 109

[6] E. I. Vol. IX p. 239

[7] Cat. Sanchi No. A 83

So far we have considered the dress and ornaments of the people as depicted in the sculptures. We may now notice certain references in Aśvaghoṣa's Saundarānanda on the topic under consideration. Aśvaghoṣa being a contemporary of Kaṇiṣka, the description in his work represents the culture of of the Kuṣāṇa period. Aśvaghoṣa has referred to people adorning themselves every day with clothing and ornament (VIII. 48) and these two along with garlands determining the status of a person. The poet points out that it would be laughable for a person to go out begging who wears beautiful ornaments, clothes and garlands (VIII. 59). Noble men put on strings of pearls (V. 20) and shawl to cover the shoulders (V. 7). The head dress was known as मौलि। Aśvaghoṣa further distinguishes the dress suited for merry-making (IV. 38) with the dress of mournful colour of orch yellow trees (V. 51.) A detailed description of the dress and ornaments put on by the people or noblemen is no doubt wanting in Aśvaghoṣa's Kāvya but he has referred in general to the articles which formed the diversions of noblemen (cf. XI. 35). While describing Sundari's entry in her lord's chamber, the poet has referred to his diversions. It appears that such diversions also included clothes and ornaments. Sundari's diversions are treated in detail and from that we can find out the kinds of ornaments put on by noble ladies. Her beautiful couch covered with soft many coloured rugs and decorated with beryl and diamonds with its golden feet, her mantle, silken garment, her ornaments which amongst others consisted of anklets (IV. 17), earings (IV. 19) pearl necklace (VI. 5) indicate a refined taste of the aristocracy. With this description may be considered Sundari's mouring at her lover's departure resulting in the scattered pearl necklace lying on the couch and her feet half hanging out of her slippers

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[8] Lucnow Museum Label No. 286

(VI. 5). Here it may also be mentioned that clothes were washed with caustic soda (X. 42) and they were also perfumed (IV. 26).

It thus appears that the dress of the people in the Kuṣāṇa period was simple but refined consisting of a shawl covering both the shoulders, and an ordinary loin cloth. The females clad themselves in skirt (lahṇgā) and Bodice (Stanāṁ suka). They also put on plump shoes and slippers. Ornaments were put on by persons of both the sexes. Women generally put on a girdle, the usual ornament round the neck, necklace (hāra) earings (kuṇḍala) and anklets (nūpura) and bracelets round the wrists. Men put on necklace, bracelets and eardrops as appears from the Bacchanalian scene. There are no *Latikas* or forehead pieces, *patrapāsya,* the fastened leaf, and the thumb or finger rings in the Kuṣāṇa sculptures. It thus appears that the ornaments of the Kuṣāṇa period represent simplicity and are few in number as compared with the Bhārhut[9] sculptures.

Family Life :—The epigraphic records of the Kuṣāṇa period indicate the existence of joint family system. There is hardly any record where the names of other members of the family are not mentioned. Generally the housewife, the householder or sons created endowments but there was always the provision that whatever religious merit that might accrue should be shared by all the members of the family and even by others (Sarvahitāya Bhavatu). Occasionally the chief merit was meant for a certain member of the family e.g., mother, brother,[10] father's mother, himself, wife and son.[11] The joint family consisted of father, mother, grandfather (pitāmaha) if alive, son (putra) and daughter-in-law (vadhū) and even paternal grandmother (pitāmahik pitāmahi).[12] Aśvaghoṣa also mentions[13] young half-brother as a member of the family. An inscription[14] refers to sister's daughter (Sushotī). The father of the daughter-in-law was not supposed to be a member of that family though in a donatory record[15] of a lady the name of her mother and father (mātā-pitā) occur first and then the names of her father-in-law (Śvasur) and mother-in-law (Śvasā). This indicates that despite their marriage women sometimes retained their family lineage. The case of Prabhāvatī Guptā[16] daughter of Emperor Chandra-Gupta is clear on this point.

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[9] C. I. I. Vol. II pt. p. 142
[10] ibid p. 145
[11] ibid p. 162
[12] E. I. Vol. II No. XXVIII p. 207
[13] I. 30
[14] E. I. Vol. X No. VIII p. 115
[15] E. I. Vol. II No. XXXVII p. 219

Position of Women :—It appears from a persual of the records that women were given a high place in society. More than half the records are those of dedications made by them. They were certainly dependant upon their husbands, nevertheless charitable acts and deeds were not wanting in them. The influence of nuns had considerably moulded their life and as a result of that they gave donations and created endowments. In the records of the Kuṣāṇa period four classes of ladies are mentioned namely *dharmapatnī, bhāryā, kutumbinī* and *Sahacarī*. In more than half the donatory records of the ladies they are mentioned as *Kutumbinī* while a good many are those of *Dharmapatnīs*. There is only one record[17] of donation made by a *Bhāryā* and another[18] by a *Sahacarī*.

According to the Sanskrit Lexicons, Dharmapatnī means a 'lawful wife', Bhāryā[19] 'a wife' and Kutumbinī, the mistress of the house.[20] These terms, as referred to by Monier-Williams,[21] occur in Sanskrit literature and law books. Bühler, editing these inscriptions, translated the first term as 'the first wife,' Kutumbinī as 'House wife' and Bhāryā 'a wife'. He left the term Sahacarī, untranslated. It appears that all these terms except Sahacarī were used in an identical sense. There is not a single record where a person is associated both with his Dharmapatnī and his Kutumbinī or Bhāryā. This clearly shows that there was hardly any evidence to suggest different grades of wives. We may take Sahacarī in the sense of a female companion corresponding to the modern Hindi word Sahelī.

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[16] E. I. Vol. XV p. 41 ff.

[17] E. I. Vol. II. No. XXI p. 204

[18] Ibid Vol. I No. I p. 384

[19] Monier Williams Dictionary p. 511

[20] *ibid* p. 754

[21] *ibid* p. 269

Food :—There is not much reference to articles of food except in an inscription[22] from Mathurā recording a perpetual endowment by a foreigner in Mathurā and in the Saundarānanda of Aśvaghoṣa. The inscription mentions articles of food to be supplied daily to the hungry and thirsty. These articles consisted of 3 āḍhaka of barley meals (Śaktu-Śakatuka) one prastha salt (Lavarṇa) one prastha saku (unidentified) three bundles (kalapa) of green (harita) vegetables (understood) and five jasmines (*Mallaka* being identified with *Mallika).* Three bundles of vegetables may mean three different kinds of vegetables. Prof. Sten Konow who edited this inscription took Mallika in the sense of some kind of weight or denomination, but it may be identified with Mallika which in Sanskrit means a kind of Jasmine.[23]

In Saundarānanda, we notice references to articles of food taken by certain classes of people . Thus the Yogis were content with rice and fruit alone (I. 1)) . Fried or parched grain was taken by the people (I. 12) . There is a reference to rice (XIII. 15) . Soma was also drunk (I. 15) . There is a reference to people taking flesh just to save their lives when in a desert (XIV. 13.) The chief object for taking food was the sustenance of the body (XIV. 18.3). Good food was known as आहार (XIV. 10.) There is an inscription[24] which refers to fasting by a lady for a month. It was possibly undertaken on religious grounds.

Pastimes and Recreations :—Recreations and amusements are necessary in social life. A life without them would be dull and monotonous. In the Kuṣāṇa period recreations and amusements were not wanting. An inscription[25] from Mathurā records dedication by a troupe of actors who were known as Śailālakas. It also appears that play and acting was the business of particular families, as the inscription refers to Cāndaka brothers. Besides these troupes of actors there may have been musicians also, who played on instruments. Such instruments are noticeable in the monuments from Mathurā.[26] They included taber, flute, conch, drum, lute (Vīṇā) and also a big pipe. Intoxicants were also used, as is noticed from the Bacchanalian scene[27] showing Kubera enjoying Āsava drink. Hunting excursions were also arranged. A fragment of a railing pillar[28] represents two men in the act of killing a tortoise with sticks.

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[22] E. I. Vol. XXI p. 55
[23] Monier Williams Dictionary p. 793
[24] E. I. Vol. II No. XXXVI p. 209
[25] E. I. Vol. I No. XVII p. 390
[26] A. S. I. An. Rep. 1906-7 p. 153

In Saundarānanda as well, we do find certain references to amusements and places of pastimes and recreations. As Buddha went into Nanda's house, none of the young women there saw him as they were busily employed in preparing for their master's amusements. (IV. 27).

Among items of amusement may be mentioned playing on Vina (*Vīṇā*) and drum (*Turya* XI. 35). There are also references to gardens (I. 49) and groves (I. 51) and there were rest houses as well on the road (I. 51).

Toilet and Treatment of Hairs :—The Provincial Museum at Lucknow[29] and the Mathurā Museum[30] present two door jams containing a number of cut panels. The former of these has scenes ranging from the bath to the completion of the toilet. There is a lady depicted in one of these and a male probably her husband hands over to her, her garment. In the next scene he plaits her hair in braids and in yet another she is giving the mirror to him so that he may hold it on to her while she completes the finishing touch on her face with multifarious items of toilet and application of cosmetics. It appears that possibily the sculptor may have drawn inspiration from the romantic Kāvya Saundarānanda of Aśvaghoṣa where Sundari puts her mirror into her lover's hand saying " Just hold this up in front of me while I paint myself " and he holds it up (*vide* IV. 13).

In the Mathurā Museum also there are scenes of similar character enclosed within its sunk panels.

There is a reference in the same Kāvya of Aśvaghoṣa regarding preparations for toilet and bath. Ladies in waiting were required to pound ointment, perfume clothes and weave sweet smelling garlands for their mistress and her lord.

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[27] Vogel Cat. M. M. No. C. 2 p. 83
Cf. Buddhacarita, IV. 31.

[28] *Ibid*

[29] Label No. J 278

[30] Vogel Cat. Mat. Mus. No. I 29 p. 110

Besides using ointment (विलेपन IV 20) the face was also painted (IV. 34). This was done through the help of a small पत्रांगुलि (IV. 16). Candana paste was also rubbed on others parts of the body by the lady herself (IV. 38).

The sculptures and terracottas of the Kuṣāṇa period reveal to us an endless variety of hair arrangements of men and women of the Kuṣāṇa period. Although it is not so diversified as in the Gupta period still we have evidence suggesting that more of the types of arrangement of hair during the Gupta period had their beginning in the Kuṣāṇa age. One conspicuous difference is that the *Sīmanta* (parting line) unlike that the Gupta period, is hardly brought out during the Kuṣāṇa period. Exceptions however occur where a male[31] particularly has his short parting line (*Sīmanta*) on the forehead but rare specimens of the Kuṣāṇa period portray the proper parting line. There is a circle drawn on the forepart of the hair which in some cases [32] is parted at the middle from where horizontal lines run on either side and touch the circumference of the circle. The rest of the hair is plaited in braids and thrown on the back[33] or bound in a single knot at the back.[34] Another type[35] of arrangement of the hair is to be found in specimens where the hair has been arranged in a horizontal ridge on the crown of the head from which tassels fall at the back. A number of terracottas found at Ghosī and Kosam and at many other places bear this out in the crude workmanship of the Kuṣāṇa period. In a third type[36] hair is arranged on the head in a form giving an impression of the feathers of a dancing peacock running into several blades, and they are held up together at the back of the head with some arrangement which gives them the effect of a matrix. This style is very picturesque and most peculiar to the Kuṣāṇa period.

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[31] Lucknow Museum Label No. B92 over the Balcony.
[32] Ibid No. B 61, 65, 99.
[33] ibid No. B72
[34] ibid No. B80
[35] ibid No. J 595
[36] ibid No. J 598

There is yet another type[37] in which the hair is decorated by arranging it lengthwise falling at the back.

Parda System :—There is however no direct evidence to show that Parda system did or did not exist in the Kuṣāṇa period. It did exist in the period of the Bhārhut sculptures as is evident from the use of veil or *chaddar* of which two very good specimen are given in two plates[38] of Yakṣiṇī Chandrā and Devatā Chūlakokkā. In the sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period the ladies are always portrayed without any veil. Aśvaghoṣa has mentioned *Antaragṛha* or Inner House (IV. 35) which may have been a separate apartment for the ladies but they were free enough to look at Buddha from their balconies, as appears from the Buddhacarita, when he passed through the streets of Kusinagara. So also Sundarī could see her lover departing till the figure was extinct. It therefore appears that there may have been inner apartments for the ladies but *Parda* system was not rigidly enforced.[39]

We have thus tried to depict only some aspects of the social life of the Kuṣāṇa period as evidenced from inscriptions, sculptures and works of Aśvaghoṣa, especially Saundarānanda. We have not touched other aspects like marriage, disposal of the dead, slavery etc. as the available evidence on those points is not sufficient. Only a solitary inscription[40] refers to a jeweller (Maṇikāra) giving his daughter in marriage to a blacksmith's son. By this we need not infer that there was an intercaste marriage but as csste did not interfere in the selection of a craft, possibly both belonged to the same caste. Aśvaghoṣa has also referred to the Bride's price (*Śulka*) (I. 21).

The evidence on the social life taken as a whole would not fail to pronounce that it was an age of culture and progress.

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[37] *ibid* No. J. 275

[38] Cunningham's-Bharhut pl. XXII and XXIII

[39] Prof. A. S. Altekar has pointed that the available evidence on the point is of a dubious nature and can not be manipulated to support either view (Proceedings of the History Congress, p. 47 ff., Allahabad)

[40] E. I. Vol I, No. IV p. 383.

MISCELLANEA

ON THE SOURCES OF EARLY INDIAN GEOGRAPHY

To reconstruct a systematic geography of ancient India the Vedic literature, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, Dharmasūtras and Dharmaśāstras render us some help. Of the geographical names in the *Ṛgveda* those of the rivers alone permit of easy and certain indentifications. The Epics and the *Purāṇas* are recognized as a rich mine of geographical information about ancient India. They contain some chapters giving a fairly accurate account of not only the different territorial divisions of India but also of her rivers, mountains, lakes, forests, deserts, towns, countries and peoples. The *Tīrthayātrā-Digvijaya* sections of the *Mahābhārata,* the *Jambukhaṇḍavinirmāṇaparva* of the same epic, and the *Kiṣkindhyā-kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* are rich in geographical data. The *Bhuvanakoṣa,* the *Jambudvīpavarṇanā,* the *Kūrmavibhāga* sections of the *Purāṇas,* the *Bṛhatsamhitā,* the *Parāśaratantra* and the *Atharvapariśiṣṭa* are equally important in eliciting valuable geographical information. No less important are Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (4. 1. 173, 178 ; 4. 2. 76; 4. 2. 133; 5. 3. 116-117. etc.); Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya,* and *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* for a study of early Indian geography.

The geographical accounts in the different *Purāṇas* are more or less identical, and the account in one is often repeated in another : in some cases a larger account is summarised into a shorter one. The list in the *Vāyu, Matsya* and *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas* is a long one, while that in the *Viṣṇu* is very short. The Pauranic lists of countries and peoples occur also in the *Mahābhārata* sometimes in a more detailed form. The particulars of the country of Bharata as given in the Bhiṣmaparva of the *Mahābhārata* (Ślokas 317-78) are almost the same as in the *Purāṇas,* but in some cases additional information can be gathered. It is obvious that these lists are framed in pursuance of a traditional account handed down from earlier times. But it must be admitted that the accounts are substantially correct. The fabulous element as poined out by Cunningham is confined, as a rule, to outside lands, and their allusions to purely Indian topography are generally sober.

The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* list of countries is very meagre ; the *Mahābhārata* has a much longer catalogue without any arrangement ; so also in the *Padmapurāṇa*. The longest list of countries and peoples of India is however contained in the *Mārkaṇḍeya,* the *Skanda,* the *Brahmāṇḍa* and the *Vāyu Purāṇas*. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* contains a description of Jambudvīpa and mentions the forests, lakes and mountains around Meru. It mentions the nine divisions of Bhārata, the seven mountain ranges in India and twenty-two separate hills. It describes the course of the Ganges and refers to the famous rivers in India, grouping them according to the mountain ranges out of which they arise. The principal peoples in India and on its borders are also mentioned in it, arranged according to the natural divisions of the country. The majority of the names of countries and peoples found in the *Purāṇas* is very much the same as we find in the *Nadyādivarṇanā* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,* but there is also quite a good lot of names that are entirely new and original. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Ch. 57) which really contains the strictly geographical information of other major *Purāṇas,* has a section called the *Kūrmavibhāga* containing a list of countries and peoples of India arranged according to the position of the country conceived as a tortoise as it lies on water resting upon Viṣṇu and looking eastwards. This arrangement is based on earlier astronomical works, like those of Parāśara and Varāhamihira. This chapter is invaluable from the topographical standpoint. The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* also contains some geographical information. So we find that the *Purāṇas* are really very important for a geographical study of ancient India.

The innumerable *Māhātmyas* require to be carefully studied from the geographical standpoint. The extensive Māhātmya literature which contains portions from the *Purāṇas* or *Saṃhitās,* deals with the topography of the various *tīrthas* or holy places. Their geographical importance is very great in the sense that evidences may be adduced from them to enable us to locate important sites. One finds it tedious to read the legendary history of *tīrthas* or holy places, but to a geographer it will never be a fruitless study.

The later Sanskrit literature abounds with geographical information. As for examples, Rājaśekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsa* clearly states the five traditional divisions of India (p. 93). It contains some useful geographical information about Utkala, Sumha, Niṣadha and Kāśmīra (Ch. 17), Aṅga, Vaṅga, Puṇḍra, Vālhīka, Pañcāla, Sūrasena, etc. (Ch. III). The *Raghuvaṃśa* (4th *sarga,* śls. 35, 38) the *Naiṣadhīyacarita* by *Śrīharṣa* (5th *sarga,* śls. 50, 98), the *Meghadūta* by Kālidāsa (*Pūrvamegha,* śls. 24, 25, 26), the *Daśakumāracarita* by Daṇḍin (6th *Ucchvāsa*), the *Harṣacarita* by *Bāṇabhaṭṭa* (6th and 7th *Ucchvāsas*), Dhoyī's *Pavanadūta* (27) may be utilised for our geographical knowledge.

To present a complete geographical picture of India in the Buddha's time and later, Pali literature is undoubtedly the most important. From about the time of the Buddha to about the time of Aśoka the great literature of the early Buddhists is certainly the main source of the historical and geographical information of ancient India, supplemented by Jaina and Brahmanical sources here and there Texts or narratives of purely historical or geographical nature are altogether absent in the literature of the early Buddhists, and whatever historical or geographical information can be gathered is incidental and very much reliable. Thus for the history of the rise and vicissitudes as well as for the geographical situation and other details of the sixteen *Mahājanapadas,* the most important chapter of the Indian history and geography before and after the time of the Buddha, the Pali *Aṅguttara Nikāya* is the main source of information which is supplemented by the Jaina *Bhagavatīsūtra* and the Karṇaparva of the *Mahābhārata.* For later periods when we have abundant epigraphical and archæological sources, and literary sources, too, which are mainly Brahmanical, as well as the accounts of the classical geographers and the itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims, the geographical information contained in Pali and Sanskrit Buddhist literature is considerably important.

The Pali *Piṭaka*, specially the *Vinaya* and the *Sutta*, contains incidental references to cities and places connected with the gradual spread of Buddhism. They supply us with an abundant information concerning the *Madhyadeśa* or the Middle country and the localities bordering it. The *Milindapañha* which is an important non-canonical Pali text, and the *Mahāvastu*, a Buddhist Sanskrit work of great importance, mention many important geographical notices. The Pali commentaries, specially those of Buddhaghosa and the chronicles of Ceylon, specially the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṁsa,* furnish us with chips of information as to the geographical knowledge of the Buddhists.

The Sanskrit Buddhist texts which are later in date than the Pali texts, have some geographical information. Cities of fiction which are no part of the real world, are found in them. Countries like Ratnadvīpa and Khaṇḍadvīpa, cities like Vandhumatī and Puṇyavatī and mountains like Triśaṅku and Dhūmanetra, mentioned in them, admit hardly of any identification and help only to add to the legendary element pervading most of the accounts of the Sanskrit Buddhist texts. The Sanskrit Buddhist texts which are very important from religious and philosophical points of view, do not elicit much information of a historical or geographical character. The *Mahāvastu* speaks mostly of the life of the Buddha ; the *Lalitavistara* and the *Buddhacaritakāvya* also refer to the Master's life. The Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā gives a number of stories relating to the former existences of the Buddha, while the Aśokāvadāna speaks of Aśoka and his times. Very few Sanskrit Buddhist texts have a great corroborative value. Really speaking, they are not important from geographical standpoint. They were mostly written from the 6th century onwards to the 12th and 13th centuries of the Christian era. They no doubt contain the most important contemporary evidence as to the religious history, but geographically they speak of very remote times. For already by the 6th and 7th centuries of the Christian era the whole of the Indian continent with its major divisions and subdivisions, cities, countries, provinces, rivers, mountains, etc. had become too widely known to its people. Contemporary epigraphic, literary, and monumental evidences abound with information regarding many geographical details. Moreover, the Indians of those centuries had also planted their political, cultural and commercial outposts and colonies, not only in Suvaṇṇabhūmi (Lower Burma) but also in Java and Sumatra, Campa and Kamboj. Their priests and missonaries had already travelled to China and Central Asia carrying with them Sanskrit Buddhist texts. But it is difficult to find in them any idea of this far wider geographical knowledge and outlook of the times. Even the Indian continent is not fully represented in its contemporary geographical information.

The earlier texts of the Jainas have many geographical and topographical references. The *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, *Bhagavatīviyāhapaṇṇatti*, *Nāyādhammakahāo*, *Uvāsagadasāo*, *Aṃtagaḍadasāo*, *Aṇuttarovavāiyadasāo*, *Paṇhāvāgaranāīm*, *Vivāga-sūya*, *Ovavāiya-Sūya*, *Rāyapasenaiya-sūya*, *Paṇṇavanā*, *Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti*, *Nirayāvaliya-sūya*, *Nisīha-mahānisīha-sūyas*, *Kalpasūtra*, *Uttarādhyayanasūtra*, and the *Āvaśyakasūtra* contain geographical data. The *Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti* which is the sixth *upāṅga* of the Jainas, contains a description of Jambudvīpa as well as that of Bhāratavarṣa. It speaks of seven *varṣas* or countries constituting seven main divisions of Jambudvīpa. Although it gives us the mythical geography of the Jainas there is much that is of great value to geographers of ancient India. It is no doubt an interesting Jaina treatise on geography and it should be studied along with the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* which is not included in the Jaina canon. The *Vividhatīrthakalpa* of Jinaprabha Sūri contains legends mixed up with facts. Great care should be taken to separate facts from fiction in order to present a true geographical picture.

The inscriptions of Aśoka and those at the Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri hills of Orissa also help us greatly. Coins too sometimes enable us to locate a particular nation or tribe. As for example, the discovery of some copper coins at Nāgri, a small town, 11 miles north of Chitor, enables us to locate the kingdom of king Sivi of the *Sivi-Jātaka*.

Among the early classical geographers Hecataeus of Miletus (B.C. 549-486) was the first Greek geographer whose knowledge stopped on the frontier of the Persian empire, the river Indus. He knew the people called Gandhāri on the upper Indus. He was acquainted with the names of other Indian peoples of the frontier hills (*Cambridge History of India*, I. 394). Herodotus (B.C. 484-431) wrote about India, much of which was drawn from Hecataeus. He knew that the population of India was great (*Cambridge History of India*, I, 395). In fact, most of his allusions to India refer to the times of Darius and Xerxes (*Ibid.*, I, 329). From a passage in Herodotus (IV. 44) it appears that the valley of the Indus from its upper course to the sea including the Punjab and Sind was annexed by the Persians or was brought under their control (*Ibid.*. I, p. 336). Regarding minor states in India in the period from 325 B.C. to 300 A.D. some information has been supplied by him (B.C. Law, *Indological Studies*, Pt. I, p. 11). Ktesias (B.C. 398) collected materials during his stay for a treatise on India. His account was unfortunately vitiated by a large number of fables and it was left to the followers of Alexander to give to the Western world for the first time fairly accurate accounts of India and its inhabitants.

The great conqueror carried scientific men with him to chronicle his achievements, and describe the countries invaded by him. Some of his officers were men of literary culture. Of his companions three men enriched the Greek conception of India by their writings. Nearchus was one of them. His book contained a good deal of incidental information about India (*CHI.*, I. p. 398). Alexander's Indian expedition produced quite a large number of narratives and memoirs relating to India. All these works are lost, and their substance is found in brief in Strabo, Pliny and Arrian. Some subsequent writers made considerable additions to the stock of information concerning India, among whom may be mentioned Diodorus, Strabo, Curtius, Arrian who was the best of Alexander's historians, and Justinus.[1] The Greek and Roman historians of Alexander carry on geographical knowledge eastwards beyond the Jhelum (Hydaspes), the eastern limit of Gandhāra to the Beas (Hyphasis) (*Cambridge History of India*, I., p. 59).

Strabo's geography furnishes us with some information about the well-known Assaka or Aśmaka tribe. Though Strabo speaks of the country of the Gandarai, the name of the Gandhāra country is not

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[1] McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, 5 ff.

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mentioned by any of Alexander's historians. According to Strabo Taxila lay between the Indus and Hydaspes (Jhelum). It was a large city which was governed by god laws. According to him the country of the elder Poros, the Kekaya country, was extensive and fertile, having in it some 300 cities. The principality of the younger Poros was called Gandaris. But this name is not to be taken as conclusive. He says that the region where Sophytes ruled was marked by the presence of a mountain composed of fossil salt which could give salt to India as a whole. He further says that in the realm of Sophytes dogs were characterised by remarkable courage. He gives an interesting account of the inhabitants of the territory of Mousikanos. The king of the territory of Oxykanos was called by him and Diodoros as Portikanos. He tells us that the Parthians deprived Eukratides of a part of Bactriana. The conquests by the Bactrian Greeks were, according to him, partly achieved by Menander (middle of the 2nd century B.C.) and partly by Demetrios, son of Euthydemos (cir. 190 B.C.) Such historico-geographical information, among other details, is found in his Geography.

Megasthenes who lived long in India has given us topographical matters of great value. He came to the court of Candragupta Maurya on an embassy. He himself said that he had often visited Sandrokottos, the greatest king of the Indians. According to Arrian he also visited king Poros. The fragments of the *Indika* furnish us with invaluable materials concerning India, her inhabitants, rivers, countries, cities, size, fertility of the soil, wild beasts, horses and elephants, Indian trees, peoples, castes, tribes, races, occupations, Indian philosophers, Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, etc.

Arrian who distinguished himself as a historian, was the famous author of the account of the Asiatic expedition of Alexander the great. He also gave us a fine description of India. His *Indika* consists of three parts; the first part deals with the general description of India chiefly based on the accounts of the country given by Megasthenes and Eratosthenes; the second part gives an account of the voyage made by Nearchos the Kretan from the Indus to the Pasitigris chiefly based on the narrative of the voyage written by Nearchos himself; and the third part gives ample evidence to prove that the southern parts of the world are uninhabitable on account of the great heat. In his *Indika* he refers to the regions beyond the river Indus on the west inhabited by the two Indian tribes, Astakenoi and Assakenoi. He mentions the countries lying to the east of the Indus as denoting India proper. He states the dimensions of India, and deals with her rivers, tribes etc. He divides the Indian people into about seven castes, and describes the hunting of wild animals by Indians, etc.

Eratosthenes wrote a scientific geography. He described India on the authority of Alexander's historians.

Pliny treats of the geography of India in his *Natural History*, which was dedicated to Titus, son of Vespasian and his successor as emperor. The first ten books of this history were probably published in A.D. 77. Books III-VI are devoted to geography and ethnography. His treatment is uncritical but extremely valuable from the incidental facts presented by him.

The *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* by an anonymous writer is a guide book containing an account of trade and commerce carried on from the Red Sea and the coast of Africa to the East Indies. It is really a guide-book to the Indian ocean including its adjuncts, the Red sea and the Persian gulf. The articles of trade, enumerated according to the ports, are mentioned in the *Periplus* (Translated by W. H. Schoff, 1912, pp. 284-288). According to the *Periplus* tin was shipped from Egypt to Somaliland and India. Ebony came to Rome from both India and Egypt. Minnagar was the name given temporarily to some cities in India during the period of the Scythian occupation. After the collapse of the Indo-Scythian power these cities resumed their former names with their autonomy. This guide-book contains some information about the Indus, Syrastrene (*Surāṣṭra*), Barygaza (modern Broach), the River Mahī (Mais), the river Narmadā (Nammadus), Arachosii (the country around the modern Kandahar), Gandaræi (Gandhāra), Ozene (Ujjain), Tagara (modern Ter), Suppara (modern Sopārā), Calliene (modern Kalyāna), Pandian kingdom (Pāṇḍya) etc.

Ptolemy's *Geography* is a work of great importance. Ptolemy was indebted to Marinus of Tyre for his materials. His treatise is divided into eight books. His description of India within the Ganges, and his account of the countries, cities, towns, rivers, mountains, hills,

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etc. deserve to be studied with great care. The position of India beyond the Ganges, inland towns and villages of the trans-Gangetic India, seven mountain ranges, rivers of the Indus system, and the territories and peoples of India classified according to the river-basins, are some of the topics ably treated by him. His *Geography* is undoubtedly very helpful to the geographers of ancient India.

The itineraries of Chinese pilgrims are of inestimable value as sources of the ancient Indian geography. The accounts of Fa-Hien and Yuan Chwang who toured all over Northern India are very important. The account of Yuan Chwang who visited India in the 7th century A.D., is fuller and more exhaustive. For an accurate and exhaustive geography of Northern India during the 5th and 7th centuries of the Christian era, the accounts of these two pilgrims are the most important sources of information. The accounts of other Chinese pilgrims, Song Yun and Hwiseng, are short and describe only a few places in north-west India. It-sing who visited many important places in ancient India in 673 A.D. gives us a detailed account. Another Chinese pligrim named Wang-hiuen-t'se who came to India in 643 A.D., wandered over and visited the countries of the Lord Buddha, as he himself said in his account.[1] He visited Magadha and ascended the Gṛdhrakūṭa hill (Ki-tche-Kiu) and left there an inscription. He also went to Mahāmodhi at Gayā. As related in his account he visited five Indies. At the head of the Tibetan and Nepalese cavalry he marched on Magadha, defeated the Indian troops, captured the capital, seized the king and took him triumphantly to China. He himself visited Nepal and Tibet. His description of Tibet (Tou-fan)' is interesting. This Chinese pilgrim in his leisure time wrote a book entitled *Account of theVoyage.* He narrates an interesting account of the law of Magadha which was then prevalent. If some one was guilty he was not beaten by a rod, but recourse was taken to a wonderful weighing. His inscriptions engraved on the Gṛdhrakūṭa and at Mahābodhi have been translated by Chavannes. His account of the places in India visited by him is very useful from the geographical point of view.

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[1] It is related in Sylvain Levi's article *Les Missions de Wang-hiuen-t'se daus l'Inde,* published in the *Journal Asiatique,* 1900.

Alberuni, who was born in the territory of modern Khiva in A.D. 973 distinguished himself in science and literature. In his book on *India* he deals with its geography which is sure to render some help to geographers. India as far as known to him was Brahmanic and not Buddhistic. In the first half of the 11th century A.D. all traces of Buddhism in Central Asia, Khurashan, Afghanistan and North-western India seem to have disappeared. Therefore his notes on Buddhism were very scanty. Benares and Kashmir were then two centres of Indian learning. He had not the same opportunity for travelling in India as Hiuen Tsang had. Hence his geographical notes are not so very exhaustive. In his book on *India* (English edition by Dr. E. C. Sachau, Chap. XVIII) he deals with the Madhyadeśa, Prayāga, Sthaneśvara, Kānyakubja, Pāṭaliputra, Nepal, Kashmir and other towns and cities, rivers, animals, the western and southern frontiers of India, the westen frontier mountains of India, islands, rain-fall, etc. He also refers to the Hindu method of determining distances between the various parts of India.

Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarangiṇī*, the well-known Kashmir Chronicle of the 12th century A.D. should be used with caution as it contains a large number of confused ancient traditions. It is valuable, says Vincent Simth, as it gives a trustworthy account of local events (*Early History of India*, 4th edition, p. 10).

Marco Polo, the famous Venetian traveller, visited South India and Central Asia in the 13th century A.D. The account of his travels is useful (Vide Travels of Marco Polo by L. R. Fawcus published in the *Introducing India*, Pt. I. *JRASB Publication*.

There are other means of approach to the historical geography of India, such as, the early surveys contained in the Imperial and Provincial Gazetteers, which are really mines of information in detail. The *Reports of the Archæological Survey of India* and the geographical references in the *Epigraphia Indica*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. *South Indian Inscriptions* and *Epigraphia Carnatica*, contain detailed geographical knowledge of the most definite character. The Census Reports of India are equally important.

B. C. LAW

A SIAMESE REFERENCE IN THE BENGALI RĀMĀYAṆA OF KṚTTIVĀSA

From very ancient days India has been maintaining her relation with the Far-East through land and the sea. Her sailors gained an immense knowledge of the Trans-Gangetic Peninsula by their constant acquaintances with the "golden lands"[1] of the 'Extreme-Orient'. This intercourse, which was both cultural and commercial, has been amply proved by numerous inscriptions and *Pali-Sanskrit* treatises of India and the South-East Asia.

It is a curious thing that although the Far-Eastern places like Yavadvīpa (Java), Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra), the Nicobors etc. are referred to in the Indian epigraphs and literature, no clear mention of any Siamese place-name has been so far coming to our attention. Now, the present writer finds a possible reference of a Siamese territory in Bengali Rāmāyana of Kṛttivāsa although it is absent in its original version of Vālmīki. In the Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍa of the Bengali epic, the monkey-king Sugrīva refers to a mountain called "Svetagiri" on the shores of the "Kṣīroda" ocean, while giving directions to his monkey-troops who were preparing to march East-wards in search of Sītā. He describes the mountain in the following lines :—

"Tār purbadik jāio Kṣīrod sāgar,
Svetgiri dekhibā je kṣīrod-upar
Svet nāg svare tathā sahasra sekhar
Sahasra fanāi ācche jena Maheśwar
Sahasra fanāi ācche sahasrek maṇi
Maṇir āloke tulya dibas rajani

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[1] R. C. Mazumdar has found out that there were several places in the Far-East with the name of "gold" in the ancient days. "Suvarṇabhūni". "Suvarṇadvīpa" "Kāñchaṇapuri" and "Suvarṇapuri" are mentioned in different Indian treatises.

See, Mazumdar, "Suvarṇadvīpa", Ch. IV.

Kṣīrod sāgar kare pṛthibī dhabal
Svetgiri svet kare gaganmaṇḍal "[2]

The following is the literal translation of the lines :—

" In the East of that you will go to the Kṣīrod Ocean,
You will see the Svetgiri on the Ksīrod ocean.
There the white-serpant lives with thousand hoods,
As if Maheśvar lives on the thousand hoods.
There are thousand diamonds on the
thousand hoods,
The night becomes like day by the rays of these
diamonds.
The Kṣīrod ocean whitens the world,
(While) the Svetgiri whitens the sky ".

When summed up, the above description speaks of a mountain in the Far-East called " Svetagiri " or " White mountain ", which stands on a sea-shore with gleaming diamonds and gems on its peak. The reference to the thousand hooded snake (Sanskrit " Naga ", which may mean, here, both "Snake" and "mountain") living in it probably hints to the craggy feature of the mountain.

Now, according to a Siamese legend also, there was a mountain called "White Mountain" (Khāo Dean) in the province (Chāṁgvād) of Petchāburi (Sanskrit, Vajrapuri *i.e.*, Diamond-town) in the South-western-part of the country near the sea-shore. "On the summit of this hill there was accumulated such a mass of precious stones that the gleams emitted from them turned the darkest night into the brightness of mid-day ".[3] The legend is exactly similar to the account of the " Svetagiri " (White mountain) as found in Bengali Rāmāyana of Krittivāsa. " Svetagiri " is the exact literal translation of Siamese " Khāo Daen ". The Thāi legend about the jewels on it reminds us of Kṛttivāsa's poetic line

Maṇir āloke tulya dibas rajani "

i.e., the night looks like day by the rays of the diamonds.

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[2] The Rāmāyaṇa of Kṛttivāsa, edited by Dr. D. C. Sen ; p. 209 first column, top. It was probably composed in c. 15th century A.D.

[3] Seidenfaden " Guide to Petchaburi ", Bankgok, 1931, p. 24.

[4] *Op. Cit.*

From another Siamese legend we know that ancient Petchāburi, where "Khāo-Daen" stood, was an important port on the Gulf of Siam. This has been also attested by archæological evidences. Excavations at Pong Tuk in Petchāburi have resulted in the recovery of many interesting relics of ancient Hindu civilization.[5] At present some of them along with an image of Buddha of the Gandhara School have been kept in the Bangkok Museum.[6] In this connection it is curious to note that, still there is a Brahman colony in Petchāburi who claim their descent from Indian immigrants.

Now, if "Svetagiri" was really identical with "Khāo Daen" we may presume that poet Kṛttivāsa owed his wonderful knowledge about the South-East Asia to the great Bengali navigators of the ancient and in the mediaeval days like Mahānāvika Buddhagupta, Dhanapati, Śrīmanta and Chāñd, whose names have been disclosed by one Malaya epigraph and the 'Mangal-Kāvya' Literature[7] of Bengal. Really, it seems that the Bengali Rāmāyaṇa, to some extent, affords better knowledge about the Far-East than the original one, which is written in Sanskrit. This is probably due to the better geographic proximity of Bengal with the Trans-Gangetic peninsula, than any other country in India, as also to the brilliant maritime trait among the people living there from historic times.

P. C. DAS GUPTA

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[5] Coedes, 'Excavation at Pong Tuk'. Reginald Le May—"Buddhist Art in Siam", pp. 15 ff. Most of the relics found in the site has been put in the category of the pure Indian Art by Le May. Seidenfaden—*Ibid*, pp. 15, ff.

[6] "Guide Book to the Vajirajñāna Library and the National Museum"; published by the Department of Fine Arts, Bangkok, 1948.

[7] It was composed by many poets of mediaeval Bengal, like Kavi-Kaṁkaṇa, Vijayagupta, Nārāyaṇa Deva, Baṁśīdasa, and others. The Literature chiefly deals with the introduction of "Manasā" and "Chandi" Cults in the "World", with vivid pictures of early Bengali Society.

See—T. C. Das Gupta, "Aspects of Bengali Society". The great maritime activities of the Bengali merchants in the mediaeval days have also been referred to in the Javanese text the "Nāgara Kṛtāgama" (1365 A.D.) where a trade between Gauḍa (Bengal) and Ayodhyapura (Āuthiā in Siam) is suggested. See Mazumdar—*Ibid*. p. 336.

.. LOST TREATISE ON LOGIC

Various causes may have been responsible for the loss of Puruṣacandra's work. Haribhadra Sūri who refers to himself as a spiritual son of mahattarā Yākinī and who is considered a standard author of Sanskrit and Prākrit works, has been assigned a period 700 A.D. to 770 A.D. by several modern scholars. Some have even upheld a traditional view that he died in Vikrama Saṁvat 585 (=A.D. 529). This Haribhadra Sūri has commented upon *Aṇuogadāra*, a Jaina canonical text. While doing so, on p. 100, he has quoted the following verse from some work of Puruṣacandra :—

"अन्यथाऽनुपपन्नत्वमात्रं हेतोः स्वलक्षणम् ।
सत्त्वासत्त्वे हि तद्धर्मौ दृष्टान्तद्वयलक्षणः ।।"

There is one more verse on this page as under :—

"धूमादेर्यथाऽपि स्यातां सत्त्वासत्त्वे च लक्षणे ।
अन्यथाऽनुपपन्नत्वंप्राधान्याल्लक्षणैकता ।। "

Does this verse, too, come from the pen of Puruṣacandra ?[1] Malayagiri Sūri in his com. (p. 306) on Dhammasaṅgahaṇi says :—

"सम्यग्न्यायानभिज्ञताख्यापनमेनदनयोरिति पुरुषचन्द्रः "

Looking to the quotation etc. I infer that Puruṣacandra is a logician (*nyāya-vādin*), and that Haribhadra Suri has cited a verse or verses from some work of his on logic. It seems that this work is irreparably lost, unless it is lying untraced with an individual or an institute having a number of manuscripts of various works, not properly sorted or examined.

In the end, I would like to be enlightened on the following points :—

(1) Is Puruṣacandra quoted else-where ? If so, where & by whom ?

(2) Which is the name of the work from which Haribhadra has quoted ?

(3) Is there any manuscript of any other work of Puruṣacandra available ?

HIRALAL R. KAPADIA

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[1] This is an important work on Jaina philosophy. It comes from the pen of Haribhadra Sūri.

REVIEWS

INDOLOGICAL STUDIES, Part I :—by Bimala Churn Law ; Calcutta : The Indian Research Institute, pp. 128.

This latest work from the inexhaustible pen of Dr. B C. Law consists of two long chapters dealing with two different, but very important topics of ancient Indian history. The first chapter brings together historical and geographical notices of a large number of minor states and peoples of the period from c. 325 B.C. to 300 A.D., beginning with those of the north-west and thence passing through western India to the extreme south. In the second section we have a panoramic view of ancient Indian social and economic conditions arranged under four chronological divisions, viz.. pre-vedic, vedic, pre-Buddhistic and pre-Maurya. Within its range, the book is likely to be of great value to the student because of the exhaustive list of its references, while its easy and attractive style appeals to the general reader as well. While there is no doubt about the high value of this work, we would like to point out that in the first chapter, Sophytes of the coins, as Whitehead has recently shown (*Num. Chronicle,* 1943), should no longer be identified with the Indian king Sopeithis of Arrian and Curtius.

U. N. GHOSHAL

NORTHERN INDIA ACCORDING TO THE SHIN-CHING-CHU (Serie Orientale Roma II) :—by L. Petech (Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed estremo Oriente, 1950) pp. 89.

Mr. Petech has done a great service to Indian culture by publishing this book which gives a description of northern India in ancient times. The geographical information contained in it will be very helpful to geographers. There are some new data as in page 33. The author has not neglected the recent publications on the subject and has drawn relevant materials from them whenever necessary to make his study complete. In the appendix he has published a note on *Chi-pin* which is the most puzzling term of the Chinese geography of north-west India. This little publication will be welcome by every student of historical geography of ancient India.

B. C. LAW.

MY PILGRIMAGES TO AJANTĀ AND BAGH: by Mukul Dey (Oxford University Press), pp. 185. 1950.

The author has made a good study of Ajanta and Bagh paintings by personally visiting these two well-known places. The account of his visits to Ajanta is very clear and interesting. A description of the caves at Ajanta, the life of Gautama Buddha etc. will be found useful by students of ancient Indian art. Equally interesting is his description of the Bagh caves. Relevant illustrations supplied by the author enhance the utility of the book. The chapter on my servant's death should have been omitted. This book as it stands will be helpful to general readers. An Index is given at the end.

B. C. LAW.

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